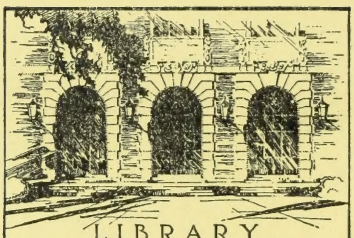

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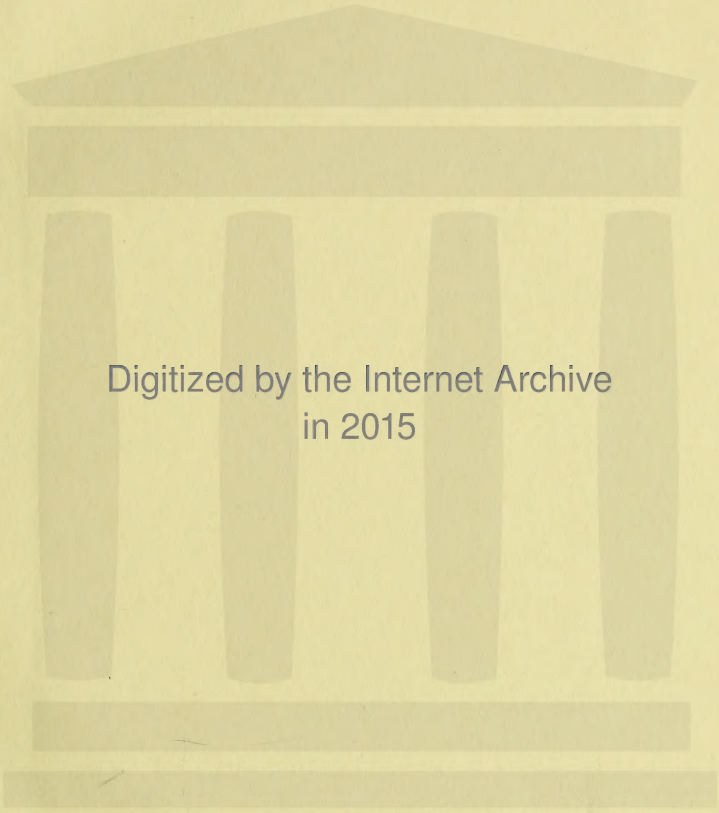

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THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

VOL. XXVII.

MARCH TO AUGUST,

1896.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. XXVII.

AUTHOR.		PAGE
A Contributor	Editors	505
An Editor	Contributors	793
A Quarterly Reviewer	Emancipation from the Jews	576
Balance of Power	Should we seek an Alliance?	21
Barry, Rev. William, D.D.	The Secret of Catholicism	816
Bear, W. E.	Our Food Supply in the Event of War	133
Boscawen, A. G., M.P.	A Recent Visit to Japan	424
Butler, A. J.	Mr. Hardy as a Decadent	384
Clarke, Sir George, K.C.M.G.	Can England be Invaded?	338
Colmer, J. G., C.M.G.	The Commercial Federation of the Empire	653
Darling, Charles, Q.C., M.P.	Infirma Vincula Caritatis	257
Dècle, Lionel	Two Years in Rhodesia	531
Deloncle, François	France and Egypt	325
Diggle, J. R.	The Education Bill, 1896	435
Earle, Mrs.	A Plea for Amateur Artists	642
Farrer, Lord	Egypt and England	166
„ „	Justice to Egypt	483
Forster, H. O. Arnold, M.P.	South Africa	516
Grant, Principal, G. M., D.D.	Canada and the Empire	673
Greenwood, Frederick	Some Gossiping Reflections	555
Hogarth, D. G.	Cycling in the Desert	701
Holland, Bernard	The Conversion of Manning	111
Kingsley, Miss Mary	The Development of Dodos	66
„ „ „	The Throne of Thunder	357
Lawson, W. R.	Kaffir Finance	412
Livesey, George	Workmen Directors	103
London, Archdeacon of	The Historic Protest of the Church of England and the Question of Reunion with Rome	614
Lugard, Captain F. D., C.B.	Slatin Pasha and the Sudan	178
Macdonald, J. H. A.	Volunteers	80
Mackay, T.	The Unpopularity of the House of Commons	802
Maxse, L. J.	The British Case Against Venezuela	277
„ „	Mr. Rhodes' Raid	719

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AUTHOR.		PAGE
Meade-Falkner, J.	A Midsummer Night's Marriage	851
Meredith, George	Mrs. Meynell's Two Books of Essays	762
Monkhouse, Cosmo	The Worship of the Ugly	124
Moore, Professor J. B.	The Relations between the United States and Great Britain	470
Parkin, George R.	The Imperial Note in British Statesmanship	391
Peel, Hon. George	The Money of the Far East	546
Powell, T. E.	The American Silver Rebellion	686
Raglan, Lord	The Militia	237
Reeves, Hon. W. P.	Five Years Political and Social Reform in New Zealand	834
Ripon, Bishop of	Union: Spiritual or Ecclesiastical	569
Robinson, Louis, M.D.	The Science of Change of Air	663
Shadwell, Arthur	The Forces of Temperance	622
Skottowe, B. C.	Mr. Chamberlain	771
Statham, F. Reginald	The Chartered Company: The Other Side	33
Stephen, Leslie	National Biography	51
„ „	John Byrom	208
„ „	Arthur Young	489
„ „	Oliver Wendell Holmes	626
Strachey, J. St. Loe	The Injustice of Rural Rating	710
Sully, Professor	The Humorous Aspect of Childhood	222
Tillett, Alderman B.	Our Naval Weakness	872
Traill, H. D.	Unionist Leaders—Lord Salisbury	401
Tupper, Sir Charles Hibbert, K.C.M.G.	The Manitoba School Question	375
Walker, Professor Francis A.	The Monetary Question and the United States	783
Whitmore, C. A., M.P.	Beautifying London	92
Yerburgh, R. A., M.P.	National Granaries	197
Correspondence		302
Episodes of the Month		1, 145, 305, 449, 593, 737

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

No. 157.—MARCH, 1896.

EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

THE CANADIAN RESOLUTION.

Far the most striking and pregnant event of the last month was the debate which took place in the Canadian House of Commons on February 4th. Mr. M'Neill, an Ontario member, proposed a resolution to the effect that this "House desires to assure Her Majesty's Government and the people of the United Kingdom of its unalterable loyalty and devotion to the British Throne and Constitution, and of its conviction that, should occasion unhappily arise, in no other part of the Empire than in the Dominion of Canada would more substantial sacrifices attest the determination of Her Majesty's subjects to preserve unimpaired the integrity and inviolate the honour of Her Majesty's Empire." Mr. M'Neill made a most eloquent and patriotic speech in which he was echoed by every succeeding speaker. He justified the presentation of the resolution, not because there could be any doubt as to the loyalty of Canada, but because the United States seemed to labour under the delusion that their neighbour was watching for an opportunity of entering the American Union. "War with the United States was a dreadful thing to contemplate, and he prayed that such might never occur—but if it did Canada would never shrink from her responsibility, whatever might be the

consequences." Mr. M'Neill concluded with these memorable words :—

"We wish the people of England and of Ireland and of Scotland to know that the people of Canada are no mere fair-weather friends. We want our kinsmen in Australia, some of whom we welcomed here so recently, to know that we are with them in this issue, heart and hand. We want the people of the world to know that, come what may, in whatever part of the Empire they may happen to reside, the British people are one people, animated by one spirit, and determined to stand as one man in defence of their common rights and in the maintenance of their common interests. We desire peace before all. We regard war with horror, but we are prepared to accept it with all its consequences, come from what quarter it may, if it be necessary to do so in order to maintain and defend the honour and integrity of our own Empire."

AN UNANIMOUS HOUSE.

Mr. Davis, leader of the Liberals of the Maritime Provinces, seconded the resolution in equally moving terms :—

"The hearts of the children have gone out to the great lone isolated mother, and we to-day do but our duty when we sternly pledge ourselves to substantial sacrifices in her behalf. Responding to the call of her people, she supplemented her normal fleet with a magnificent flying squadron, which showed to the world that if in numbers she was not a first-class Continental Power, she was at least now, as in days of yore, mistress of the seas. As part of Great Britain, Canada, more than any other part, is open to attack. With thousands of miles of continuous frontier, and divided only by an invisible line from the United States, with many exciting international questions calculated to cause bitterness and strife, it becomes doubly our duty so to conduct ourselves that we should lessen, and not increase, Great Britain's difficulties. Recent troubles have accentuated our determination to remain part and parcel of the Empire. The splendid dream of Imperial federation has never yet presented itself in such practical form to the Colonies as to command their adherence ; but its underlying sentiments evoke hearty sympathy from many who could not openly support a scheme. We may have no logical scheme ready, but, in our own blundering way, I doubt not that we shall yet achieve the desired result, and the national pledge which we are asked this day to record is one step in that direction."

Sir Richard Cartwright followed, saying he was not accustomed to make a profession of loyalty, but he approved the resolution. Mr. Laurier, the Leader of the Opposition, and Sir Hector Langevin, both distinguished French-Canadians, heartily supported the resolution. The former, after a glowing eulogy on the achievements of Great Britain, finished as follows:—"When England should have to repel her foes, I am quite sure that British subjects all over the world would be only too glad to give to her what help they could—British subjects all over the world, not only British subjects of her own blood, but British subjects who are not of her own blood, but who have received from her the inestimable blessing of freedom." *The Times* correspondent, from whose excellent report we quote, tells us that among other speakers were Mr. Cockburn, Mr. Sutherland, and Sir James Grant, prominent Scotch-Canadians; Mr. Craig, an English-Canadian; and Mr. M'Shane,

Mr. Davin, and Mr. Carey, Irish-Canadians. Mr. Forster, the Leader of the House, expressed the concurrence of the Government with the resolution, and "it was adopted unanimously amid prolonged cheering." This great manifestation of loyalty, attachment, and determination on the part of our fellow-subjects in Canada has created an extraordinary effect upon Englishmen, to whom it has brought home in the most vivid manner possible the oneness of the common Empire. The attitude of Canada, Australia, the Cape, New Zealand, and Natal opens up a splendid field for statesmanship, and we cannot believe that our Ministers either here or in the Colonies will be unworthy of it.

AN IMPERIAL BALLAD.

The recent crisis produced an abundant crop of patriotic poetry; the palm should be awarded in our judgment to the very fine lines contributed by a distinguished sporting writer, Mr. Clive Phillips-Wolley, to *The Daily Columbian*. They have been quoted in *The Spectator*, and we trust the author will forgive our reproducing them here. They breathe the true spirit of the ballad, and stir without effort or bombast. The poem is entitled "The Sea Queen Wakes":—

"She wakes! in the furthest West the murmur has reached our ears—
She wakes! in the furthest East the Russian listens and fears—
She wakes! the ravens clamour, the winds cry overhead,
The wandering waves take up the cry, 'She wakes whom nations dread!'
At last, ye have roused the Sea Queen; at last, when the world unites,
She stirs from her scornful silence, and wakes to her last of fights;
Alone, with a world against her, she has turned on the snarling crew,
No longer the Peaceful Trader, but the Viking North Seas knew.
She calls, and her ships of battle—dragons her seas have bred—
Glide into Plymouth Harbour, and gather round Beachy Head.
She wakes! and the clang of arming echoes through all the earth,
The ring of warriors' weapons; stern music of soldiers' mirth.
In the world there may be nations, and there gathers round every throne
The strength of *earth-born* armies, but the sea is England's own;
As she ruled, she still shall rule it, from Plymouth to Esquimalt,
As long as the winds are tameless—as long as the waves are salt.
This may be our Armageddon; seas may purple with blood and flame
As we go to our rest forever, leaving the world a name.
What matter? There have been none like us, nor any to tame our pride;
If we fall, we shall fall as they fell, die as our fathers died—
What better? the seas that bred us shall rock us to rest at last,
If we sink with the Jack still floating, nailed to the nation's mast."

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

Our long and most fortunate respite from Parliamentary eloquence reached its inevitable termination on February 11th with the opening of a new Session. This event was strictly the effect of convention, and was in no sense due to a popular call for the counsel of our legislators. Parliament provides a commanding pulpit for any

member anxious to be mischievous, and the common exclamation on men's lips during the stress of the American and African crises was, "Thank God the House of Commons is not sitting." If we had had Messrs. Davitt and Dillon making bitter anti-English speeches during the early days of our controversy with America, there would doubtless have been fiery retort from the other side of the House, and incalculable mischief might have ensued. Again, if Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, Mr. Maclean, and other fire-eaters had been able to express their views of Dr. Jameson's raid and the Boer Government on the floor of the House of Commons during the alarming period following the surrender of the Chartered forces, no one familiar with the facts recorded in the recent Blue Book would care to have answered for the future of South Africa. The present outlook is anxious enough, and it has not been rendered easier by the opening of Parliament, but at least we can be thankful that the fever of excitement raged in between two Sessions. The Queen's Speech was of unusual length, and from a literary point of view was a slovenly performance—it badly wanted editing. The first sentence was a welcome variant of the common form, and stated: "I continue to receive from other Powers *assurances* of their friendly sentiments." References were made to the agreement recently concluded between Great Britain and France, "having for its principal object the more secure establishment of the independence of the Kingdom of Siam," and to the delimitation of the frontier "separating my Indian Empire and the territory of Afghanistan from the dominions of the Emperor of Russia." In a really charming passage, which Sir John Stirling Maxwell (the seconder of the Address) happily described as "a masterpiece of euphemism," it was announced that "the Government of the United States have expressed a wish to co-operate in terminating differences which have existed for many years between my Government and the Republic of Venezuela upon the boundary between that country and my colony of British Guiana. I have expressed my sympathy with the desire to come to an equitable arrangement, and trust that further negotiation will lead to a satisfactory settlement." If a soft answer is capable of turning away wrath this reply to President Cleveland's message, threatening us with war unless we accepted his delimitation of one of our colony's boundaries, should fulfil its purpose.

GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA.

The Speech proceeded to deal with an immense number of subjects, and was full of significant passages. The paragraph on the deplorable Armenian business describes the Sultan of Turkey as having "sanctioned the principal reforms in the government of the Armenian provinces for which, in conjunction with the Emperor

of Russia and the President of the French Republic, I have felt it my duty to press. I deeply regret that a fanatical outbreak on the part of a section of the Turkish population has resulted in a series of massacres in those provinces which have caused the deepest indignation in this country." It has naturally been a matter of much comment among those interested in foreign affairs that of the first four paragraphs in the Queen's Speech three should call such marked attention to the cordial relations existing between Great Britain, France, and Russia. The feeling that we are passing through a momentous period in our Foreign Policy is heightened by a perusal of the Armenian Blue Books, which shows that Russia has been throughout the lion in our path. In spite of this Mr. Balfour made a declaration at Bristol which serves to show that Conservatism is unbending towards its great bugbear of the past: "I for my part frankly state that, so far, for example, from regarding with fear and jealousy a commercial outlet for Russia in the Pacific Ocean which should not be ice-bound half the year, I should welcome such a result as a distinct advance in this far distant region, and I am convinced not merely that Russia would gain by it, that the world generally would gain by it, but that British commerce and enterprise would be the gainers. Let us lay to heart this doctrine, that what is good for one is not necessarily bad for the others." The folly of the German Emperor in endeavouring to combine Europe against Great Britain is only equalled by his dismal failure. Instead of capturing France and Russia, he has merely succeeded in alarming his own allies, Austria and Italy, while he has relieved our diplomacy of the heavy burden it has shouldered for nearly twenty years in its efforts to co-operate with Germany. We have been regarded as a sort of maid-of-all-work to the Triple Alliance in the Mediterranean, but we have never received any wages, and we intend to take a holiday. Italy will probably do the same, and, if Austria is intelligent, she will discover that the Prussian yoke is a one-sided arrangement, of great use to Germany, but of very little benefit to herself. As time goes on Europe will become convinced that the present Kaiser is a public danger which can only be rendered harmless by isolation.

THE PROGRAMME.

The Queen's Speech, after an unimpeachable allusion to "a sudden incursion into the South African Republic by an armed force from the territories under the control of the Chartered Company," into which enquiry is promised, praises the "moderation and wisdom" of President Kruger in placing the prisoners in the hands of the High Commissioner under a pledge that their leaders shall be

brought to trial. Recognition is also made of "the legitimate grievances" of the majority of the Transvaal inhabitants which the assurances of the President and his forbearing conduct after the fight, lead to the belief that he will redress. After a complimentary allusion to the brilliantly-conducted expedition to Kumassie, the cruel death of Prince Henry of Battenburg, and the "effective control over Chitral" established last year, the Speech enumerates the measures to be laid before Parliament. It is a lengthy list which, under ordinary circumstances, would involve a very considerable jettison later in the Session, but a House of Commons that can debate the Address in a week should have an unlimited appetite for legislation. The subjects to be dealt with are: (1), Naval Defences; (2) Mitigation of Agricultural Distress; (3) Assistance to Voluntary Schools; (4) Compensation to workmen for injuries received in the course of employment; (5) an Irish Land Bill: (6) a Scotch Public Health Act; (7) Trade Disputes; (8) Light Railways; (9) Regulation of Public Companies; (10) Destitute Aliens, &c.

THE DEBATE IN THE LORDS.

Lord Rosebery (in the House of Lords) was as clever and witty as usual, but less good-tempered, and consequently less ineffective. He had evidently been much nettled by the warm praise showered from all quarters upon Mr. Chamberlain's handling of the Transvaal crisis, and treated it as a reflection upon the general run of English Ministers that one should be singled out and eulogised for merely doing his duty. It was not a very graceful observation, and Mr. Chamberlain's very handsome reply in the House of Commons probably made Lord Rosebery feel that jealousy among public men had better be concealed. Lord Rosebery made amusing play with Mr. George Curzon's too famous speech of last October on "the crises impending under one Government" (the Gladstonian) which "disappeared when another (the Unionist) entered office." He cavilled at the Siam agreement, and suggested that the intervention of the United States in the Venezuelan controversy had been an advantage, as introducing an element of permanence. He was naturally very tragic about Armenia, but the subsequent Blue Books show that he is more responsible for the tragedy than his successors. His rashness in acting on the mendacious reports of the original Sassoun affair fostered an Armenian agitation that has probably cost over 20,000 lives. Lord Salisbury, in reply, stated that the Siam agreement had the entire accordance of the Government of India; "it was the wishes and recommendations of the Government of India that largely induced us to conclude this treaty." He pre-

dicted an early settlement of the Venezuelan question by "a combination of negotiation and arbitration," but agreed with Lord Rosebery "that any proposal which at the will of an arbitrator might hand 40,000 British subjects over to the Republic of Venezuela could not be accepted in this country." We show further on by reference to the Blue Books the nature of Lord Salisbury's reply to the attack on his Armenian policy. Russia and Austria were not only dead against the application of physical coercion to the Porte, but they made it plain that they would resist it if attempted. No Power was animated by humanitarian feelings except Great Britain, but Lord Salisbury was justified in believing at one time that the concert might be goaded into action—hence his famous "concert" speech.

THE DEBATE IN THE COMMONS.

The discussion on the Address in the House of Commons followed very much the same lines as in the Lords. Sir William Harcourt, however, delivered a speech of infinitely greater merit than his "leader," being strong, good-tempered, and patriotic. So far the general public have taken but a scanty interest in the proceedings of the popular House, the only debate attracting attention being upon Mr. Labouchere's demand for an extension of the investigation into recent occurrences in South Africa, "to the financial and political action of the Chartered Company" since its inception. Mr. Labouchere did not make the immoderate, self-destructive speech that was expected of him, and for once put aside his Little Englandism. He gave his version of the history of the Chartered Company, and we think there is much force in his plea that the Duke of Abercorn, the Duke of Fife, and Lord Grey should have been reinforced on the Board by others equally trustworthy with themselves and better acquainted with that dark and mysterious side of commerce—"finance." We have nothing to say against the other members of the Chartered Company's Directorate—Mr. Beit, Mr. Cawston, Sir Horace Farquhar, Mr. Maguire, and Lord Gifford; for all we know to the contrary they may be Elizabethan dreamers, in common with their eminent manager, but it is more probable that their horizon is bounded by the "markets" and their ambition limited to the desire for picking up the cheap and unloading the dear. If the Chartered Company are wise they will conciliate public opinion by inviting on to the Board some men who combine capacity with experience, and inspire confidence, such as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry Fowler, or Mr. Asquith. As it stands, the Board is weak, Lord Grey (Mr. Albert Grey) being the solitary member with the requisite qualifications. Mr. Arnold Forster, an ardent Imperialist,

who had probably done more than any man of his age to bring home to the inhabitants of this island the glories of their Empire and the duties it imposes, seconded Mr. Labouchere's amendment. He delivered a striking and dauntless philippic such as is not often heard in the House of Commons, a body containing much easy virtue in commercial matters. To too many men a seat in the House is simply a stepping-stone to lucrative directorships, and in too many cases the confiding investor is still attracted by the magic letters M.P. in a prospectus. Mr. Arnold Forster, however, ignored his atmosphere in a trenchant speech.

"SALTED."

Mr. Arnold Forster declared that a large host of enemies would endeavour to burke all enquiry into the methods of the Chartered Company. "He found society had been, so to speak, salted. High and low the trail of the serpent was over them," and it was impossible to distinguish between the Imperialists from conviction and "those a little biassed from another and secondary interest." According to the speaker, "an amount of money had been circulated in the interests of the Chartered Company which was shocking to contemplate, and there was only one tribunal big enough and strong enough to bring that Chartered Company to its senses and stop what he believed to be a gigantic system of corruption, and that was the tribunal of public opinion. It was necessary, however, to know who the members of this Company really were before they could go a step further."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S SPEECH.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech on Mr. Labouchere's amendment should be read in conjunction with the extremely *piquant* Blue Book* dealing with the Transvaal crisis. The Colonial Secretary declined to regret the praise he had received, even though it had given some umbrage to Lord Rosebery, as it proved that any Minister representing the country in a time of crisis and difficulty may count on universal support. In his usual lucid manner Mr. Chamberlain told the story of the raid and its consequences, so far as he knew them, begging those who blamed the supposed ignorance of the Colonial Office to distinguish between (1) the agitation of the Uitlanders, and (2) the invasion of Dr. Jameson. The existence of the agitation had been a matter of common knowledge for two years, but we had no *locus standi* to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. Our assistance had not been sought by President Kruger, and "every public statement made by any of the leaders of the Uitlanders was to the effect that they absolutely repudiated

* *Recent Disturbances in the South African Republic.* Price 1s.

what they were pleased to call the Imperial factor." Under the circumstances the offer of intervention would have been presumptuous, and there was no more reason to believe in the "rumours, prophecies, and boasts" of December, 1895, than in those of 1894, when Lord Loch went to Pretoria during a threatening agitation. The warnings of July, 1894, were as precise as those of December, 1895. It was the old story of "Wolf," and no blame attached to Sir Jacobus de Wet for not anticipating the arrival of a real wolf. In fact the people who declined to take the "revolution" seriously—the "ignorant" Colonial Office—turned out to be right, and it would never have exceeded the "resolution" stage had it not been for the invasion of Dr. Jameson. Turning to his second heading, Mr. Chamberlain affirmed:—"If it is asked of me, 'Was the High Commissioner, were other people, ignorant of this projected invasion?' I say to the best of my knowledge and belief that everybody, that Mr. Rhodes, that the Chartered Company, that the Reform Committee of Johannesburg, and the High Commissioner were all equally ignorant of the intention or action of Dr. Jameson. That is the belief which I express to the House after having carefully examined all the statements of all the parties concerned." Mr. Chamberlain spoke most warmly of the signal services rendered to the country by Sir Hercules Robinson, and explained how it was that the first suggestion of a possible incursion from Charterland had come, not from the High Commissioner to the Colonial Office, but from the Colonial Office to the High Commissioner. This has naturally been a subject of comment, and Mr. Chamberlain gave the House of Commons the genesis of the telegram conveying the warning:—

"It occurred to one of those officials, Mr. Fairfield, who is the head of the department—and who, I fancy, knows more about South African affairs than probably any other living man—thinking over everything, remembering what combustible materials there were in South Africa, and remembering what had been threatened and boasted—it occurred to him, 'Can it be possible that something of this sort may take place?' Accordingly he wrote to me—I was at Birmingham at the time—and put the suggestion before me. My answer was, as appears in the Blue Book, 'It is incredible, but at the same time no precaution can be too great to prevent a mischief of that kind; let us telegraph Sir Hercules Robinson to warn him and to put him on enquiry.'* In fact, what I really wished to suggest was, that privately—I did not like to suggest to him that he should put it to Mr. Rhodes officially, as I thought that would be almost an insult—and confidentially he

* See Blue Book Telegram from Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Hercules Robinson (sent 5.30 p.m. 29th December, 1895):—"It has been suggested, though I do not think it probable, that an endeavour might be made to force matters at Johannesburg to a head by someone in the service of the Company advancing from Bechuanaland Protectorate with police. Were this to be done, I should have to take action under Articles 22 and 8 of the Charter. Therefore, if necessary, but not otherwise, remind Rhodes of these Articles; and intimate to him that, in your opinion, he would not have my support, and point out the consequences that would follow."

should bring the matter before Mr. Rhodes in order, if there were the slightest possibility of such a thing, it might be nipped in the bud. That is the whole story. We had no more information than anybody else. It was an idea that crossed the mind of one of the officials at the Colonial Office upon which we acted, and, as it happened, unfortunately, it had a better foundation than any of us imagined."

THE CONCENTRATION OF TROOPS.

Mr. Chamberlain effectually disposed of the charge that he ought to have been aware of the concentration of Dr. Jameson's 800 men. In the first place, the invading force was not more than 500 strong. Of them 198 men were quartered at Pitsani on 1st December, to protect the new railway works; 125 men of the Bechuanaland Protectorate police were at Mafeking, where they had gone to be taken over by the Chartered Company, to which that territory had been transferred. This was the only concentration up to the 16th December, between which date and that of the expedition some 170 men must have arrived from elsewhere—possibly Buluwayo or Capetown. These being the facts there is no ground whatever to complain of Sir Hercules Robinson for his ignorance of the "massing" of troops on the Transvaal frontier:—

"I think it is confirmatory of that view that we had had no representation whatever from President Kruger. It has been suggested that President Kruger was prepared for this invasion, that he induced the invasion, that he was a sort of *agent provocateur*, and that he knew all about the matter beforehand. Of course I am not omniscient, but I believe that President Kruger, in saying, as I believe he has said, that he was utterly unaware of any intention of this kind, is speaking the absolute truth. That is my present opinion. He had his patrols all along the border. Those patrols, I believe, were seen by some of the troops that came down from Buluwayo, and if the troops that came down from Buluwayo saw President Kruger's patrols, President Kruger's patrols must have seen the troops that came down from Buluwayo. Therefore, I do not doubt that President Kruger knew that there were certain troops on the border, but what I mean is that I have no reason, at the present, to doubt his assertion that he did not know that any invasion was intended or probable. My argument is this, that if knowing what he knew, which was practically what Sir Hercules Robinson knew, President Kruger did not see in that any cause for alarm or any cause to make any kind of representation to the British Government, it would be, I think, most unreasonable to bring any accusation against Sir Hercules Robinson, who certainly had no more reason to be suspicious than President Kruger himself."

THE COMPANY'S POSITION.

The Government very properly insist that any enquiry that may be decided upon into the affair of the Chartered Company must follow the trial now being held at Pretoria, as well as that of Dr. Jameson. The latter cannot take place, unless Dr. Jameson should plead guilty to a breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act, until the return of Mr. Rawlinson—the very competent Commissioner who has been instructed by the Treasury to take local evidence—from South Africa. If after these trials more information is desir-

able in the public interest, Mr. Chamberlain pledges the Government to support the demand, but in the meantime they will preserve an "open mind" as to its necessity and form. Glancing at the future for a moment, the Colonial Secretary gave reasons for not reversing the policy of government by Chartered Companies, pointing out that a great deal had been done for territories under this system which could not be done by his Department—the head of which has to go over and "over again to the Treasury to ask assent for an expenditure of £5." Mr. Chamberlain there puts his finger on the crucial error of our administrative system, and provides a powerful argument for mitigating the tyrannical control of the Treasury over all departments. "The Chartered Company will now, at all events, pending any future decision by the House of Commons, be permitted to continue its useful work of developing the countries under its charge, the power will be, and has been, taken from it, to do the mischief which we regret." The Company has, however, been informed by the Government "that all their military and police forces will be taken from their control, that they will be placed under officers appointed entirely by Her Majesty's Government, and that they will take their orders from the High Commissioner of Her Majesty's Government."

THE TWO MR. RHODES.

The Colonial Secretary stated that Mr. Rhodes' departure was entirely his own decision, and emphasized the difference between his position a few weeks ago, and now. Then he was "the most powerful man in South Africa," not on account of his connection with the Chartered Company, but because he was "Premier of Cape Colony, and because he alone of British statesmen had succeeded in conciliating the two races—in bringing together the Dutch and the English, and in securing Dutch support for the proposals made by a British Minister." He had behind him the Afrikanders of the Cape as well as British subjects everywhere. He was also the "master of many legions," having control of the forces of the Chartered Company. "At that time I admit Mr. Rhodes was a man whose opinion was entitled to the utmost respect from the British Colonial Office and the Imperial Government. To have gone against a man who represented, not merely his individual force and capacity, but the joint influence of British subjects and Dutch subjects in South Africa would have been to risk the possession of South Africa itself." Now, however, "he goes back almost as a private individual, having not the control of a single policeman, having ceased to be Prime Minister, and, for the moment at all events, having seen his work jeopardized, possibly destroyed—the work he set himself of consolidating and bringing together the

Dutch and English races." His return ought, therefore, to cause no alarm to anyone, as it is impossible for him to do the mischief with which his enemies credit him. "On the other hand, does anyone deny that he may be a factor for good? I am not going to pronounce upon Mr. Rhodes, but I say it would be an act of ingratitude if we were, even now, when suspicion hangs over him, to forget the great services he has rendered. I believe he is capable of great service still. He may have made mistakes and committed faults. It is not for me to pronounce, but I say, in my opinion, although I was not consulted, and had nothing whatever to do with it, and offer no opinion, now he is gone and the matter is settled, I believe his right place is in Africa, and even if he has done wrong in the past he may do a great deal to repair that wrong and recover the confidence and gratitude of his fellow-citizens."

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE TRANSVAAL.

Englishmen have the materials before them for appreciating our true relations as paramount power in South Africa with the Transvaal Republic. President Kruger has been accused of favouring Germany at our expense, of intriguing with her, and of appealing to her for protection when his country was recently broken into. There is some conflict of evidence on these points, but they do not appear to us to matter very much. This nation has made it plain beyond all possibility of doubt that she would resist with all her resources the aggression of any outside power upon her predominance in South Africa—we need not therefore make a bugbear of German interference, as it could only be damaging after she had concluded a successful war, and recent events show that she is not anxious to embark on an adventure against us. If the Transvaal desired to exchange the iron heel of Great Britain for the mild and beneficent suzerainty of Germany, she would not be in a position to do so. Is it, therefore, worth while to obscure the issue by importing the German Emperor's telegram into the discussion? This ill-starred document will have sufficient influence on European politics to which it is relevant without its being allowed to disturb one's judgment of South African questions, on which it has little or no bearing. Our first duty to the Transvaal is to insure her against any recurrence of attack, and we have done everything that prudence can suggest to make our guarantee absolute. There is now no chance of external disturbance, but, as Mr. Chamberlain pointed out, it is not in our power to protect the Transvaal against internal weakness, and so long as glaring grievances remain unredressed, "there will be internal weakness." The outcast condition of the Uitlander opulation is not a question that is contested—it is universally

admitted by the Dutch population of the Cape equally with the British, and President Kruger has himself admitted by frequent promises of reform that the existing status, or, rather, want of status, of the immense foreign ingredient in the Republic cannot last. From the opening days of the crisis until the present moment the British Government has impressed upon the President the urgent need of remedying this scandal. It is not suggested that under the Convention of 1884 we are entitled to force reforms upon him, but the Colonial Secretary has given him "friendly counsel," and observes that if every form is rejected, "in my opinion he will not show the wisdom that has hitherto distinguished his action." We can all appreciate the extreme difficulty of the President's position—recent events have not sown affection for the Uitlanders in the hearts of the Boers—but he is a man capable of surmounting difficulties, and an obstinate refusal to budge would assuredly play into the hands of the ill-wishers of the Transvaal. The best augury of a satisfactory solution of what remains an anxious crisis would be President Kruger's acceptance of the invitation he has received to visit this country.

MR. RHODES' CHAMPION.

Like Warren Hastings, Mr. Rhodes is singularly unfortunate in his spokesmen. One of his principal and most disastrous champions in the Press is unquestionably Mr. Stead, who has been speculating upon the future of Charterland and his hero:—"As to the future of Charterland, it is assumed that if it can be proved that the Chartered Company was capable of arranging to have its men on hand to checkmate a German invasion from Delagoa Bay, it must therefore be despoiled of its prerogatives, while some maintain that its Charter must be taken away." Mr. Rhodes will consent to some modification of the Charter, such as "the showy changes" likely to be proposed by Mr. Chamberlain, but if it is proposed to "cripple his freedom of action in Rhodesia," Mr. Rhodes may come to the conclusion "that the permanent interests of the British race would be better preserved if Rhodesia were severed altogether from the crippling control of Downing Street." We finally learn:—"Mr. Rhodes will be fully justified, *provided that his finances are in sufficiently good order*, in saying to Mr. Chamberlain, *should too onerous terms be proposed*, 'I am very sorry, but I cannot accept them without betraying the cause to which I have dedicated my life. You can cancel your Charter, and with that we are quits. I shall go back to South Africa, to the city which I have created on my own charges, and declare Rhodesia *a sovereign and independent republic.* It will remain, of course, like the Transvaal, within the British sphere of influence,

nor have I any objection to concluding a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the British Empire, *but henceforth Rhodesia will be an independent republic with a flag and autonomy of her own, like the Transvaal herself.*'" We underline the more audacious phrases in a passage in which one of Mr. Rhodes' most strenuous admirers represents him as capable of trying to levy a kind of blackmail upon the British Empire under a threat of treason. Mr. Stead, who is horror-struck at the possibility that President Kruger might have been tempted to invoke the aid of a few German marines, thinks it perfectly proper and natural for the British Empire to consent to be a hewer of wood and drawer of water to Mr. Rhodes until *his finances are in sufficiently good order*, when he is to turn round and say, "I am much obliged to the British taxpayer for his sacrifices, his fleet has been of the greatest service in warning off the Germans, and his credit has enabled me to organize a noble dominion, but I cannot consent to be handicapped any longer by Victorian scruples in carrying out my Elizabethan enterprise—the British Empire has become a burden to me, and henceforth the Union Jack will cease to fly in Rhodesia." Mr. Stead's friendship for Mr. Rhodes reminds one of Marshal Villars' famous observation to Louis XIV., "Defend me from my friends; I can defend myself from my enemies."

MR. BALFOUR'S REVOLUTION.

Mr. Balfour's severest critics, if he has any, would hardly deny that he ranks very high among Leaders of the House of Commons. After the debate on the Address he laid before that body a series of resolutions likely to take away the breath of some of its Members. They were totally unexpected, and in some respects would revolutionize the procedure of the House, about which there hangs the odour of sanctity to many Old Parliamentary Hands. So far they have not been discussed, and there is reason to anticipate obstinate opposition from the more thoughtless sections of the House, though it is difficult to doubt their passing in substance. Mr. Balfour's introductory speech will, at any rate, remain as a masterpiece of tact, persuasiveness, and candour—eye-witnesses described the gradual thawing of hostility under the genial influence of the speaker. The object of the innovation is to enable the House of Commons to get through its work within a reasonable time, and to fulfil one of its most important functions before becoming physically unfit. To this end the Government propose to allot twenty full working days, spread over the Session, to the discussion of Supply—twenty full days being up to the average of late years—which will be closured on 5th August. Fridays, which are now devoted to the discussion of academic motions more suited to the University Unions, are to be

taken away from private Members, but Mr. Balfour pointed out that he was the true friend of the private Member, as he desired to improve the discussions in Supply, which offer the main opportunities of criticizing the policy of the Administration. The old idea that the submission of the Estimates to the House of Commons enabled an economical auditor to restrain a corrupt and extravagant Board is exploded. In fact, so paradoxical is the situation that Members move the reduction of an Estimate "in order to drive the Minister of the day to promise that in subsequent Estimates a larger sum will be granted." But the discussions in Supply are valuable, and Mr. Balfour proposes that the first vote on every day should be an important one. To meet the objection that "when the guillotine falls" the expenditure of a vast sum of money will have been undiscussed, he produced some startling results of the existing system.* Mr. Balfour invites the House of Commons to prefer the "guillotine" to the "rack," to which he very happily compared the old method.

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

The publication of the despatches upon the Armenian Question throws a curious light on the European situation and upon the attitude of the Great Powers towards Turkey. One fact stands out conspicuously, and that is that European alliances have governed the situation. At one time only there was an "identic" communication. This was on November 5th, when the rioting at Constantinople for the moment rallied the six Powers into concerted action. It was upon the strength of this that Lord Salisbury, in his speech at the Mansion House, dwelt upon "the disposition of the Great Powers to act together, and their profound sense of the appalling dangers which any separation of their action might produce." As the immediate danger at Constantinople disappeared the concert vanished. Great Britain was left to struggle alone in her efforts to protect the Armenians from persecution. Russia became resolutely opposed to any interference in the internal affairs of Turkey. It would be, said Prince Lobanoff, "an infringement of European public law." For the time Prince Lobanoff has acted as the supreme arbiter on the Eastern Question. He has personified the Russian autocracy. France has followed him humbly, such being the condition of her alliance. Austro-Germany has been chiefly concerned to preserve

* "I find that in one sitting (1891) twenty-six votes for the Civil Service and the Army and Navy were taken and 16½ millions sterling were voted in twelve hours. Then in 1894 it will be found that half the votes for the Civil Service, representing 15 millions, were passed without any discussion at all, and among them the Education and the Post Office votes, involving an expenditure of 8½ millions."

the *status quo;* Great Britain has found herself checkmated, and the Sultan of Turkey alone has profited by the situation.

GREAT BRITAIN'S CRUSADE.

Great Britain has played a disinterested—though in the early stages perhaps not a very long-headed or instructed—part on the Armenian Question. Mr. Dillon, the correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*, whose sensational letters on the massacres excited so much feeling in the country, now tells us:—"Unless Lord Kimberley had come to an express agreement on the subject with Russia, it was a fatal mistake to raise the Armenian Question at all." It should be remembered, however, that the concert of Great Britain, France, and Russia seemed to be assured in the first instance, and the public of this country were greatly moved by the grossly exaggerated, not to say mendacious, stories of the Sassoun horrors with which many of our newspapers teemed. The Foreign Office responded to the public feeling and to the clamour of the Press. It apparently had not at its disposal an adequate intelligence department to check the lies with which the public were being fed. Lord Salisbury, when he assumed office, continued the policy which had been inaugurated by Lord Kimberley. He endeavoured to exercise a united European pressure on the Sultan; and through the British *Chargé d'Affaires* at St. Petersburg urged on Prince Lobanoff that "the responsibility incumbent on the Powers of Europe is very great if they do not make some effort to amend the calamitous state of things prevailing in the Turkish Empire," and he said "our recent experience indicates that pressure on the part of only some of the Powers, if any one is known to be dissentient, has no influence whatever upon the Sultan's counsels. He feels himself safe, and he will not give way. On the other hand, he has not yet resisted any advice heartily tendered to him by the unanimous voice of the Powers."

RUSSIA'S *Non-Possumus.*

No argument, however, prevailed with Prince Lobanoff, and he controlled the situation. In speaking to the British *Chargé de Affaires*, he did not conceal his opinion that "England was chiefly responsible . . . owing to the encouragement given to the Armenian committees by so many of her public men." He saw nothing "to destroy his confidence in the *bonne volonté* of the Sultan, who was, he felt assured, doing his best." The Russian Government, in Lord Salisbury's words, "refused to sanction any course of conduct which might lead to a European interference with the internal affairs of Turkey. Prince Lobanoff was content to trust in the

goodwill of the Sultan." Russia was not alone in this view, she was supported by France, Austria, and Germany. Great Britain had no "entangling alliance" to back her up, the only alliance she has ever cultivated in Europe has been that of Turkey, who now mocks at her, screened by other alliances. The Russian attitude has been a surprise to the people of this country. It was assumed by our omniscient journalists that Russia would only too gladly have seized the opportunity, which was given her, of undertaking the government of Armenia and of acting against the Sultan as the mandatory of Europe. Lord Salisbury was rashly accused of opposing this solution: the despatches published have amply vindicated him on this point. Russia refused to stir. Indeed, she shielded the Sultan, and expressed confidence in his *bonne volonté.* Prince Lobanoff said "in no circumstances will the Russian Government adopt coercive measures," or consent to the creation of a district "which would constitute the nucleus of an independent kingdom of Armenia."

MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

RUSSIAN IMMOBILITY.

There was another cause which restrained Russia. So many Englishmen are in the habit of attributing designs of aggression to Russia that it is difficult for them to realize that there is a party at St. Petersburg strongly opposed to an extension of the Empire southwards in Europe. The influential Russians who compose this party fear that, if there is any exodus into a temperate climate, the position of St. Petersburg, as the capital of the Empire, may be injuriously affected. They want to preserve Russia as a great Northern Power with its northern capital. The sentiment is a perfectly natural one: nations get accustomed to their capitals, and develop on them. The old Russian party perceives that Constantinople, with its open water and commanding position on the Mediterranean, might become a dangerous rival to St. Petersburg. This is one of the causes of the restraint shown by the Russian Foreign Secretary.

THE CREDIT OF FAILURE.

Great Britain can, however, look back with equanimity, if not with satisfaction, to her conduct upon the Armenian Question. It is difficult to see at what point she could have acted differently after taking the plunge. Perhaps the date of the Guildhall dinner might have been advantageously altered. This, however, was an accident. Great Britain did all she could do as an isolated Power in presence of destructive alliances, and deserves none of the

reproach which has been levelled at her in Mr. William Watson's pretentious verses on "The Purple East." She is the only Power which has devoted herself with singleness of purpose to the cause of the suffering Armenians. It was impossible to foresee that Russia, who was supposed to desire the deliverance of the Armenians, would desert them. Indeed, it is stated in one of the consular reports that the agitators among the Armenians were Russians. Our failure is creditable. To have attempted more would have led to a war with Turkey, backed by Russia, and possibly by France. It is amazing that such a firebrand policy should be advocated by Nonconformist politicians and their allies. The lesson to be derived from our failure is that if Great Britain persists in a policy of "splendid isolation" she had better not attempt "European concert."

THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN FRANCE.

There has been a conflict in France between the Senate and Chamber which has been very much to the advantage of Monsieur Bourgeois. Had it not been for this his resignation was a certainty; but the Senate picked a quarrel with him on account of an alleged irregularity committed by Monsieur Ricard, his Minister for Justice. Monsieur Ricard's conduct, however, in the supercession of one examining magistrate by another was evidently inspired by the desire of expediting justice, and the interpellation of the Senate regarding his conduct was replied to by a vote of confidence on the part of the Chamber in the Premier and his Cabinet, which included the impeached Minister. Here was—to the turbulent politician—a delightful prospect of conflict. The Chamber of Little Suffrage dared to oppose the Chamber of Big Suffrage! The crisis has been tided over by a sensible concession on the part of the Senate. It determined in a carefully considered declaration, "not to aggravate the constitutional conflict by maintaining an interpellation, although it had right and law on its side," at the same time affirming its right of control and the responsibility of Ministers to the Senate as well as to the Chamber. No doubt this was a wise decision, the alternative being a prolonged crisis and probably a dissolution, with a general election held under the auspices of Monsieur Bourgeois, who would have profited by official candidatures. A climb down in France is more dangerous than it is in England because a concession is always treated as a sign of weakness; the party which obtains it becomes more quarrelsome. Compromise is hateful to the French mind. The French Senate is, however, likely to survive its sin of surrender. It is popular with the influential classes. The Chamber is discredited. The Senate earned Democratic confidence by combating Boulangism at

a time when the Chamber was dangerously infected with it. That service is not forgotten. Mob coercion in Paris is played out for another generation—probably. As the problem of what is called Democratic government is to lodge responsibility somewhere, and the French Senate is apparently the only stable body in France, it is much to be hoped that its authority will be maintained.

PROFESSOR ROENTGEN'S DISCOVERY.

The sensational disturbance in the proportions between things visible and invisible which has followed the discovery by Professor Roentgen of rays capable of passing through substances hitherto regarded as opaque and still remaining impermeable to ordinary light is so remarkable that, if we had only his original experiments revealed to us, the revolution thus brought about in our ideas of light would suffice to cause universal interest. But hardly less remarkable than the discovery itself (viz., that a sheet of paper coated on one side with platinocyanide of barium, when held near a Crookes' tube covered by a thick shield of black paper in a completely dark room, becomes fluorescent and brilliantly illuminated, providing that the tube is exhausted to the highest degree of vacuum and is then excited by the electrical discharge from a large induction coil) is the extraordinary rapidity with which the application of Roentgen's *x rays* to practical purposes has been developed during the past month. To such an extent is this the case that it is almost impossible to keep pace with the progress made by scientists in testing the behaviour of the rays and by experts in applying their properties to the production of *skiagrams* of structures of varying density enclosed within envelopes all hitherto regarded as obstructive to any form of light. At present the utility of the process has been demonstrated in its application to the art of surgery, for several operations have been performed upon the extremities for the removal of foreign bodies or morbid conditions after their existence had been proved and precisely localized by placing the limb between an excited Crookes' tube and a photographic plate; in this way the hand, foot, leg, and forearm have been successfully photographed, the bones being plainly shown and objects of greater density than the flesh, *e.g.*, needles and bullets imbedded therein. As yet, the practical outcome appears to be that certain structures obstruct the passage of the *x rays* while others permit their passage in varying degrees; thus, while wood, cardboard, leather, living and dead fleshy parts are comparatively transparent; glass, iron, and bone are nearly, if not quite, opaque. It is, however, too early to say that the results obtained so far, point only to the production of silhouettes, for, setting aside certain

unauthenticated reports which appear to be fabulous, an announcement has been made by Professor Salvioni that he has invented an instrument which will enable us to see the details of structures enclosed within apparently opaque integuments when brought under the influence of Roentgen's rays developed in an electrically excited Crookes' tube. Such an invention will revolutionize the practice of medicine and surgery, and although we may only be able to see "as through a glass darkly," we shall certainly confirm the truth of the old adage—"*Ex tenebris, lux.*"

SHOULD WE SEEK AN ALLIANCE?

One of the most noteworthy effects of the Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger has been the confusion which it has introduced into the discussion of foreign politics. I am myself very strongly of Mr. Strachey's opinion, that the ventilation of these questions by thoughtful writers in the Press is an essential condition of a sound course of national action. I do not believe that any of the readers of his article in the last number of this Review* will feel that he owes them any apology for putting forward the very interesting proposals which he has laid before them. It is absolutely true, as he says, that it is nearly impossible for an English statesman to introduce any serious modification into the principles by which our relations with foreign Powers are regulated, until the mind of the country has been prepared for the change by those who are in positions of greater freedom and less responsibility. It is a very new factor in English life that these questions should be discussed to the extent and in the mode they now are. For many years Mr. Gladstone's complete indifference to the whole subject as one worthy of his marvellous capacity for mastering facts, represented accurately the mind of his countrymen. Whilst on all subjects connected with home politics there was no one who approached him in his knowledge of their every detail, he was in regard to foreign politics and to nearly all Colonial questions content to be ruled by a passionate impulse which declined all real investigation. In the surrender which followed Majuba, in the great Midlothian campaign against Turkey, in regard to Austria, or the Italian alliance, he at all times gave the clearest evidence that, like the famous undergraduate, he felt himself strongest when he was unhampered by facts and free to vent the passion that was excited by hasty first impressions.

As for many years that was precisely the attitude towards foreign politics adopted by the great majority of Englishmen, his very hatred of the whole subject helped to give him almost as complete a hold of the minds of men as his masterly knowledge

* "The Key-note of our Foreign Policy," by St. Loe Strachey. *The National Review*, February, 1896.

of detail in regard to more familiar questions. He could not have spoken as he did about the surrender to the Boers had he been acquainted with the history of South Africa, nor in Midlothian had he studied the intrigues of Ignatieff at that time. The fatal consequences which have followed from the indulgence in passionate feeling make it peculiarly important that at the present time we should neither be tempted by natural indignation against the folly of the German Emperor, nor by the crimes and horrors which have been taking place in Armenia, to do the wrong thing, as a comforting relief to our feelings. If I, from the street, see a man on the roof of a house, to which I have no access, beating a woman to death, it may be a very pleasant thing for me to call him every name under the sun, but it will not help the woman. If the only proposal which is offered by any of the onlookers by way of stopping the crime is to set fire to the house, in which there are several inmates, I may, horribly as the sight affects me, think the remedy too dangerous. It will be at least more to the purpose to detect the actual criminal and the threats most likely to stop his proceedings. If, in the course of my enquiry, one of those whom I had relied on as a friend suddenly turns round and begins abusing me on quite an irrelevant topic just after my cousin, with angry looks, has fastened on me a complaint of having trespassed near his preserves, while the one man whose house gives access to the roof, not only refuses to act, but refuses to allow anyone else to do so, the situation is clearly one that, serious as the case of the woman is, cannot be dealt with off-hand.

As I said at the beginning of the article, the effect of the whole of the circumstances which received their last complication from the hand of the German Kaiser, has been to produce a strangely confused and conflicting series of proposals from different quarters. Almost every newspaper, and most of the magazines, have each a solution of their own. Mr. Greenwood (*Contemporary Review*) earnestly maintains the necessity of our still looking to the central alliance as in the long run our safest support for a policy that makes for the peace of the world and the security of our Empire. From several quarters the proposal for a close alliance either with France or Russia, or definitely with both, is put forward. Mr. Strachey (*National Review*) elaborates a scheme for the division of the Turkish Empire. The one proposal that has been practically forced out of all men's minds in England is the recurrence to our old method of remaining the one unarmed country in Europe, and trusting to the chapter of accidents to keep us out of trouble. The one point on which practically all are agreed is that we must arm. Now, there are times when it is well to put forward a policy which one knows cannot hope to be imme-

diately accepted, which must slowly win its way if it is to be adopted at all. Many years ago I, the writer of this paper, endeavoured to show the advantages of the policy which Mr. Greenwood advocates, and up almost to the hour when the German Emperor's telegram appeared I could not help watching with considerable satisfaction the steady growth of a conviction in England that that was the wisest course which we could adopt. From very many indications that is certainly the impression that I have received. But with all of us the wish is apt to be father to the thought, and I observe that Mr. Arnold Forster (*Nineteenth Century*) is quite as clearly convinced that the tendency of the mind of England has been in the direction of the policy which to him seems the one sound one, that of close alliance with Russia. Nothing is more striking than the absolute conviction and certainty with which the advocates of these several policies treat all those who differ from them as if they had no case at all, as if obviously and palpably the course which they advocate were the only one that could commend itself to wise men. Yes, there is one thing even more remarkable, namely, the extent to which each of them deals with and cites those facts, and those facts only, which make for the case that they have taken up. Now, for the advocate or the partizan that is perfectly legitimate, no doubt, though in the presence of an able judge it is apt to defeat its own ends. But the one thing that we all desire in regard to foreign politics is that we shall be able to act as an united nation. The one course, therefore, that any practical statesman can adopt is that which divides us least.

To me it seems that this very conflict of opinion shows clearly that the present is not the moment when we can decide upon an actual treaty of alliance with any power or with any group of powers. Yet the present is not a moment when we can afford to calmly rest and make up our minds. We need immediate action which will tend to secure the two great objects of all our policy, the peace of the world and the security of our Empire. For the moment it seems to me, therefore, that our one duty is to arm and wait.

That is, however, an altogether different policy from the policy of isolation, which was founded on two fallacies, one represented by the phrase the "avoidance of entangling alliances," the other the notion that because of the small size of our army, no matter how strong our navy was, we could not act with any effect on Continental forces. Mr. Greenwood has devoted much sarcastic power to expressing the absurdity involved in the phrase "entangling," but at the present moment the facts of the actual situation have even more forcibly brought home to the minds of Englishmen the truth that a policy of isolation may be

much more "entangling" than an agreement by which we undertake to employ in the cause of peace forces, which, by themselves almost useless for the purpose, become invincible if they are associated with others which are wholly inadequate without our help. The notion of our helplessness was due to the almost complete indifference of Englishmen to all such study of the actual condition of things on the Continent as involved an appreciation of the military relations of the different powers. We owe chiefly to one powerful writer a great change in this respect. The development of railways, telegraphs, and the other conditions of modern life, has introduced on the Continent a modification of the situation as it existed during the great war so complete that, in fact, the revelation which Captain Mahan's brilliant works have made of the power which England was at that time able to exercise by her navy alone, is not in its details strictly applicable to the present time. Nevertheless, it would be impossible to over-estimate the effect which his books have had on the practical tendencies of our politics. He has taught England how powerful a country may be which yet cannot compete with Continental nations in the numerical strength of their armies. I am by no means sure, however, that he has not also to some extent tended to create both in Germany and America that inclination of which we have had recent indications enough, to look upon us, not as they were apt to do formerly, as an effete old woman among the nations, but as the "bully of the world." He has tended to produce in England a belief that those sailors and soldiers who have declared that, without any strain at all beyond her powers, England was still, in our own day, able to play a very decisive part in maintaining the peace of the world and the liberties of the nations, were probably right. Mr. Spenser Wilkinson's admirable historical sketch in the last number of this Review of the position which England has thus occupied in the past is an indication of the set of opinion which is steadily working in a direction very different from that of the past.

When, therefore, I say that for the moment the one thing that we can do is to arm and wait, I by no means suggest we should allow it to be understood abroad that we continue to maintain the barren tradition of "avoiding entangling alliances." On the contrary, seeing that we have had ample demonstration how futile the system of having a "good understanding" with certain Powers or with all Powers is, we ought to be ready to follow that traditional policy which, as Mr. Spenser Wilkinson has well suggested, has, through generation after generation, led us to make firm alliances with those Powers which are ready to join us in resisting the aggression of any overbearing State. At the moment certainly, the mind of England is not made up as to which of the States of

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

the Continent it is that threatens the peace of the world. If Germany and the German Emperor were convertible terms, and, still more, if the German Emperor by his own *ipse dixit* could control the action of the central alliance, I, for one, should think that the outlook was by no means the same as it was when, some years ago, I did all that I could to persuade my countrymen that, provided we obtained such guarantees as we were entitled to claim, a firm alliance with the central powers ought to give us security for peace both in Europe and in Asia. It is not only the telegram to Mr. Kruger, but the undoubted hankering of the German Emperor after Holland and her colonies, the restlessness which has been shown by him at Constantinople, in the farther East, and in the attempted intrigue with Portugal, that would make it doubtful whether that Conservative tendency, which, on the whole, appeared, despite the threatened aggression against France, which was stopped by the Tzar and Great Britain in 1875, to have characterized German Policy since 1870, is likely to be maintained by him. During the last month, however, the Reichstag has met. No one who has studied the speeches which have been made in it will believe that the mind of Germany is set on an aggressive policy, or that the present Emperor will be able to obtain the support he would require for the purpose of an attack upon us, supposing that he really contemplated it.

It would, however, be idle to deny that there are obstacles in the way of a German alliance of a more permanent character than the momentary irritation or the undeveloped dreams of the Kaiser. Unfortunately, the memory of nations, as of individuals, is apt to be longer for those wrongs which have been inflicted on them than for those which they have inflicted. The name of Angra Pequena is almost forgotten in England. In Germany, to this hour, it remains a bitter memory. No Englishman, who will be at the trouble of studying that story, as told in the English Blue Book, and more completely in the German White Book, can read it without shame and sorrow. On the part of Lord Granville, Lord Derby, and the local Colonial authorities it is, to say the least, a story of discourteous procrastination, of self-contradiction, and, finally, of something very like a high-handed violation of the law of nations, such as, if Germany had been in the mind for it, might have fairly justified a declaration of war; and certainly was, in point of diplomatic ill-usage, much more than the equivalent of the rash telegram. On the part of Bismark it is a story of absolutely correct diplomatic conduct, of courtesy, and even, up to the very last, in face of something like a very gross affront, of anxious friendliness. That episode occupied three years—from 1880 to 1883. It left bitter recollections behind it. Well may the "ex-diplomat," who, in *The Con-*

temporary Review recalls to his countrymen the facts of those transactions, declare that if, when the hour comes, England should find herself hampered by those who were most anxious to have been her friends, the starting-point of the sequence will be headed Angra Pequena. Even more unfortunate for our relations with Germany, has it been that Bismark, having taken nothing by the exceeding courtesy with which, in that matter, he had treated us, formed, apparently, the conclusion that his best course was in future to steadily bully our diplomatists. Both the inspired newspapers and the despatches were couched in a different language, and from the necessity which we have been under since 1882 of purchasing German support for our management of Egypt, Germany has appeared to gain more by discourteous than by courteous action towards us. Both, however, the Angra Pequena incident and the subsequent successive concessions to Germany had, with the single exception of the present we made to them of Heligoland, taken place without attracting any marked attention in England, and the German Emperor had been led on by the course which our diplomacy had thus followed to believe that he had only to hold up his little finger to turn us out of South Africa. Hence the telegram was, in fact, the evil fruit, of which the root lay in the long-past story of diplomatic bungling in 1880-1883.

The other obstacle to a firm alliance with Germany lies in the fact that the whole question of what Germany wants in the way of alliances is one of the conditions of military power and of naval influence on Continental affairs, and that her statesmen are, above all things, men who deal with specific knowledge of the military problems which will be affected by the support or the opposition of a great naval power. Our statesmen for the most part have, at all events till recent years, altogether ignored all study of the very conditions of the game they had to play. Naturally, therefore, the German statesmen have played it as one plays chess with a very inferior player, bluffing the fact that he has an irresistibly strong move to make if he only knew it, because one feels confident that he will not see it. In other words, wanting our alliance on the cheapest terms for themselves, they have for the most part pretended that it was of no value, or of little value, to them. They have asserted that kinship which they are so anxious now to claim with the ancient Hollanders by justifying the old English saying—

> "In matters of business, the fault of the Dutch
> Lies in giving too little and asking too much."

Turning to Mr. Strachey's proposals it seems to me that the practical objections to our setting them before ourselves as objects

to be aimed at are several. First, it may be taken for granted that in making an alliance with Russia, the pivot on which our foreign policy is to turn, the feeling which is driving Mr. Strachey and others in that direction, is horror at what has happened in Armenia both in itself and as an indication of Turkish rule. His great hope is, or was at the time that he wrote, to make use of Russia as the only power that could immediately act upon a situation which had baffled the diplomacy of Europe. The evidence supplied in the Blue Books on Armenian affairs must, I fancy, have considerably modified his own wishes. The fact which has for some time been well known to those who were even a little behind the scenes that Russia has been the power which has baffled the diplomacy of others, that the Sultan has been relying on Russia, and that Russia has no such horror of Turkish misrule as would induce her to undertake, under the present circumstances, to deal with the Armenian question, stands out now before the world with startling clearness. Lord Salisbury's declarations taken by themselves might have admitted of the doubt which *The Spectator* has expressed, a doubt which Madame Novikoff is carefully fostering, whether if Russia had been met with more attractive proposals she would not have undertaken the task. A perusal of the Russian despatches taken in conjunction with other evidence, cannot leave much doubt that Russia thinks that, at present at all events, she gains most by using her influence through the Sultan and not against him. Now, as long as she holds that view, the kind of alliance Mr. Strachey desires is not within sight.

Secondly, however, it seems to me that a retrospective glance over the circumstances which have led to the present condition of things in Armenia is necessary, in order to judge how far at the present moment any proposals for the immediate partition of the Turkish Empire are likely to secure the results at which they aim —the peaceful cessation of an intolerable condition of things. Phrases are continually used which are partly true and partly false as to the sense in which the Sultan is personally responsible. That his action has brought about the massacres is beyond all question. That direct orders have issued from the palace which have practically been the cause of the crimes is also certain. But the motives which have determined his policy are very different from those commonly attributed to it. Without the slightest wish to spare him in any way it is most necessary to realize the actual factors of the situation with which we have to deal. I am mistaken if Mr. Strachey when he realizes what they are will think his solution a promising one.

Nearly four years ago there was in Constantinople a vehement Mohammedan religious excitement, carefully fanned by the Softas,

and by no means friendly to the Sultan's government, which was accused of religious laxity. Now, the Sultan, far from being the religious zealot that he is often assumed to be, dreads nothing more than an outbreak of Mohammedan zeal, especially in Constantinople. The one dominant influence on his life is panic—fear for his own skin. Accordingly, as soon as the agitation was becoming dangerous he took steps to remove the danger to more distant parts of the Empire. The leaders of the movement, and especially the Softas, in large and successive batches were under one pretext or another deported into Asia Minor. The natural consequences followed. In a very short time vehement revolutionary proclamations couched in violent religious language, and appealing to Mohammedan fanaticism, began to appear on the walls of most of the cities of Asia Minor. Again the Sultan was thoroughly alarmed, and he took his next fatal step in the dangerous course which has led to the present situation. He professed a desire to obtain military security for the frontiers of the Empire. For that purpose he invited the Kurdish chiefs to Constantinople, made much of them in every way, conferred on them honours and decorations, and lavishly entertained them. He bestowed on the most important of them the authority of guardian of the frontiers of the Empire, gave uniforms to him and his followers, and, whether expressly or by implication I am not quite sure, granted him the right to levy taxes. The point, however, to bear in mind is that the purpose with which this was done was to secure a counterpoise to the fanaticism of the Softas, and to have available a force personally devoted to the Sultan, which might be trusted, whatever happened, to act as he dictated. Whether the Sultan and his advisers would have changed their course of action had they been able to foresee what followed may be doubtful. What is practically certain is that the sequel, inevitable as it was, came upon them altogether by surprise, and that they did not recognize, perhaps have never recognized, that it was their own policy which had been the source of the troubles which followed.

To begin with, the Kurdish chiefs acted after their kind; that is to say, having been all their lives robbers, they proceeded to "levy taxes" in the Sultan's name and uniform, robber fashion. Amazement and confusion seized the Armenian villagers. Here were their hereditary enemies and plunderers endowed with the authority of the Turkish Empire. They did not at first know what to make of it; but, as the Kurds, proud of their new dignity, became more and more active in the levying of taxes, the Armenians determined to prepare for resistance. Large quanties of arms were imported by their committees. Of the fact that very large importations of arms were made for the Armenians at this early stage we

have the most certain evidence. Our own Consuls certify to the arms which have gone through for these purposes. As soon as the Armenians found themselves strong enough to do so in any special locality they naturally resisted the inroads of the Kurds and their "levying of taxes." Immediately it was reported to Constantinople that the Armenians were in revolt against the Sultan's authority, and Shakir Pasha was ordered to suppress the rebellion. Then came the facts with which we are all now only too familiar. Thus, in one sense of the term, the statement is quite true that every step which led to the horrors was taken by the Sultan's personal order. On the other hand, the orders were in no sense issued by a fanatical head of Mohammedanism with the intention of carrying out religious persecution against Christians. They were issued by a panic-stricken ruler, desperately afraid of the religious passions of the people over whom he ruled. For practical purposes that makes all the difference, and completely justifies alike Lord Salisbury's policy and his language.

It is to be regretted that the opportunity has not occurred, perhaps diplomatic necessity may even now prevent it from occurring, for an historical statement of these undoubted facts being put forward by one of our leading statesmen. Without it the issues are apt to become exceedingly tangled and confused. The Turkish army is, as Russia knows to her cost, by no means a quantity to be ignored. To enter upon a campaign in the mountains of Armenia against fierce, warlike tribes like the Kurds, supported by 300,000 Turkish troops, on behalf of a race which has already proved itself very inconvenient in the Caucasus, and is under the guidance of men not at all anxious to substitute the Russian for the Turk as their master, is a proposal from which it is only natural that Russia should recoil. I am afraid that the language of disgust which is now being used by a certain portion of our Press against Russia for her apparent abandonment of her secular policy can only be regarded as silly scolding. Mr. Strachey's proposals in this matter mean the introduction of a period of frightful and most bloody war of indefinite duration of which the horrors would, even if we suppose it limited to Asia Minor, make the 25,000 victims of the Armenian massacres a mere item in the tale of slaughter. At a time when the recovery of the country, the restoration of her finances, and the pushing forward of the Siberian railway are the objects of Russian statesmen it is absolutely certain, Madame Novikoff notwithstanding, that Russia will not enter into a scheme which would frustrate every hope she has set before herself.

Nor is that the only aspect under which the theses which Mr. Strachey lays down involve frightful consequences. He tell us that it is impossible for England to form any close alliance with

Germany because of the question of Alsace-Lorraine. I cannot help believing, that had it been Mr. Strachey's fate, as it has been mine, to pay year after year many visits to the Reichsland, he would have very much modified his opinion on that head. That on the prudence and rightfulness of the original annexation of the two provinces Englishmen were very much divided I am fully prepared to admit. There were some of us at least who thought that provinces which had been stolen from Germany when she was divided and weak might be fairly reclaimed by her as the symbols of her union and her strength. I take it that even those who felt most strongly the political error of the annexation did so on the ground that even such a German town as Strasbourg had become by the efflux of time so welded to France that the feelings of the inhabitants were genuinely French, not German. Now, however, every year is making that argument tell the other way. The younger generation of the men, at all events, trained in the German armies, has been fast imbibing German habits of thought and German traditions. The change of population has been considerable, but even in families of old Alsace-Lorraine I have known the parents refuse to speak German, and the sons, at least to a stranger, refuse to speak French. Perhaps if to-day, by a magician's wand, the change back to France could be made, a bare majority of the population would be glad. As, however, there is no immediate prospect of any such change, even if, as Mr. Strachey would wish, the weight of England were thrown into the French scale, I am firmly convinced that even from the point of view of the annexed provinces alone, nothing can be more cruel than to leave their future nationality an open speculation. No change could take place without a most appalling war; and, in order that France should regain the provinces, much at least of the horrors of that war must fall on those very inhabitants in whose behalf Mr. Strachey would wish to sacrifice all prospects of the peace of the world. I wish that some of those who feel most strongly upon this subject would enquire into the incidents which happened in the village of Sevigné during the siege of Metz. The story—as I have heard it from an Englishman who was present at the time of the temporary seizure of the village by Bazaine's army—is too awful for public record. Suffice it to say that the unfortunate inhabitants, suspected of French leanings by the Germans, and of having too much assisted the Germans by the French, underwent all the horrors which such a situation involves. Their case represents what would be the fate of all Elsass-Lothringen if it became a battle-ground for Germany and France. Of all the fates that one could wish one's worst enemy that of being born in the disputed borderland of two hostile and powerful nations would be the direst. For the

Reichsland, in a far more personal sense than for England, the one wish of its lovers must be for any policy that makes for a long peace. For the Reichsland, also, a settled nationality with no prospect of change is the one hope for the future.

It is not a little remarkable that while for Mr. Strachey this question is the all-determining one, Mr. Greenwood does not even think it necessary to allude to it. And yet I submit that in all questions of foreign policy it is a matter of vital moment that none of the influences which tend to divide Englishmen should be ignored, if by any means they can be brought to agree in a common policy. Time working with more complete knowledge will tend in the direction I indicate.

Time also will, unless the analogy of all the past is false, tend to show that a Russian alliance is impossible for us. One would have thought that the fate which has attended our every attempt to patch up a truce with her, and put any paper barriers to her progress would have been a sufficient warning; but if not, if we only give her a few years, and wait till she sees her next chance, she may be safely trusted to give us further instruction.

On the other hand, I cannot pretend to think that the present moment is a suitable one for us to go cap in hand to the German Emperor, and ask him if he will be so very kind as to allow us to keep the peace for him in Europe. My contention has always been, and is now, that if the help of England is worth having it is worth paying for. When one speaks of meeting Bismark on his own lines on the "*Do ut des*" principle, there are those who regard this as if it were to introduce a brutal commercial element into the comity of nations. Naturally summary phrases depend for their moral worth upon their application. When Bismark bluntly said that he would not allow the bones of one Pomeranian to be left to bleach on behalf of the Eastern Question, I take it that he coarsely expressed a great moral principle. He had no right to use such power as he possessed over the German army to exact from it sacrifices for which the German nation had not created it. Similarly it seems to me that we have no right to secure for Austria, Italy, and Germany that peace in Europe which they well know that our firm alliance would insure for them unless they are willing to insure for us also peace, so far as external powers are concerned in Asia. They know also that Russia will never move a foot's-pace nearer to Herat, and that there will be no war if Russia's aggression against us in those regions were a *casus belli* to a quadruple alliance. Assured peace for them in Europe is well worth purchasing by offering us assured peace in Asia. I have shown that we have, in the days when the Colonial and Foreign Offices accurately represented the sleep of the English people, given Germany reason

enough to think that she could get all she wanted from us by bullying, and nothing by patience and courtesy. Here, therefore, also we must allow her a little time, and must allow our own people a little time to get over the soreness which mismanagement on both sides has provoked. It will be time enough for us to establish a firm alliance with the central powers when they are ready to make conditions which will insure the peace of the world. We are much more likely to hasten that day by being strong, and by recognizing the value of our own alliance. Therefore, fully as I agree with Mr. Greenwood in believing that the Quadruple Alliance is the only one which will in the long run insure the peace of the world, and that nominal alliance with either France or Russia means, and can only mean, that, like "Cæsar's spirit ranging for revenge, with Ate by his side," we "cry 'Havoc' and let slip the dogs of war," I am firmly convinced that at this moment our one policy is to arm and wait. To arm, not only in the sense of having an overwhelming navy, but in the sense of having a relatively small but highly effective army, ready at any moment "to go anywhere and do anything." For that the nation is now fully ready—an all-important consideration—everything else may wait.

BALANCE OF POWER.

THE CHARTERED COMPANY: THE OTHER SIDE.

It is in the highest degree fortunate that, at a moment when the affairs of the Chartered Company and the personality of Mr. Rhodes are occupying so large a place in the eyes of the public, an authoritative statement as to the work and the objects of the Company should be put forward in these pages. Everyone is wanting to know what can be said for or against an association which, after some years of almost universal glorification, has at last, owing to causes which may yet have to be unravelled, fallen into somewhat troubled places. Hence Mr. Shaw's paper, which appeared in *The National Review* for last month, will doubtless have been widely and deservedly welcomed by a host of readers, if only for the materials it supplies for the formation of that opinion upon the current events of the day, which is one of the indispensable qualifications for taking an intelligent part in the talk of a dinner-table. Mr. Shaw writes, moreover, with the authority naturally attaching to those who are personally acquainted with the country they are describing, and it may also be fairly assumed that he writes with the full approval of those who are most concerned in the fortunes of the Chartered Company. Thus, readers of *The National Review* may be said to have had placed before them, if not an official statement of the Chartered Company's work and progress, at any rate a statement founded on an intimate acquaintance with official statistics, and impregnated with a warm sympathy with official views.

This, I say, is in the highest degree fortunate. The public now know, at a somewhat critical moment for the Chartered Company, the best and the utmost that can be said for it. And what a picture it is that Mr. Shaw presents to the uncritical reader! The face of Matabeleland, if his facts and figures are to be accepted, has during the short space of a little over two years been changed as by an enchanter's wand. "Here rolls the deep" of civilized life, with its stock-exchange, its ice-factories, its clubs, its electric lighting, "where grew the tree" of a savage and barbarous power, revelling in nothing but slaughter and destruction. "The tidings of such things," as the honest pilgrim remarked, "is enough to ravish one's

heart." And this description of the "well-built and rapidly advancing" capital of Matabeleland is only part of the picture. We are told of 800 miles of good roads, of 1,600 miles of reef pegged out, of 60,000 feet of dead work done in the mines, of "several thousand acres" under cultivation, of a population of 7,000 white inhabitants, of efficient magistrates and upright judges, of railways in course of construction, and, above all, of no less than 224 joint-stock companies—in Mr. Shaw's words, "one hundred and twelve companies" carrying on operations with "nominal capitals amounting to £16,000,000," and "an equal number of companies whose capital is at the present moment unknown to the writer"—steadily working to develop "the undoubted mineral resources of the country." Naturally, such a state of things was not fortuitous, and Mr. Shaw gives the credit, with some considerable enthusiasm, where he thinks it is due. All these results are owing to the Chartered Company, its directors and officers, and the British public. There is, however, in Mr. Shaw's estimation, a figure and a personality standing above all these factors—the figure and the personality of Mr. Rhodes. "The admiration I feel," says Mr. Shaw, in the concluding lines of his article, "for the Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes . . . . must be shared by all who appreciate the advancement of our Empire, or who love a thoroughly patriotic and able Englishman."

All this is without doubt excellently said, and it is said, moreover, by one who has been for eighteen months in the country, and who may therefore be assumed to be describing what his own eyes have seen. It is a little difficult—perhaps a little presumptuous—for those who have not been in Matabeleland to criticize or dissect Mr. Shaw's statements and figures. Mr. Shaw, for example, is so well informed that he can not only tell us the number of mining companies engaged in developing the "undoubted mineral resources of the country," but he can also tell us, to a pound, the total cost of the war by means of which Lobengula was dispossessed, and his country thrown open for the creation of a new Johannesburg or new Jerusalem—it does not much matter which—at Buluwayo. Still, it need not be assumed that Mr. Shaw is absolutely infallible; he would doubtless himself object to be credited with infallibility, and, indeed, he himself supplies his readers with suggestions of fallibility. The spelling of Rand as "Randt," and Kimberley as "Kimberly," are trifling matters—such mere slips of the pen or of the memory as the late Professor Froude so gracefully incorporated with his accounts of his South African travels. It is a little more serious when Mr. Shaw asserts that the gold deposits on the Witwatersrand—the deposits that have created Johannesburg—were discovered in May, 1884. It is perhaps more serious still when he founds on this ante-dating by more than two

years of the discovery of these remarkable deposits a serious argument in favour of the prospects of gold-mining in Matabeleland.

It would be absurd on such a basis as this to throw any doubt on the *bona fides* of Mr. Shaw's statements; besides, as a guest in the same house with himself—as seated with him at the Round Table of *The National Review*—to imply such a doubt would be unmannerly. No; the only question that may arise is whether Mr. Shaw has not, unconsciously to himself, become infected with the peculiar arithmetical disorder that is liable, apparently, to attack persons who are interested in the success of Mr. Rhodes and his schemes. A characteristic example of the nature and progress of this disorder has been supplied by no less a person than Mr. Rhodes himself. Not so many weeks ago Mr. Rhodes sent a cablegram to New York, in which he dwelt, among other things, on the numerical relations between original burghers and foreigners, usually called *Uitlanders*, in the South African Republic. "There are," he stated in that cablegram, "100,000 *Uitlanders* in the Transvaal, and 14,000 Boers." What could be more plain than this? The *Uitlanders* outnumbered the Boers, clearly, by seven to one. The rule of arithmetic employed by Mr. Rhodes to arrive at this result will probably not be found in any standard work on the science of numbers. The conclusion was arrived at by taking foreigners of all races and nationalities—British, German, American, Coolies, Chinese, Russian Jews—including men, women, and children alike, and then, on the other hand, taking the men only among the Boers, and dividing this last total by some figure a little less than two. Arithmetic of this kind, it must be admitted, is calculated to produce the most astonishing results, and if it is good enough for Mr. Rhodes there is no reason why it should not be good for those who, with Mr. Shaw, regard him with enthusiasm and admiration. It does not follow, of course, that this arithmetical disorder always takes the same form. It may take the form ot a forgetfulness as to where the figures will bring you out. And in this direction there seems, it must be confessed, a little reason to suspect Mr. Shaw. Let us take the foreign population of the Transvaal at the tolerably high figure of 112,000. It will then be found that there is in the Transvaal about one joint-stock mining company to every thousand of the foreign population. If the original burghers are reckoned in, then the ratio will be about one company to every two thousand. But, if Mr. Shaw's figures are to be accepted, there are in Matabeleland 224 joint-stock mining companies to a white population of 7,000, a ratio of one company to every thirty-one of the European population, men, women, and children included. Well, when we take note of the water-works, hospitals, stock-exchange, electric lighting, clubs,

post and telegraph offices, breweries, ice factories, skating-rinks, market-houses, and so on, which are alleged to exist in Buluwayo, and add in all the necessary commercial machinery for carrying on the daily life of a town,—when we take note of all this, we may, perhaps, be pardoned if we ask whether Mr. Shaw's arithmetic is to be taken seriously ?

A question of a similar kind is suggested by the account given by Mr. Shaw of the condition of Matabeleland under the rule of Lobengula. The picture given of Lobengula is really so terrific that one marvels that, for any consideration whatever, any decent European could have brought himself to hand over to such a monster the thousand rifles which, smuggled through the Cape Colony, went as part of the price paid for the original concession on which the Chartered Company is built. Considering the pictures that have been painted in former days of Chaka and Cetywayo, it seems, it must be confessed, a little cruel to describe Lobengula as exercising "a far fiercer despotism" than that of the great chiefs of Zululand. Taking Lobengula as Mr. Shaw describes him, he must, no doubt, have been a highly objectionable person, quite unworthy to receive that visit from officers of Her Majesty's Household Troops which once formed so picturesque an incident for the illustrated papers. There is a song that used to be popular in the midshipmen's berth in British men-of-war, which deals with the appearance and performances of a savage monarch named Tanta-pa-ran. Lobengula was evidently a person of this sort. He kept his ferocious followers in order by such trifles as the sudden and complete extermination of entire kraals, the massacre of a whole regiment, or the eating up of any chiefs or headmen who were becoming too rich, or otherwise obnoxious. "These were lessons," says Mr. Shaw, "of everyday occurrence, and were not easily forgotten,"—a statement the latter part of which may be cheerfully accepted. And then Mr. Shaw descends once more to a little Rhodesian arithmetic. "It is estimated," he says, "that if the ruined villages within a radius of two hundred miles from Buluwayo were placed together, they would cover an area larger than London." Now London, reckoning from Camberwell to Highgate, and from Hammersmith to Stratford, covers an area of some fifty square miles, and a square mile contains 640 acres. Allowing four acres for a native village, and an average population of fifty souls per village, we arrive at a total of 8,000 villages destroyed and 400,000 lives sacrificed. Surely Mr. Shaw never expected English readers to accept such a statement as this !

Passing by these arithmetical curiosities, however, attention may be turned to the circumstances under which the Chartered

Company established itself in Matabeleland. Here it will be useful to compare Mr. Shaw's account with a different impression. What the critic has said is something of this kind—that the Chartered Company, having exhausted its available means in exploiting Mashonaland, and having found no trace of gold therein, picked a quarrel with Lobengula with the view of annexing his country. This is a conviction which of course does not put the Chartered Company in a very amiable light; in fact, it is a conviction which is distinctly damaging to that great corporation. How far does Mr. Shaw, writing as an admirer of the Chartered Company, supply confirmation of this view? Here is what he says: "The Chartered Company had (up to the end of 1893) been expending large sums on entering, settling, and governing Mashonaland, and had, up to this time, *no return of any sort to show their shareholders.* The mining community in Mashonaland were suffering from the general depression. . . . . *No golden boom had yet visited their endeavours or cheered their toil.*" These are admissions which are of some considerable importance. So far, at any rate, the friends of the Chartered Company and its critics are in complete agreement. As regards the immediate cause of the outbreak of the war with Lobengula, there is more difference of opinion. What the critic says, is this—that the worthlessness of Mashonaland as a gold-producing country being startlingly and fatally apparent, preparations had been made for an advance into Matabeleland, and that when everything was ready a cause of quarrel was found. According to Mr. Shaw, the Matabele were threatening the peace of the European settlements in Mashonaland to such an extent that their very existence was imperilled unless strong measures were taken to destroy Lobengula's power and authority. Which of these versions of the story is the true one? No doubt each will have its own adherents; and no doubt the friends of the Chartered Company are interested in repelling the theory that the Matabele were led into a quarrel on which they had no intention of entering. Pass by the difference of opinion on this point, and note that, as there is an agreement with regard to the preceding circumstances, so there is no doubt as to the final result. Mr. Shaw claims that another step was gained for England "in the cause of peace and Christianity." Perhaps so, although peace is badly purchased at the cost of a possibly unnecessary war, and although Christianity has no great agreement with Maxims. But what was undoubtedly gained was the ability to place on the market a large amount of new shares in the Chartered Company, and to ignore altogether the absolute failure of mining operations in Mashonaland. The men who took part in the war against Lobengula knew well, according to Mr. Shaw, that they

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON

were postponing, "perhaps for an indefinite period, the chance of drawing attention to their Mashonaland properties." It may seem cruel to suggest that the termination of this "indefinite period" might be regarded as coincident with the arrival of the Greek Kalends. But what did that matter? The men who were disappointed in respect of their prospect of laying up treasure in Mashonaland had their reward in being permitted to find treasure, or, at any rate, the hopes of treasure, in Matabeleland. And it cannot but strike the attention that, even on the supposition that Lobengula was the original aggressor, his aggression was the most providential thing that could have happened to the Chartered Company; and that, instead of being provided with the unknown grave in the wilderness, the Matabele King should have been presented with one hundred thousand or so of the new shares. Further than this, it must be concluded, if only from Mr. Shaw's silence on the subject, that the hopes of obtaining gold from Mashonaland are absolutely at an end. These hopes were once made to loom as large as the hopes now entertained about Matabeleland. May not the first fiasco suggest the possibility of a second?

Coming to matters of administration, it is impossible not to be struck by the singular impecuniosity of a company which, at the conclusion of the war with Lobengula, floated off a million or two of new shares at a considerable premium. According to Mr. Shaw, the Company has had everything done for it for nothing. "As the ground," says Mr. Shaw, "at the time was of little value, small concessions of land were granted in order that important undertakings might be accomplished, and the co-operation of the richer companies readily obtained." Stands were thus granted to companies which were willing to put up offices for the Company's officials. "A small grant of farms" was made in exchange for the construction of a new road between Tuli and Buluwayo. To syndicates bringing large sums of money into the country a "nominal privilege" was accorded—and Mr. Shaw is careful to minimize the value of the privilege—of pegging out two hundred claims. This spectacle of syndicates and companies performing important work for the Company in return for small grants and nominal privileges is, to say the least, remarkable. It suggests the question whether some strong pressure has not been employed to squeeze these services out of the syndicates in question—whether, in fact, the Chartered Company, holding supreme authority over the country, has not got its needs supplied by a system of extortionate administration. That the administration was not in a mood to be liberal is incidentally admitted by Mr. Shaw. "Survey fees," he says, "were high, and were fixed by Government," and these high survey fees were paid by the syndicates owning the farms. There is evi-

dently something to be explained here. People who form syndicates for mining purposes do not, as a rule, accept a policy in which all the "give" is on their side and all the "take" is on the side of the authorities they have to do with. Another instance of the policy of "take," as opposed to "give," practised by the Chartered Company is to be found in the claim raised by the Company to 50 per cent. "of the cash and share interest received by the flotation of claims into a mining company." Mr. Shaw states that the original 50 per cent. has now been reduced to 40 per cent., and no doubt Mr. Shaw is an authority on this subject. Still, this claim of 40 per cent. is really a monstrous one, and it has to be remembered that it is only on agreeing to admit its validity that any gold-mining enterprise is permitted. Mr. Shaw argues that this is no hardship, because the pegger-off has more ground than he has in the Transvaal and Australia, and has also a right to his deep levels. But here again the Rhodesian arithmetic becomes a little faulty. Wherever the exploiter goes, the 40 per cent. claim goes with him, and the greater the risk he takes, the greater in proportion is the amount due to the coffers of the Chartered Company. If mining enterprise, always a risky undertaking, is clogged with a condition of this kind, perhaps it is not so very much to be wondered at that no gold has as yet come down from Matabeleland.

For here we come to the most startling fact of Mr. Shaw's article. That article fills about 11½ pages at the rate of close on 500 words to a page, giving a total of, say, 5,750 words. It speaks of all kinds of marvels of organization and administration, of claims pegged out, of assays made, of companies floated, and yet it does not contain one single word to show that a single ounce of gold has ever been sent out of Matabeleland. The production of gold is all in the future, all an estimate—one of those estimates which give such scope for the employment of Rhodesian arithmetic. And here Mr. Shaw goes so hopelessly wrong that there is no small temptation to suspect all his dates and figures. The output in Matabeleland, he says, "may be confidently expected to be at the rate of considerably over 25,000 ounces." He does not say whether this is per year or per month, but presumably he means the latter. "When the past history," he goes on to say, "of the Randt is considered, what a wonderful contrast does this fact indicate! The Randt gold district, containing the most easily-treated ore ever worked, was discovered in May of the year 1884. Although situated in the middle of a civilized country, with a healthy climate, good roads, abundance of educated native labour close at hand (Kimberley), within 300 miles of a railway, yet these now prosperous fields did not produce the above amount of gold until

the end of 1888, or five years after its discovery." Unfortunately for Mr. Shaw's argument, the Rand—not "Randt"—gold-fields were only proclaimed at the very end of 1886, and were hardly heard of up to the end of 1887, and the output in September 1888, was upwards of 27,000 ounces. If Mr. Shaw were right as to the date of the discovery of the Rand gold-fields, the facts would tell very much against his expected production of 25,000 ounces in Matabeleland. The facts, as they are, are really more in his favour. But the fact remains indisputable that, upwards of two years after the settlement of Matabeleland, a supposed gold-producing country, no gold has come out of it, and that all the public institutions of Buluwayo, and all the 224 mining companies are dependent on the nature of a prospect which is still quite problematical, and may for ever remain unrealized. It must surely be some suspicion that Matabeleland will turn out to be as severe a frost as Mashonaland that has led to the exploration of the records of the Vatican in the hope of finding indications of other gold-fields. It was always supposed that Mr. Wilmot, the ex-Post-master-General of the Cape Colony and a member of the Cape Legislative Council, had gone to Rome for the devout purpose of studying the history of the old Catholic missions in Central South Africa. It now seems, however, that he has gone to Rome in the hope of being able to discover new gold-fields through reference to old ones. It is not the first time that piety and profit have sought to go hand-in-hand.

Before venturing some remarks on the political aspects of the work of the Chartered Company, a word must be said with regard to the views of the native question put forward on behalf of the Company in Mr. Shaw's article. "The importance," says Mr. Shaw, "of making the blacks of Matabeleland not only pay a hut tax, but doing at least three months' work every year, is recognized by all men experienced in the native question." Whether or not Mr. Shaw is right in this assumption, one thing is clear—that the Chartered Company, which has expressly undertaken the obligation to suppress the slave trade, has adopted and advocates a policy of forced native labour. "A certain amount of forced labour," says Mr. Shaw, "should be required from the now useless and idle black races," and he invites assent to the proposition that "providence has placed a large supply of natural labour in South Africa" which ought to be utilized. It was in precisely the same spirit that planters on the western side of the Atlantic held that providence had placed "a large supply of natural labour" in West Africa, and they acted up to this conviction on a very liberal scale. Now, suspicions as to the adoption of a policy of forced labour by the Chartered Company have already been wafted about. Stories

have come down, to be lightly contradicted, of corrective visits paid by the Company's police to chiefs who were believed to be backward in meeting the demand for native labour. We have now, however, a distinct declaration made on behalf of the Chartered Company by an enthusiastic admirer of its work, that a policy of forced native labour is included in its programme. This is a matter to which very serious attention ought to be drawn, and the more so, because it is argued by Mr. Shaw, on behalf of the Chartered Company, that there is a fear that native difficulties will increase "if the government is taken out of the hands" of the Company. The association of this assumption with the adoption of a forced labour policy—the policy which Great Britain has been striving so hard to abolish in Egypt—is calculated to raise very grave suspicions and suggests the necessity of a very strict enquiry into the relations between the Chartered Company and the natives over whom the Company exercises control.

Something must now be said with regard to the political aspects of the Chartered Company and its work. Mr. Shaw's article, it must be admitted, appeals rather to the investor, and if the investor, after studying it, can see any valid reason for the rise in the price of Chartered Company's shares from 42s. to 170s., he will deserve credit for his penetration. With regard to the political aspect of the problem, it will be well to trace the history of the Chartered Company step by step.

Immediately before the granting of the charter, or almost simultaneously with it, an event had occurred in South Africa of very considerable importance, and which can never be dissociated from the origin and growth of the Chartered Company. I refer to the amalgamation of the Kimberley diamond mines. From one point of view that amalgamation was not disadvantageous. The increased difficulty experienced in working the mines, and the uncertain state of the diamond market, had rendered it highly probable that unless the mines could all be worked as one concern the diamond industry would suffer an almost hopeless collapse. As a matter of fact it would have been in the highest degree beneficial to the diamond industry and the Cape Colony if, some years previously, the Cape Government had taken over the Kimberley mines at a time when a comparatively moderate sum would have been necessary to acquire them, and had worked them as a national undertaking. The Cape Government, however, was so much absorbed by the work of finding money to construct competing railways to Kimberley that it entirely lost sight of the desirability of conserving the industry which alone justified the railways. The Cape Government having missed its chance, the work of amalgamation was one which might

be most legitimately undertaken by private capitalists, so long as due security was taken, in the public interest, against the possibility of a powerful private corporation over-riding the power and authority of the Colonial Executive and the Colonial Parliament. At the very time, however, when the amalgamation was under discussion, the proclamation of the Johannesburg gold-fields—at the very end of 1886—had rendered the Cape Government blind to all but one thing, viz., how to secure the largest possible amount of railway traffic for Johannesburg. The conditions of the amalgamation of the Kimberley mines passed without even the faintest attempt at criticism. The result was that in the middle of a comparatively poor community was suddenly established a group of capitalists, limited in number, and resolved to use their financial power in furtherance of a scheme to secure absolute control of the whole of the resources of the South African continent. And, in order to make the position of this group of capitalists still stronger, care was taken to secure the sympathy and support and co-operation of the most influential financial houses in Europe.

It was from the platform afforded by the financial power of the De Beers Diamond Mining Company, that the operations of the Chartered Company were planned and carried out. It was illustrative of the power exercised by this financial group that the thousand rifles handed over to Lobengula, as part of the price paid for the Rudd concession, were smuggled through the Cape Colony —there is no other word for it—in absolute defiance of statute law. The Premier of the Cape Colony at that time was Sir Gordon Sprigg, who, in 1889, indicated his opinion of the enterprise of the Chartered Company by bestowing, in a speech made at Kimberley, his benediction on Mr. Rhodes. It is perhaps only right to say that Sir Gordon Sprigg's benediction failed to satisfy those who were alive to the principles involved in the granting of the charter to the British South Africa Company. The charter was in certain quarters very severely criticized, and the right of the British Imperial Government to give away the interior of the South African continent to a handful of foreign speculators was very seriously called in question. It was pointed out that such an arrangement, besides causing deep dissatisfaction in the Republics, would almost inevitably lead to serious native troubles. These criticisms, however, had but little effect, at any rate in the two British Colonies in South Africa. Attention was so strongly fixed on the prospects opened by the discovery of the Rand gold-fields, that all other matters became comparatively unimportant. Beyond this, the conviction was maintained that the Cape Government, acting with a view to the general South African interest, would, to

a certain extent, hold the Chartered Company in check and prevent it from becoming a danger to the peace of South Africa.

In 1890, however, there was a marked change in the situation. This change was partly emphasized by the arrival of a new High Commissioner in the person of Sir Henry Loch. There has always been some degree of mystery associated with this appointment. It was known, for example, that Sir Hercules Robinson was willing to have extended his term of office as High Commissioner, but insisted on certain conditions which the Ministry of the day declined to comply with. A considerable interval elapsed before the appointment was filled up, and in the meantime there were reports of its having been offered to this person and that, and in every case declined. However, Sir Henry Loch was appointed, and it fell to his lot, very soon after his arrival in South Africa, to meet President Kruger in conference at a point near the borders of the Cape Colony known as "Fourteen Streams." There were two remarkable incidents connected with this conference. One was that it was attended by Mr. Rhodes, who was then merely managing director of the Chartered Company, and held no Ministerial office. The other was the hauling down of the Republican flag in Johannesburg at the very time when President Kruger was paying his first visit to the town on his way to Fourteen Streams. The actual nature of the discussions that took place at Fourteen Streams is veiled in diplomatic mist. There can, however, be no doubt that Mr. Kruger returned to Pretoria with the impression, or one might say conviction, that he had been promised a satisfactory settlement of the Swazieland question. Believing this, he was prepared to do his utmost to promote progressive legislation in the Transvaal, and to minimize as much as possible the incident of the hauling down of the Republican flag, which had given rise to much excitement and indignation among the Transvaal burghers.

The Transvaal Volksraad met, as usual, on the first Monday in May, 1890, and in his opening address to the members of the Raad, President Kruger strongly recommended the adoption of three progressive measures—viz.: the construction of railways, the revision of the gold law, and the establishment of a second legislative chamber on a more liberal basis than applied to the then existing Volksraad. The fact that President Kruger brought forward and supported these measures in the face of the irritation caused by the Johannesburg "flag incident" is in itself a proof of his desire to meet the new circumstances that had arisen in the country. The resolutions in favour of railway construction, which included a line to meet the Cape line then being extended through the Free State, were carried by acclamation. The amendments

agreed to in the gold law were so satisfactory that the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines passed a special resolution thanking the Government and the Volksraad for what had been done. As regards the change in the constitution by the creation of a second legislative chamber, it has to be remembered that in no country can complete reforms of this kind be carried all at once, or except by gradual steps. Mr. Kruger's idea, as personally expressed to myself, was that the expedient of the second Valksraad would act as "a bridge" to the time when, the original burghers having got used to the idea of foreigners taking part in the legislative work of the country, the two Volksraads might be made one again. There can be no doubt whatever that Mr. Kruger was genuinely sincere in his policy of reform at this time, and there can be no doubt whatever that he used his utmost efforts, with success, to overcome the irritation aroused among the burghers by the Johannesburg flag incident.

All this it is of the utmost importance to remember, because it helps to throw light on the general attitude of the Transvaal Volksraad during the next five years. While this body was setting to work with its progressive policy, a Ministerial crisis had occurred in the Cape Colony. Sir Gordon Sprigg, in spite of his laudations of Mr. Rhodes and his northern enterprise, was turned out of office on a question of railway extension, and was succeeded by Mr. Rhodes himself. There can be little doubt that this step had been in contemplation for some time before, and that Mr. Rhodes desired to succeed to the Premiership for the sake of the control he would thus obtain over Imperial policy in South Africa. The position is one which can very easily be understood. It is the practice of the Colonial Office, and a very reasonable practice as far as it goes, to frame Imperial policy in South Africa according to the lead given by public opinion in the Cape Colony, the most important of British possessions in South Africa. As the Premier of the Cape Colony presumably represents public opinion in Cape Colony, his views are the views to which the Imperial Government, represented in South Africa by the High Commissioner, is bound to pay attention. This necessity becomes all the more a practical one by reason of the combination in the same person of the offices of High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony. The Governor, of course, acts on the advice of his Ministers. As High Commissioner he is theoretically free to act on his own judgment; practically, however, he is bound to act in accordance with his own acts as Governor, and in accordance with the rule that makes Imperial policy dependent on colonial opinion. Thus the moment Mr. Rhodes succeeded in forming a Ministry and gaining the support of a majority in the Cape Parliament, he obtained

control of Imperial policy in South Africa. The support he obtained was, of course, largely that of the Afrikander Bond, the members of which thought that, by helping Mr. Rhodes, they could make use of him in return for the furtherance of their own interests. The policy which Mr. Rhodes represented was neither more nor less than the policy of the limited group of capitalists who, having secured the support of European financiers in respect of the Kimberley diamond mines, and having secured the support of the English aristocracy in respect of the Chartered Company, had now placed themselves in a position from which, if things went well with them, they could obtain something like absolute control over the whole of South Africa.

The development of the Chartered Company, then, has been only another step in the scheme which has had for its object the subjection of all South African interests to the control of a small group of capitalists and speculators animated solely by regard for their own selfish interests, and possessed of wealth far out of proportion to the average wealth of the country. In America the danger of allowing exceptionally wealthy men to gain control of the political machinery is well understood and popularly guarded against. In South Africa, unfortunately, public opinion is too weak and too scattered to allow of its counting for very much in the game of politics. Still, there is even in South Africa a certain weight of public opinion which, when acting altogether, has been found, and will doubtless be found again, powerful enough to check even the march of the capitalists. Let us now see how the capitalists have used their influence, and what has been the effect of their conduct.

The first overt act of the capitalists, after Mr. Rhodes had accepted the office of Premier at Capetown, was made apparent in the first Swazieland Convention. Up to July, 1890, there had been an appearance of complete cordiality between the British Government and the Transvaal Government, and all things, especially in view of the important practical reforms already sanctioned by the Volksraad, seemed to be pursuing their usual course. Suddenly it became apparent that something like a British ultimatum was being addressed to the Transvaal, and that unless a certain convention, the conditions of which were unknown to the public, were accepted by the Volksraad, there would be an absolute breach between the Transvaal and the Imperial Government in London. The springing up of so critical a position was a surprise to everyone. There had been nothing to lead up to it; on the contrary, the Transvaal President and the Transvaal Volksraad had been doing their best to make things pleasant and acceptable to the new population. A suggestion made that an envoy should be sent

to England to discuss the points raised with the British Government was rudely repelled from Capetown. When the text of the proposed Swazieland Convention came to be known the real nature of the situation was understood. The Convention was seen to be a document framed entirely and solely in the interest of the Chartered Company, with the local interest of the Cape Colony ingeniously tacked on to it. Mr. Kruger had been promised a settlement of the Swazieland question. This Convention of 1890 provided for no settlement of the Swazieland question. So far from this, it provided for a postponement of a settlement for three years, and made even this postponement depend on the willingness of the South African Republic to enter into a Customs Union with the Cape Colony. Besides this, it demanded from the Transvaal the giving up of all rights with regard to expansion northwards, and practically bound the Republic round on every side, save the south, with hostile influences. Under the London Convention the Transvaal Government had agreed not to enter into treaties with native tribes east or west of the Republic except with the consent of the British Imperial Government. Under the so-called Swazieland Convention the Transvaal Government was called on to surrender any claim for expansion northward, this surrender being, of course, asked for on behalf of the Chartered Company. Can it be wondered at that such a Convention aroused the strongest indignation in the Transvaal, and can it be wondered at that the Volksraad only ratified it under the strongest possible pressure and out of a patriotic regard to the possibilities that might arise if the Convention were rejected? The distinct unfriendliness of the demands made under this Convention was mostly keenly felt in the South African Republic, nor was the bad effect much mitigated by the suspension of the articles which would have forced the Transvaal, against its will, into a Customs Union for the benefit of the Cape Colony. In the midst of the indignation, however, one thing was universally acknowledged—viz., that the Swazieland Convention of 1890, which really had little or nothing to do with Swazieland, was not the work of the British Imperial Government, but of the Chartered Company, whose interests Mr. Rhodes had, by accepting the Cape Premiership, succeeded in making paramount in South Africa.

The position, then, established in South Africa from the time of Mr. Rhodes' acceptance of the Premiership of the Cape Colony was this,—that the control of the policy of the British Imperial Government was placed in the hands of an ambitious and scheming speculator, the central figure of a small group of capitalists who had determined to take possession, through all possible means, lawful or unlawful, of the South African continent for their sole use and

benefit. The men who started the Chartered Company, with the aid of the British aristocracy, were precisely the same men, and none others, who had, with the assistance of British financiers amalgamated the Kimberley diamond mines. They are, moreover, the same men, and none others, who have been visibly at the back of the attempt to get up a paid—not a popular—revolution in Johannesburg. Those who know the spirit in which this group of capitalists exercise control over Kimberley—the coercion, the intimidation, the daring illegalities, the disregard of every kind of moral principle—know only too well the spirit which would be manifested in other areas under the same control. It must be emphatically said that never in the whole course of British history has a position of such danger been created—danger which has within the last two months become abundantly apparent—as was created when Mr. Rhodes succeeded in installing himself as Premier of the Cape Colony, adviser of the High Commissioner, and, through the High Commissioner, controller of British Imperial policy in South Africa. The danger to the British Empire is only now being made generally manifest. The danger to the South African Republic was perceived by the Transvaal Executive from the very first, and, owing to the perception of that danger, the Transvaal Government was driven to adopt a policy which will be explained directly.

The first Swazieland Convention which, as has been said, had little or no relation to Swazieland, was forced on the South African Republic in the interest of the Chartered Company in 1890. The policy adopted in the following year by the Chartered Company and by the Imperial Government at the instance of Mr. Rhodes was quite in keeping with what had gone before. In 1891 occurred what was known and spoken of as "the trek business." A general disposition was manifested in the Transvaal, in the Free State, in the Cape Colony, on the part of individual farmers to "trek" with their waggons into Mashonaland. The proposal for this "trek" was founded on a document known as "the Adendorff Concession," alleged to have been obtained—and there is much to justify the allegation—from independent chiefs in Mashonaland. Strong sympathy with this movement was felt among the Dutch population throughout the whole of South Africa, and all the more because no inconsiderable resentment was felt at the act of the British Imperial Government in giving away the "Hinterland" of South Africa to a small group of capitalists. There can be no question that, at this juncture, Mr. Rhodes' position was very seriously in jeopardy. He saved himself, however, by managing to impress the Dutch party in the Cape Colony with the idea that the success of the Chartered Company would be of immense benefit to the

Colony, and specially to the growers of colonial produce. By thus dividing the Dutch party in South Africa against itself, Mr. Rhodes for the time secured his position, and the most formidable obstacle he has at this moment to contend with is the reconsolidation of that party in consequence of Dr. Jameson's adventure. Again in 1891, as in 1890, the hostility of the Chartered Company, now dominating both Cape Colony policy and Imperial policy, to the Transvaal Government was manifested. Mr. Kruger was held responsible for the acts not only of Transvaal burghers but of farmers from the Free State and the Cape Colony, over whom he had no sort of control whatever, and was called upon, under the threat of a second ultimatum, to issue a proclamation to stop the movement northward. He issued the proclamation, and the burghers loyally obeyed it; but the hostility of the Chartered Company to the Transvaal Government, thus made still more manifest, led to results which must now be described.

The question is sometimes asked by persons sincerely anxious to understand the position in South Africa,—"Why does not Mr. Kruger adopt a progressive policy? Why has he paid no attention to the petitions from Johannesburg for electoral privileges? Why has he leaned away from England and towards Germany?" The reply to these questions is simple and emphatic. In 1890 the Conservative Party in the Transvaal Volksraad, led on by Mr. Kruger, had started on a progressive policy. What checked that policy? Nothing more and nothing less than the hostile attitude towards the Republic assumed by Mr. Rhodes and all people and institutions in any way dependent on and related to him. The Government of the Republic, after what had happened in 1890 and 1891, was bound to be continually on its guard lest it should admit to political power those whose whole actions and attitude suggested that, if they ever became possessed of that power, they would use it against the Republic. As regards the petitions sent to the Volksraad from Johannesburg, every member of the Volksraad knows what every resident in the South African Republic knows — that the National Union, which promoted and presented those petitions, is in every respect an organization representing the two or three big financial houses, and that the signatures to the petitions, having been obtained at so many shillings a hundred, with no precaution whatever as to who signed them or how many times, were absolutely worthless.

As regards the leaning of the Transvaal Government away from England and, it is complained, towards Germany, that is a matter which requires a special and careful word of explanation. Next to England, Germany has the largest stake in South Africa. German trade is very considerable, and a large amount of German capital

is invested in the Transvaal National Bank and in the Delagoa Bay Railway. If, therefore, the Transvaal wanted moral support in Europe, Germany was the quarter whence that support was most likely to be afforded. But why seek for moral support, or why not look to England for it? Simply because, owing to the intervention of Mr. Rhodes and his Chartered Company, the policy of the British Imperial Government had been converted into a policy of strong hostility to the Transvaal. An appeal to England meant an appeal to Mr. Rhodes—an appeal, that is to say, to the most pronounced and active enemy of the Republic. The conviction held by the Pretoria Government—a conviction which has been abundantly justified by events—was that sooner or later the Chartered Company would make an attack not only on the independence, but on the very existence of the Republic. In the hope of checking this attempt, moral support was sought from European Governments, and especially from the German Government, which had shown itself warmly interested in the progress of the Transvaal. It has been argued that this leaning towards Germany has an anti-British tendency, and that what lies behind it is neither more nor less than the establishment of a German protectorate over the Transvaal. The object in starting this story can be perfectly well understood. It is, however, devoid of any foundation whatever. Germany does not wish to offer a protectorate; the Transvaal does not wish to ask for it. The good understanding between Pretoria and Berlin is not anti-British, but anti-Chartered Company, and nothing illustrates this better than the despatch of German men-of-war to Delagoa Bay in the latter part of 1894. Those vessels were sent to Delagoa Bay because of a rumour, to which the utterances of Rhodesian journals in South Africa gave no little weight, that the Chartered Company, with the view of settling a merely local dispute as to railway rates in which the Cape Colony was interested, intended to make an attempt to seize Delagoa Bay.

What, then, has been the political effect of the existence and action of the Chartered Company? It is plain that owing to its action the friendly relations between Great Britain and the Transvaal, and between Great Britain and the whole of South Africa, have been warped from their natural confidence and friendliness; that the adoption of a liberal and progressive policy in the Transvaal with regard to the foreign population has been rendered infinitely more difficult; and that the moral ascendancy of Germany in South Africa has been greatly increased. These results are surely bad enough. A worse result is the intimate association of British policy in South Africa with unscrupulous acts performed for the purpose of furthering financial speculation. And even this is not

the end of the evil. Owing to the action of Mr. Rhodes and his Company the relations between Great Britain and the most important European Governments have been seriously disturbed, and Great Britain is threatened with the possibilities of an anti-British European combination. For the moment, it is true, the promptitude shown by Mr. Chamberlain in repudiating the attack on the independence of the Transvaal has kept this possibility in abeyance. Let no one, however, suppose that the danger is over. Mr. Rhodes and the relations between him and the British Government are narrowly watched in nearly every European capital—in Lisbon, in Paris, in Berlin, in St. Petersburg. What may be Mr. Rhodes' object in returning so quickly to South Africa no one really knows, but those best qualified to form an opinion do not for a moment accept the statement that he is going to Buluwayo to promote the growth of new Johannesburgs. It is yet possible that the "imperial Englishman," who "thinks in continents," will, if any trust and confidence are still reposed in him, bring the British Empire into greater peril than has ever assailed it since its foundation.

F. Reginald Statham.

NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.

Mr. Sidney Lee has recently delivered at the Royal Institution a lecture upon National Biography, which is, I understand, about to appear elsewhere. No one has a better right to speak upon the subject. He has been sole editor of the later volumes of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and, as I can testify, had a very important share in preparing every previous volume. He spoke, therefore, from considerable experience, and if I were to deal with his subject from the same point of view, I should have little more to do than say "ditto" to most of his remarks. I would not contradict even his statistics, although, as a matter of fact, they differ materially from my own calculations—I put that down to the known perversity of arithmetic in general. But I also think that in dealing briefly with a large subject, he left untouched certain considerations which are a necessary complement to his argument. I hope, therefore, that I may be allowed to say something of a matter in which I have some personal interest.

When the old *Biographia Britannica* was coming out, Cowper made the unpleasant remark that it was

> "A fond attempt to give a deathless lot
> To names ignoble, born to be forgot."

If that was a fair judgment, what are we to say to the modern work, which includes thousands of names too obscure for mention in its predecessor? When Mr. Lee speaks of the "commemorative instinct" as justifying his undertaking, the enemy replies that a very small minority of the names deserve commemoration. Admitting, as we all admit, the importance of keeping alive the leading names in history, what is the use of this long procession of the hopelessly insignificant? Why repeat the familiar formula about the man who was born on such a day, was "educated at the grammar school of his native town," graduated in such a year, became fellow of his college, took a living, married, published a volume of sermons which nobody has read for a century, and has been during all that time in his churchyard? Can he not be left in peace, side by side with the "rude forefathers of the hamlet," who are content to lie beneath their quiet mounds of grass? Is it not

almost a mockery to persist in keeping up some faint and flickering image of him above ground? There is often some good reading to be found in country churchyards; but, on the whole, if one had to choose, one would perhaps rather have the good old timber crosspiece, with "afflictions sore long time he bore," than the ambitious monuments where History and her attendant cherubs are eternally poring over the list of the squire's virtues and honours. Why struggle against the inevitable? Better oblivion than a permanent statement that you were thoroughly and hopelessly commonplace. I confess that I sometimes thought as much when I was toiling on my old treadmill. Much of the work to be done was uninteresting, if not absolutely repulsive. I was often inclined to sympathize with the worthy Simon Browne, a Nonconformist divine of the last century. Poor Browne had received a terrible shock. Some accounts say that he had lost his wife and only son; others that he had "accidentally strangled a highwayman,"—not, one would think, so painful a catastrophe. Anyhow, his mind became affected; he fancied that his "spiritual substance" had been annihilated; he was a mere empty shell, a body without a soul; and, under these circumstances, as he tells us, he took to an employment which did not require a soul: he became a dictionary-maker. Still, we should, as he piously adds, "thank God for everything, and therefore for dictionary-makers." Though Browne's dictionary was not of the biographical kind, the remark seemed to be painfully applicable. Browne was only giving in other words the pith of Carlyle's constant lamentations when struggling amidst the vast dust-heaps accumulated by Dryasdust and his fellows. Could any good come of these painful toilings among the historical "kitchen middens"? If here and there you disinter some precious coin, does the rare success repay the endless sifting of the gigantic mounds of shot rubbish? And yet, by degrees, I came to think that there was really a justification for toils not of the most attractive kind. When our first volume appeared one of our critics complained of me for not starting with a preface. A preface saves much trouble to a reviewer—sometimes the whole trouble of reading the book. I do not, however, much regret the omission, for the real utility of our undertaking, as it now presents itself to my mind, had not then become fully evident. I am not about to write a preface now, but I wish to give a hint or two of what I might or ought to have said in such a performance had I clearly perceived what has been gradually forced upon me by experience.

The "commemorative instinct" to which Mr. Lee refers has, undoubtedly, much to do with the undertaking; but, like other instincts, it requires to be regulated by more explicit reason. The thoroughbred Dryasdust is a very harmless, and sometimes a very

amiable, creature. He may urge that his hobby is at least a very innocent one, and that we have no more call to condemn a man who has a passion for vast accumulations of dates, names, and facts than to condemn another for a love of art or of natural history. The specialist who is typified in O. W. Holmes' "Scarabee," the man who devotes a life-time to acquiring abnormal familiarity with the manifest peculiarities of some obscure tribe of insects, does no direct harm to his fellows, and incidentally contributes something, however minute the contribution may be, to scientific progress. We must respect the zeal which enables a man to expend the superabundant energy, which might have led to fame or fortune, upon achievements of which, perhaps, not half-a-dozen living men will ever appreciate either the value or the cost to the worker. Dryasdust deserves the same sort of sympathy. He has, no doubt, his weaknesses. His passion becomes a monomania. He spends infinite toil upon work which has no obvious interest, and he often comes to attach an absurd importance to his results. Such studies as genealogy or bibliography have but a remote bearing upon any of the vital problems suggested by the real historian. We shudder when we read that the excellent Colonel Chester spent years upon investigating the genealogy of Washington, and accumulated, among many other labours, eighty-seven folio volumes, each of more than 400 pages of extracts from parish registers. He died, it is added, of "incessant work." The late Mr. Bradshaw, again, a man of most amiable character and very fine intellectual qualities, acquired, by unremitting practice, an astonishing power of identifying at a glance the time and place of printing of old books. He could interpret minute typographical indications as the Red Indian can read in a dead leaf or blade of grass the figure of the traveller who trod upon it. Certainly one is tempted to regret at first sight that such abilities were not applied in more obviously useful fields. What do we care whether one or another obscure country squire in the sixteenth or seventeenth century had the merit of being progenitor of Washington? Can it really matter whether a particular volume was printed at Rotterdam or at Venice—in the year 1600 or ten years sooner or later? I will not discuss the moral question. At any rate, one may perhaps urge it is better than spending brain-power upon chess problems, which is yet an innocent form of amusement: for such a labourer may incidentally provide data of real importance to the political or literary historian. He reduces, once for all, one bit of chaos to order, and helps to raise the general standard of accurate research.

The labours of innumerable enquirers upon obscure topics have, as a matter of fact, accumulated vast stores of knowledge. A danger has shown itself that the historian may be overwhelmed by

the bulk of his materials. A century or two ago we were content with histories after the fashion of Hume. In a couple of years he was able apparently not only to write, but to accumulate the necessary knowledge for writing, a history stretching from the time of Julius Cæsar to the time of Henry VII. A historian who now does his work conscientiously has to take about the same time to narrate events as the events themselves occupied in happening. Innumerable sources of knowledge have been opened, and he will be regarded as superficial if he does not more or less avail himself of every conceivable means of information. He cannot be content simply with the old chroniclers or with the later writers who summarized them. Ancient charters, official records of legal proceedings, manor rolls and the archives of towns have thrown light upon the underlying conditions of history. Local historians have unearthed curious facts, whose significance is only beginning to be perceived. Calendars of State-papers enable us to trace the opinions of the great men who were most intimately concerned in the making of history. The despatches of ambassadors occupied in keenly watching contemporary events have been partly printed, and still lie in vast masses at Simancas and Venice and the Vatican. The Historical Manuscripts Commission has made known to us something of the vast stores of old letters and papers which had been accumulating dust in the libraries of old country mansions. When we go to the library of the British Museum, and look at the gigantic catalogue of printed books, and remember the huge mass of materials which can be inspected in the manuscript department, we—I can speak for myself at least—have a kind of nightmare sensation. A merciful veil of oblivion has no doubt covered a great deal. Yet we may feel inclined to imagine that no fact which has happened within the last few centuries has been so thoroughly hidden that we can be quite sure that it is irrecoverable. It gave me a queer shock, for example, when I found an exercise printed for a degree at a Dutch university in the seventeenth century which happened to contain a biographical fact, and wondered whether all such things are still somewhere. And, finally, the process of commemorating proceeds with accelerated rapidity, and it almost seems as though we had made up our minds that nothing was ever to be forgotten.

Now, I will only admit incidentally that it may be doubted whether this huge accumulation of materials has been an unmixed benefit to history. Undoubtedly we know many things much more thoroughly than our ancestors. Still, in reading, for example, the later volumes of Macaulay or Froude, we feel sometimes that it is possible to have too much State-paper. The main outlines, which used to be the whole of history, are still the most important, and

instead of being filled up and rendered more precise and vivid, they sometimes seem to disappear behind an elaborate account of what statesmen and diplomatists happened to think about them at the time—and, sometimes, what such persons thought implied a complete misconception of the real issues. But in any case one conclusion is very obvious, namely, that with the accumulation of material there should be a steady elaboration of the contrivances for making it accessible. The growth of a great library turns the library into a hopeless labyrinth, unless it is properly catalogued as it grows. To turn it to full account, you require not only a catalogue, but some kind of intelligent guide to the stores which it contains. You are like a man wandering in a vast wilderness, which is springing up in every direction with tropical luxuriance; and you feel the necessity of having paths carried through it in some intelligible system which will enable you to find your way to the required place and tell you in what directions further research would probably be thrown away.

Now it is to this want, or to provide means of satisfying one part of this want, that the dictionary is intended in the first place to correspond. It ought to be—it is not for me to say how far it has succeeded in becoming—an indispensable guide to persons who would otherwise feel that they were hewing their way through a hopelessly intricate jungle. Every student ought, I will not say to have it in his library, but to carry it about with him (metaphorically speaking) in his pocket. It is true that, in a physica sense, it it rather large for that purpose, though fifty or sixty volumes represent but a small fragment of a decent library; but the judicious person can always manage to have it at hand. And then, though in its first intention it should be useful as an auxiliary in various researches, I shall venture to assert that it may also be not only useful for the more exalted purpose of satisfying the commemorative instinct, but—I do not fear to say so, though my friends sometimes laugh at my saying—it may turn out to be one of the most amusing works in the language.

I will start, however, by saying something of the assertion which is more likely to meet with acceptance. The utility of having this causeway carried through the vast morass of antiquarian accumulation is obvious in a general way. The remark, however, upon which Mr. Lee has insisted, indicates a truth not quite so clearly recognized as might be desirable. The provinces of the historian and the biographer are curiously distinct, although they are closely related. History is of course related to biography inasmuch as most events are connected with some particular person. Even the most philosophical of historians cannot describe the Norman Conquest without reference to William and to Harold. And, on the other

side, every individual life is to some extent an indication of the historical conditions of his time. The most retired recluse is the product at least of his parents and his schooling, and is affected by contemporary thoughts. And yet, the curious thing is the degree in which this fact can be ignored on both sides. If we look at any of the ordinary collections of biographical material, we shall constantly be struck by the writer's unconsciousness of the most obvious inferences. He will mention a fact which in the hands of the historian might clear up a political problem or which may be strikingly characteristic of the social conditions of the time, without, as Mr. Herbert Spencer would say, noting the "necessary implication." A contemporary of course takes things for granted which we see to be exceptional; or he may supply, without knowing it, evidence that will be useful in settling a controversy which has not yet come to light. In the ordinary books such facts, again, have often been repeated mechanically, and readers are not rarely half-asleep when they look at their manual. Thus I have sometimes noticed that a man may be in one sense a most accomplished biographer—that is, that he can tell you off-hand a vast number of facts, genealogical, official, and so forth—and yet has never, as we say, put two and two together. I have read lives giving minute details about the careers of authors, which yet prove unmistakably that the writers had no general knowledge of the literature of the period. A man will know every fact about all the people mentioned say in Boswell, and yet have no conception of the general position of Johnson, or Burke, or Goldsmith in English literature. He seems to have walked through a great gallery blindfold, or rather with some strange affection of the eyes which enabled him to make a catalogue without receiving any general impression of the pictures. The great Mr. Sherlock Holmes has insisted upon the value of the most insignificant facts: and if Mr. Holmes had turned his mind to history instead of modern criminal cases, he would have found innumerable little incidents which only require to be skilfully dovetailed together to throw a new light upon many important questions. More can be done by the man of true historical imagination—the man who appreciates the great step made by Scott when he observed that our ancestors were once as really alive as we are now—and who finds in those countless neglected and apparently barren facts, vivid illustrations of the conditions of life and thought of our predecessors. We all know how Macaulay, with his love of castle-building, found in obscure newspapers and the fugitive literature of the period the materials for a picture which, with whatever shortcomings, was at least incomparably brilliant and lifelike. Now, the first office of the biographer is to facilitate what I may call the proper relation between biography

and history; to make each study throw all possible light on the other; and so to give fresh vitality to two different lines of study which, though their mutual dependence is obvious, can yet be divorced so effectually by the mere Dryasdust. And this remark supplies a sufficient answer to one question which has often been put to me. What entitles a man to a place in the dictionary? Why should it include 30,000 instead of 3,000 or 300,000 names? Mr. Lee has given an answer which is, I think, correct in its proper place; but, before referring to it, I must point out that there is another, and what would be called a more "objective" criterion which necessarily governs the solution in the first instance. In order, that is, to secure the proper correlation between the biographer and the historian, it is plainly necessary to include everyone who is sufficiently noticed in the ordinary histories to make some further enquiry probable. To give the first instance that occurs, Macaulay tells a very curious story about a certain intrigue which led to the final abolition of licensing the Press in England. The fact itself is one of great interest in the history of English literature. The two people chiefly concerned were utterly obscure: Charles Blount and Edmund Bohun necessarily vanish from Macaulay's pages as soon as they have played their little drama. But it is natural to inquire what these two men otherwise were, who were incidentally involved in a really critical turning-point. A reference to the dictionary will not only answer the question but help to make more distinct the conditions under which English writers won a most important privilege. The historian can only deal with the particular stage at which an obscure person emerges into public, but the significance of the event may start out more vividly when we can trace his movements below the surface. Now to help in this search, the biographer has before him an immense mass of material already partially organized. Nobody who has dipped into the subject is ignorant of the immense service rendered by Anthony à Wood in the famous Athenæ Oxonienses. It gives brief, but very shrewd, accounts of all men connected with Oxford, and records the results of a laborious personal enquiry during his own period, which, but for him, would have been forgotten. For the same period we have all the collections due to the zeal of various religious sects; the lives of the Nonconformists ejected in 1662; the opposition work upon the "sufferings of the clergy" under the Commonwealth; the lives of the Jesuits who were martyred by the penal laws; and the lives of the Quakers, who have always been conspicuous for preserving records of their brethren. Besides these, there are, of course, many old biographical collections, including the dictionaries devoted to some special class—the artists, the physicians, the judges, the admirals,

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

and so forth. The first simple rule, therefore, is that every name which appears in these collections has at least a presumptive right to admission. An ideal dictionary would be a complete codification or summary of all the previously existing collections. It must aim at such an approximation to that result as human frailty will permit; in other words, it is bound first to include all the names which have appeared in any respectable collection of lives, and, in the next place, to supplement this by including a great many names which, for one reason or another, have dropped out, but which appear to be approximately of the same rank. The rule, it is obvious, must be in part the venerable "rule of thumb," but it gives a kind of test which is a sufficient guide in discreet hands.

The advantage of this does not, I hope, require much exposition. I will only make one remark. Every student knows the vast difference which is made when you have some right to assume the completeness of any research. I may look into books, and search libraries on the chance of finding information indefinitely. But if I have a book or a library of which I can say with some confidence that, if it is not there, the presumption is that it does not exist, my labour has a definite, even though it be a negative, result. That, for example, is the sufficient justification of the collection of every kind of printed matter in the British Museum. It is not only that nobody can say beforehand what bit of knowledge may not turn out to be useful, but that one has the immense satisfaction of knowing that a fact not recorded somewhere or other on those crowded shelves must be, in all probability, a fact for which it is idle to search farther. No biographical dictionary can be in the full sense exhaustive; an exhaustive dictionary would involve a reprint of all the parish registers, to mention nothing else; but it may be approximately exhaustive for the purposes of all serious students of any of the various departments of history. In a great number of cases, moreover, this can be achieved with a tolerable approximation to completeness. We take, for example, any of the more important names around which has been raised a lasting dust of controversy. A dictionary ought, in the first place, to supply you with a sufficient indication of all that has been written upon the subject; it should state briefly the result of the last researches; explain what appears to be the present opinion among the most qualified experts and what are the points which seem still to be open; and, above all, should give a full reference to all the best and most original sources of information. The most important and valuable part of a good dictionary is often that dry list of authorities which frequently costs an amount of skilled labour not apparent on the surface, and not always, it is to be feared, recognized with due gratitude. The accumulation of material makes this a most

essential part of the work; for we are daily more in want of a guide through the wilderness and a judicious indication of the right method of enquiry gives often what it is frequently hard to find elsewhere, and is always a useful check upon our unassisted efforts. When you plunge into the antiquarian bog you are glad to have sign-posts, showing where previous adventurers have been engulphed; where some sort of feasible track has been constructed, and who are the reputed authorities. Moreover, for a vast variety of purposes, the dictionary, though only second-hand authority, may be quite sufficient for all that is required. In following any of the countless tracks that may lead through history, you meet at every step with persons and events intruding from different regions. The man of letters may be affected by a political intrigue; a soldier may come into contact with men whose chief fame certainly belongs to industry or science. The most thoroughgoing enquirer has to take a vast number of collateral facts upon trust; and it may save him infinite trouble to get the results of special knowledge upon what are to him collateral points.

This, to which I might add indefinitely, corresponds to what I may call the utilitarian aspect of a dictionary: the immediate purpose to which it may be turned to account by students in any historical enquiry. It should be a confidential friend constantly at their elbow, giving them a summary of the knowledge of antiquaries, genealogists, bibliographers, as well as historians upon every collateral part which may happen for the moment to be relevant. But, so far, however well done, it must be admitted that it is bound to be rather dry. To be reduced to a specimen and put in a museum, is not a very cheering prospect, and offers little satisfaction for the commemorative instinct. Now I have to add that within certain limits the dictionary may be of importance in that direction too. I do not expect that a future Nelson will exclaim, "Victory, or an article in *The Biographical Dictionary!*" I have never found my own appetite for labour stimulated by the flattering hope that I might some day be the subject instead of the author of an article. But, for all that, the dictionary article may do much to keep alive the memory of people whom it is good to remember. Nobody will expect the poor dictionary-maker to be a substitute for Boswell or Lockhart. The judicious critic is well aware that it is not upon such lives that the value of the book really depends. It is the second-rate people; the people whose lives have to be reconstructed from obituary notices, or from references in memoirs and collections of letters; or sought in prefaces to posthumous works; or sometimes painfully dug out of collections of manuscripts, and who really become generally accessible through the dictionary alone; that provide the really usefu

reading. There are numbers of such people whom one first discovers to be really interesting when the scattered materials are for the first time pieced together. Nobody need look at Addison or Byron or Milton in a dictionary. He can find fuller notices in every library; and the biographer must be satisfied if he has put together a useful compendium of all the relevant literature. The conditions of his work are sufficiently obvious and of course exclude anything like rhetoric or disquisition or criticism. He has before him an ideal which he very well knows is never quite realized. Condensation is not only the cardinal virtue of his style, but to it other virtues must be sacrificed. He must be content sometimes to toil for hours with the single result of having to hold his tongue. I used rigidly to excise the sentence, "Nothing is known of his birth or parentage," which tended to appear in half the lives, because where nothing is known it seems simple that nothing should be said; and yet a man might have to consult a whole series of books before discovering even that negative fact. The poor biographer, again, has to compress his work even at the cost of much clumsiness of style. I am painfully aware of the hideous sentences which I have constructed in trying to say in ten words what, as I fancied, might make quite a pretty passage if spread over a hundred. I have groaned over some charming anecdote which seemed to beg for a few little dramatic accessories, and wedged it remorselessly into its allotted corner, grievously perplexed by the special difficulty in our language of making the "he's" and "she's" refer to the proper people. Perhaps—so one thinks when looking at some modern biographies—the training imposed is not altogether bad. But the problem is to condense without squeezing out the real interest. The dictionary-writer cannot dilate; but he is bound so far as he can to make the facts tell their own story. He is not to pronounce a panegyric upon heroism, but he ought so to arrange his narrative that the reader may be irresistibly led to say Bravo! It is possible to make a story more pathetic by judicious reticence, though the writer who depends upon such a method needs especially appreciative readers. He must tell a good story so as to bring out the humorous side without indulging in open hilarity, though he knows painfully that many readers will not take a joke unless it is labelled "funny," and some will not take it till it has been hammered into their heads by repeated strokes. It follows that the ideal article should not be condensed in the sense of being reduced to the bare dates and facts capable of being arranged in mechanical order. The aim should be to give whatever would be really interesting to the most cultivated reader, though leaving it to the reader to put the dots over the i's. The writer must often make the sacrifice of keeping his most important

reflection to himself; but it is not the less important that they should be in his mind. Imagine that a dry antiquary and competent student have to tell within the same limits the life of some eminent philosopher or divine. Even the barest facts may be significant. I remember how a life was ridiculed by a literary critic because it explained a certain fact at the Salter's Hall Conference. The critic, who probably knew all about Dennis and Curll and the minutest squabbles of authors, had never heard of the conference, and asked who cared for such trifles, or what it could possibly matter how anybody had voted on the occasion? Yet the conference marks a very important point in the religious history of the day, and to know how a man voted may be to define his position in a very serious controversy. The writer must give the significant facts, but has often to leave the discovery of their significance to the reader. But in order that he should appreciate their significance, he must have far wider knowledge than he can expound. The dry antiquary will often omit the vital and insert the merely accidental: he will fail to arrange them in the order or connection which makes them explain their meaning. He will resemble the witness who should fail to mention a bit of evidence which may be incidentally conclusive of a case because he is not able to appreciate its bearing. And, therefore, though the two lives might be in appearance equally dry, one may teem with useful indications to the intelligent, while the other may be as barren as it looks. The life of the divine, for example, should be given by one who has studied the theology or ecclesiastical history of the day, and who therefore knows the significance given to a particular action or expression of opinion by time and place. He must abstain from exposition beyond narrow limits, and, of course, from controversy. He must not expatiate upon the bad influence of the heresy; or attempt to show that it was a heresy. He must content himself with a pithy indication of its historical position on the development of the time; give a sufficient summary to show how the doctrine is to be classed in its relation to the main currents of thought; and indicate the way in which it has since been judged by competent writers, and what is the view now taken by experts. All this, which might, of course, be illustrated in other departments of biography, shows that the writer ought to be full of knowledge, which he must yet hold in reserve, or of which he must content himself with using to suggest serviceable hints. He will show incidentally why, and in what relations, certain books are worth reading or certain events worth further study; and often, no doubt, will feel the restraint which limits his remarks, decidedly painful.

Lives well written under these conditions may, I hold, really satisfy the commemorative instinct. For the great names, we

shall look elsewhere: the minute names, the mere rank and file of the great army, are constantly of great use; but rather because they come into the narratives of other lives or supply data for broader histories, than because of the intrinsic interest of the story itself. But there is also an immense number of second-rate people whose lives are full of suggestion to any intelligent reader. The life in such cases should have the same kind of merit as an epitaph, though under less exacting conditions. The epitaph should give in the smallest possible number of words the very essence of a man's character and of his claims upon the memory of posterity. The life which may spread over two or three pages should aim at producing the same effect: and very frequently may give adequate expression to everything that we can really afford to remember of the less prominent actions. I will venture one illustration. There is no class of lives which has a more distinctive character than the lives of our naval heroes from the Elizabethan days to our own. As I am not criticizing the execution of the dictionary, but only indicating its main purpose, I will say nothing of the particular contributor who has imbedded in its pages something like a complete naval history of the country. But I may say this: to the mere literary reader, the ideal of a sailor is represented by such books as Southey's *Life of Nelson:* or still more vividly perhaps by the novels of Captain Marryat or Smollett, or by Kingsley's *Westward Ho,* or possibly Miss Austen's *Persuasion.* We are all supposed to know something of the great admirals, upon whom R. L. Stevenson wrote a charming article. But anyone who is attracted by the type, would do well to turn over the dictionary and look up the long list of minor heroes, who stood for their portraits to Marryat and his fellows; the men who cut out ships in harbour, and fought men-of-war with merchantmen; and lay in wait for galleons and suppressed mutinies and had desperate single combats with French or American frigates: the Trunnions and Amyas Leighs and Peter Simples of real life, who certainly are to the full as interesting as their imaginary representatives. Many of them have hitherto only existed, as it were, in fragments: their lives have to be put together from despatches and incidental references in memoirs and histories; but when reconstructed, these lives form a gallery more interesting than that at Greenwich Hospital. They have got into a little Walhalla; and I think that no one will doubt who makes the experiment either as to their deserving their places or as to the fact that the commemoration gives a very real satisfaction to our desire to keep the memory of our worthies in tolerable repair.

And, finally, this may help to justify my daring remark that the dictionary is an amusing work. This, of course, is true only upon

certain conditions. The reader, as I have intimated, must supply something for himself; he has to take up the dry specimens in this great herbarium, and to expand them partly by the help of his own imagination till they take something of the form and colouring of life. Perhaps, too, it must be added, that he should know the great art of skipping, though some excellent friends of mine have told me that they read every volume as it appears. Their state is the more gracious. Yet no man is a real reader until he is sensible of the pleasure of turning over some miscellaneous collection, and lying like a trout in a stream snapping up, with the added charm of unsuspectedness, any of the queer little morsels of oddity or pathos that may drift past him. The old *Gentleman's Magazine* is charming in that way, but I do not know that one can find a much better hunting-ground than the dictionary. I take down a volume—honestly at random—and simply dip into it to see what will turn up. I range, as it happens, over all the centuries from Caradoc (Caractacus the Romans called him), who fought against a Roman army backed by an elephant corps, before A.D. 50, to a gentleman of the same name who became Lord Howden, and died in 1873; from Carausius who was a bit of a pirate and something of an emperor in the third century, and whose biographer pathetically observes that the exact dates of his life and adventures are "not absolutely certain," to Carlyle, in whose case the full blaze of modern biography has left not even the minutest detail untouched. There is Canute, who is not here introduced to the tide—the biographer finds out, by the way, that an anecdote is simply the polite name of a lie—and mediæval Churchmen, like the admirable Chad, thanks to whom, according to Scott, the fanatic Brooke got his deserts at Lichfield, and William de St. Carilef, whose character, we regret to say, is still puzzling, though exactly 800 years have passed since he became biographiable. Let us hope that it will be cleared up in time. We have that Catesby who to most of us is known by that famous doggerel so much more impressive than the orthodox historical phrases about "the cat, the rat, and Lovel our dog," and the other Catesby who wished to try what would certainly have been a most interesting philosophical experiment of blowing King and Parliament into the air and seeing what the country would think of it. In Tudor times are the three Catherines who had the satisfaction of calling Henry VIII. husband, and three Carolines to match them in the eighteenth century. There is the Elizabethan statesman, Cecil, the great Lord Burghley, and the Robert Carr (Earl of Somerset), who introduces us to the darkest tragedy of the time of James I., and Lucius Cary (Lord Falkland), who still goes about "ingeminating peace" to remind us of the great civil war; and John Carteret (Earl Granville), who in the jo v

Hanoverian days was at the head of the "drunken administration.' Though some of these are sufficiently celebrated figures set forth in the standard histories, they have all, I think, a personal interest which repays a visit to them in their homes. At the opposite end of the scale we have the names which, though they primarily represent mere oddities, incidentally light up odd social phases. Here is Margaret Catchpole, a real heroine of romance, who stole a horse and rode 70 miles to visit her lover, and after being transported for an offence which excited the compassion of her judges, became one of the "matriarchs" to whom our Australian cousins trace their descent. There is Bampfylde Moore Carew, the volunteer gypsy, who anticipated Borrow in the previous generation and gives us a passing glimpse into the vagrant life in old English lanes and commons. There is John Case, astrologer, who, as Addison tells us, made more money by his poetry than Dryden had done in a life-time. It consisted of the couplet

"Within this place
Lives Doctor Case,"

and is apparently an early germ of the great art of advertising. There is the worthy "Kit" Cat, who had an "educated and thoughtful mind," whose story illustrates the early growth of clubs, and whose name has been preserved by a new style of portraits. There is the modern hero, Ben Caunt, to illustrate the halo which lingered round the last days of prize-fighting. I venture to contribute a fresh anecdote to his life. I once made a pilgrimage to the place where Milton wrote the *Allegro* and *Penseroso*. The name of the poet seemed to have vanished, but a bust of the great Ben Caunt showed that the spirit of hero-worship was not extinct. A son of the hero had brought it in a cart to an admirer after the original's death. He stopped at an inn to refresh himself with a bottle of soda-water, with the result that he upset the cart at the next turning, and the bust fell upon him and killed him on the spot. The bust happily survived, and remains to kindle the enthusiasm of the villagers. Should not a Caunt be remembered as well as a Milton? He represents a type which had been characteristic, at least, of the days of the men of Trafalgar and Waterloo. A more respectable representative of that time was the sturdy Carew (then called Hallowell) who gave to Nelson a coffin made from the mainmast of the *l'Orient*, to remind the great man (it was suggested) that he was still mortal. The reminder was hardly needful, one would think, just after the battle of the Nile. Perhaps a more interesting glimpse of the same period is given by the history of Richard Carlile, the free-thinker, who suffered over nine years' imprisonment for spreading opinions offensive to most of his neighbours, but of whom it is said

—and, I think, justly—that he did more than any man of his time to promote the freedom of the Press. His career, at any rate, is curiously illustrative of the final struggle in that cause. If you prefer a martyrdom in a different cause, you may look at the life of Edmund Castell, who made "an epoch in Semitic scholarship." He was a man of property who chose to labour eighteen or nineteen hours a day at a lexicon—a dictionary-maker again! He lost his health, suffered (it does not quite appear how) fractures and contusions of his limbs, almost lost his sight, and spent all his money. He published his immortal work by subscription, and had to wait for months at the place of sale before he could get a small part of his edition sold. The poor man got a little preferment at last towards the end of his life; but certainly scholars will not grudge him some sympathy. I will, however, go no farther. I see many more suggestive names. The Cartwrights, for example, include an important inventor of machinery, a famous dentist, a great Puritan divine, a Romanizing bishop, the Colonel Newcome of the old reformers, and a once brilliant dramatist. I do not think that my dip into one volume has produced a result differing much from the average. My readers must judge whether it goes to justify my statement. To me it seems that at every haul one finds some specimens which, though they require the reader to do his part, are full of suggestions to the moderately thoughtful. "What a knowledge of human nature you must have acquired!" has been said to me with a touch, I know, of sarcasm. Perhaps I might, if the B's had not tended to turn the A's out of my head, and if a succinct record of a man's main performances were the same thing as a knowledge of the man himself. But this I may say; that I have received innumerable suggestions for thought and had many vignettes presented to my imagination, which to a man of any thought or imagination should have been full of interest. And, though the commemorative instinct may not be fully gratified, I think that no one can ramble through this long gallery without storing up a number of vivid images of the lesser luminaries, which will have the same effect upon his conceptions of history as a really good set of illustrations upon a narrative of travels. And, finally, I will say, what has often been a comfort to me to remember, that great as is the difference between a good and a bad work of the kind, even a very defective performance is immensely superior to none at all.

LESLIE STEPHEN.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DODOS.

THERE was once upon a time a certain country, and in this country lived birds called Dodos. Many excellent ladies and gentlemen heard of them, and from what they heard they feared the birds were not in a satisfactory spiritual state, so they left their homes and families, and underwent endless hardships and dangers, or paid other people to do so for them, in order to alter this. When they came to the Dodos, and found how very patient, cheerful, and ready to attend to what they had to say the birds were, they called this state of mind "childlike," and said, "My dear Dodos, you are very sweet, you are our own Brethren, and all you have got to do is to learn to sing hymns, and put on some Hubbards, and trousers, and then you will be perfect gems, quite as good as we are, and far better than those wicked traders you have been associating with." And a quantity of Dodos did these things: they amused them; and in certain parts of the country, where they had been told these things for more than a hundred years, and where they were conscious of not only having continuously worn Hubbards, and trousers, but bodice-frocks, complete suits of store clothes, and patent-leather shoes, they regarded themselves as gems, though other people, including their own fellow-natives, did not, and even their teachers got exasperated with them, and, losing their tempers with their pets, morally administered severe and unfair smackings.

I refer in the above statement to the African and his missionary —only I hasten to say that the African differs from the Dodo in not dying out, which is largely due to the fact that the whole flock have not strictly attended to all they have been told; but the African is analogous to the bird in being, like him, a very early type, whom Nature, in her short-sighted way, has adapted to the local environments, with no eye on his "Future." I think I am justified in stating that his teachers are getting "patchey" with him, after what I have heard of the condition in which the Rev. Wilmot Brooke and the Rev. Armitage Robinson found the Niger Church in the days of Bishop Crowther, the unpleasantness that arose after the death of Bishop Hill, and the recent articles entitled

"The Negro Future" and "Negro Capacity" in *The Spectator*. In order to demonstrate that the West African is worth being worried about at all—a thing any common-sense person may be excused for doubting, after reading *The Spectator* articles—I must try and defend him as he is in the raw state.

I do not regard the West African as an inferior race to all other coloured races as *The Spectator* seems to. I regard all coloured races as inferior to white races. I am aware that the contention that the African is not mentally inferior to the Asiatic—physically, I presume no one regards him as being so—is difficult to support, but before I attempt to do this I should like the champions of (for example) that fossil the Bengalee villager to state wherein lies the superiority and inferiority of a race. Certainly, judged by the test of cruelty alone the African would rank above the Asiatic. Africa will not have to answer to the Judge of all things for such cruelty as Juggernaut, the Thugs, the Mutiny crimes, and the persecution of the Bâb, &c., &c.; for the African, as I know him on the West Coast, where I am told he is found in his most degraded form, is not cruel for the sheer love of cruelty.

One must remember that in their culture there are no prisons, lunatic asylums, workhouses, or hospitals, and no regular police force. A large proportion of their worst acts arises from this, particularly from the absence of police, because in order to keep his district in order, the chief, who catches an offender against the social code, has to make a signal example of the culprit. They do not follow our classification of crime, and their view on the nature of sin is also different. For example, they are particularly harsh in their laws towards theft, which I think shows moral courage, for they are devoted to it. You will urge that they are equally devoted to lying, and by no means judicially severe on this crime; but I find the Negro jurist does not regard lying as a crime, though it may be, under certain conditions, a sin. Sin means to them an offence against a God, such as neglecting him, or deriding him, an iniquity it is that God's palaver to pay off, and not another man's business at all. Crimes they quite recognize as an offence of man against man, and lying does not come under this head, because, if A goes and believes B without taking the precaution to call in the assistance of a God who will see that B swells up and bursts if he fails to tell the truth, A is not, what legal gentlemen here would call, the average cautious man, and having been guilty of gross contributory negligence, is "fool man too much," and need not be sympathized with.

Their views regarding murder are highly complicated, and slightly lax. Their views regarding adultery are, theoretically, those of that dragon of virtue, the Mikado, "that all who ogled,

leered, or winked, unless connubially linked, should forthwith be beheaded"; but this law, to bring it into the sphere of practical politics, is what you might call ameliorated.

Another of the main causes of slaughter in Africa is the view the African holds regarding his own future. The apprehension of the importance of burial rites is quite Greek in its intensity: given a duly educated native of the Gold Coast or the Niger Delta, I am sure he would grasp the true inwardness of the Antigone far and away better than any living European can. To provide a proper burial for the dead relative means to them providing for that relative a happy after-life, and to do so is the surviving Negro's greatest duty. Its only rival, in his mind, is the desire to avoid having a funeral for himself, and even this passion goes under, in the mind of a good Negro, and he will risk his life to carry out what he regards as his duty to the dead, even when he is well aware that the killing of slaves will mean hanging for himself when the big Consul knows of it. This killing at funerals is a custom that, from every civilized point of view, must be stamped out, although at present the stamping-out process merely means adding another to the escort accompanying the original deceased, but it is not fair to the Government to expect the immediate and wholesale eradication of the custom, because of the deep root it has in the Negro mind. I own that when I first found that in the Delta the generally accepted view was that there was no abiding underworld, equivalent to Srahmandazi of the Tshi, and that all dead people's souls are believed to be forwarded back to this world in new babies, I thought that killing at funerals would be more easily put down there than in the regions where a perpetual underworld was believed in, but a little more study showed me I was wrong, and that the custom in the Delta was really a more persistent form, for the goods sent down with the dead are an indication as to what class baby the soul is to be repacked in, and wealth being women and slaves, I do not believe that a Niger coast god would understand the status of a man who arrived before him with say ten puncheons of palm oil, and one hundred yards of red figured velvet, which outfit would be useful enough in Srahmandazi because there are markets there where you can buy things. In the Niger underworld the authority managing the re-forwarding of the soul who arrived with these things would say, "Ah yes! very well as far as it goes, but where is your real estate? Chances are you are only a trade slave boy and have stolen these things."

I fancy, also, here comes in the Bantu idea that the god uses these slaves for his own work, as most, if not all sacrificed slaves are regarded as being used even among the Negroes; for example, those killed to the gold mine god. In the case of the god

wanting them for his own use, in order to eliminate the custom, you will have to eliminate the underlying idea—a process which, although it has been going on for over fifty years, is not, as an Irishman would say, progressing. A charming Frenchman suggested to me the other alternative, that, seeing how difficult it is to educate the native, why not take him spiritually in the rear, and educate his gods to take the death *dash* down in cash? I pointed out, at the time, that this was not a feasible plan. All sorts of human beings, for immense periods of time, have been attempting to educate gods into understanding quite simple requests as to how they were wanted to work, and it was a failure. You cannot educate gods.

There is another point which endears this custom to chiefs, namely, its practical advantage to them. A chief explained the other day to me, that now the Consul was putting down the killing of wives and slaves at funerals, a chief's life was not worth five minutes' purchase, because a dissatisfied wife or a vindictive slave would now put poison in his food, a thing they were less inclined to do when the danger of being killed themselves at the ensuing funeral was before their eyes. It was also told by a well-educated native Christian minister, from the Gold Coast, that the Governments were practically preserving vermin in preserving witches. It seems the Gold Coast witch lives by sucking the blood of young children. In old days this was risky for the witch; now that the Governments say witchcraft is a silly superstition, and you must not go out and kill people because of it, the witch, feeling safe, blackmails and terrorizes over anxious parents, threatening to suck their children's blood unless they are bought off. Everyone says it is all nonsense, but unless the witch is bought off, the child withers away, and dies, a case of poison again, perhaps, but both these cases illustrate the strange element of common-sense in apparently rank superstitious folly, and save in the inexplicable trick certain tribes have of killing twin children, I have always found, in every Ju-ju superstition, this common-sense element; whether it, or the superstition, mixed now with it, came first into the Negro mind, I cannot say, but there it always is, and I am sure, even in the twin case, it is there, and I hope some day, in the Hinterland, to find it out.

The greatest cause of horrors in West Africa is undoubtedly the belief in witchcraft. It is not, as one sees often stated, regarded as being the only cause of men dying, there are two other generally accepted death causes, which I will not describe here, but witchcraft is certainly regarded as being the cause of death in 75 per cent. of cases. Toleration means indifference, I believe, with all men, and the West African is not indifferent on this subject. If you put yourself in his place I think you will own it is difficult to be so, when you believe you have found out, and got hold of, by—to your

mind—infallible means of detection, a person who has been placing a live crocodile, or a catawumpus of some kind into your own, or a respectable fellow-citizen's inside, so as to eat up valuable viscera.

I will not go into the subject of African cruelty any farther than to state the reason for killing prisoners of war which goes on now in non-slave holding tribes. This is a direct result of the suppression of the slave trade; it is practically impossible, in the present condition of their culture, for them to keep a quantity of vigorous men in their midst, for they have no prison to keep them in, nor have they any more food than will suffice to feed their own tribe, and it would be exceedingly impolitic to let loose again men who had given evidence of a desire to kill you and yours.

Before turning our attention to the unpleasant side of the effect of European culture on the West African we will consider its more cheerful side. The African seems to me to civilize very well, although he does not Christianize well. The true Negroes seem capable of attaining a higher intellectual culture than the Bantu. The native officials cited, by Mr. Hodgson in his letter to *The Times* of January the 4th as being satisfactory and carrying on all the postal work of the Gold Coast Colony and the Government printing work, all the tribe of Custom House officers at Calabar, and the other oil rivers, in fact I think I may say in all the British possessions on the West Coast, are educated Negroes. I am quite aware that all sea captains regard this class as poisonous nuisances, but then every properly constituted sea captain regards Custom House officers—be their colour what it may—as poisonous nuisances anywhere. You will find also, notably in Lagos, excellent pure-blooded Negroes in European clothes, and with European culture. The best men among these are doctors, lawyers, and merchants, and I must also say I have known African ladies who have quite risen to a level with their lords. The most cultured African woman I have ever met was a pure-blooded Negress, but the other two remarkable ones were Bantu of noble tribes. It is entirely unscientific to go on referring to the Africans under even the two great divisions of Negro and Bantu, because there is quite as much difference between tribes in either division as there is between a canny chiel frae Glasgie and a Tipperary boy. The very wily Wei Wei and the happy-go-lucky Kru man are both Negroes, the vivacious cannibal Fan and the externally highly respectable mollusc of a Galwa are both Bantu; but a custom that one of these tribes would just as soon think of following as you or *The Spectator*, or I, would be parlour bowls for my lady's maid to another tribe in the same division. There are, however, in every tribe in both divisions, and in their mulattoes, certain fixed qualities which mark out to my mind the difference between the

African race and the white, as being not a difference in degree, but a difference in kind.

I do not intend to undertake the public washing and hanging out of European and African moral garments, and I found my belief in the existence of this difference, rather on anatomical and mental considerations, and feel certain that a black man is no more an undeveloped white man than a woman is an undeveloped man. The difference in the comparative level of the black and the white is very much the same as between women and men among ourselves. A great woman, mentally or physically, will excel an indifferent man, but no woman has ever equalled a really great man.

The failure of the English Protestant missionaries in West Africa to recognize the difference between the minds of the Africans and their own, and their tendency to regard the African minds as so many jugs, which have only to be emptied of the stuff which is in them and refilled with the particular form of doctrine they, the missionaries, are engaged in teaching, is certainly one among several causes of the mission failures, and it works in very various ways—by eliminating those parts of the fetish that were an wholesome restraint, and putting in their place the doctrine of the forgiveness of sin by means of repentance, &c. This part of the Christian doctrine the Negroes are very devoted to. I have tackled several mission-trained men and women and asked them how they reconciled it to themselves to go on in the way they were doing, openly contrary to the teaching they had received. What they say I will not write down, I should prefer to give a verbatim report of the observations of a sea captain when the steering-gear has broken down, but it amounts to the statement that they know they are doing wrong, but they intend to repent in time. Cant you cannot call it, because they quite believe it; several times I have been in tight places with backsliders, and they have turned their entire attention to this repentance, pouring out full confessions of their iniquities, instead of lending a hand that would save their lives. The popularity of a (to me) very unpleasant little hymn on the S.W. Coast, that has a chorus of

> "A little talk with Jesus
> Makes it right,
> All right"

demonstrates their view of the affair—no doubt sound doctrine, but bad for Negro morals in this world.

Then there are the cases of backsliding one meets with in tribes that have recently had a missionary settled amongst them. At first the converts flock in and get baptized in batches, and oing to church, attending school, and dressing in European

clothes amuses the ladies and some of the young men for a long time, in some cases permanently, but the older men and the bolder youths soon get bored, and when a Negro is bored (and he is easily so) he goes utterly to the bad. It is in these cases that an industrial mission would be of immense service, and by employing and amusing the largely-preponderating lower faculties of the mind, give the higher faculties time to develop. I am aware of the difficulty the missionary would find in regarding the African as anything but a Man and a Brother, but so great an ingenuity is displayed nowadays in adapting the Scriptures that it might, I should imagine, be done, and the African might be recognized as a man, and a very remote cousin, whose ancestors had lived in those unfortunate regions that have different ways to our own.

The causes to which missionaries on the Coast attribute their failures are, principally, polygamy and the liquor traffic. Now, polygamy is like most other subjects, a difficult thing to form a just opinion of, if, before forming the opinion, you go and make a study of the facts and bearings of the case. It is, therefore, advisable, to follow the usual method when you want to form an opinion; just take a prejudice of your own and fix it up with the so-called opinions of that class of people who go in for that sort of prejudice too. This method is absolutely essential to the forming of an opinion on the subject of polygamy among the African tribes that will be generally accepted in enlightened circles. Polygamy is the institution which, above all others, governs the daily life of the native, and is, therefore, the one which the missionary who enters into the daily life, and not merely into the mercantile and legal, as the trader and Government official do, is constantly confronted with, and hindered by; all the missionaries have set their faces against it, and deny Church membership to those men who follow the practice, whereby it falls out that many men are excluded from the fold who would make quite as good Christians as those within it; they hesitate about turning off from their homes women who have lived and worked for them for years, and not only for them, but often for their fathers before them. One case in the Rivers I know of that was almost tragic, if you put yourselves in his place. An old chief, who had three wives, profoundly and vividly believed that exclusion from the Holy Communion meant an Eternal damnation. The missionary had instructed him thoroughly in the details of that damnation, and the chief did not like the prospect at all; but on the other hand he did not like to turn off the three wives he had lived with for years; he found the matter was not even to be compromised by turning off two and going to the chapel to be married, with accompanying hymns and orange-blossom, with number three, for the ladies held together, not one of them would marry him and

ler the other two go. So the poor old chief worried himself to a shammock, and anybody else who would listen to him. His white trader friends told him not to be such an infernal ass. Some of his black fellow-chiefs said the missionary was quite right, and the best thing for him to do would be to hand over to them the three old wives, and go and marry a young girl from the mission school. Personally, they were not yet afflicted with scruples on the subject of polygamy, and of course (being missionary man now) he would not think of taking anything for his wives, so they would do their best, as friends, to help him. Others of his black fellow-chiefs, less advanced in culture, just said, "What sort of fool palaver you make," and spat profusely. The poor old man smelt hell fire, and cried "yo yo yo," and beat his hands upon the ground. It was a moral mess of the first water all round. Still, do not imagine the mission field is full of yo yo-ing old chiefs, for although the African is undecided, he is also very ingenious, particularly in dodging inconvenient moral principles. Many a keen old chief turns on his pastor and makes driving enquiries about the Patriarchs, until I have heard a sorely-tried pastor question the wisdom of introducing the Old Testament to the heathen. Many a young man hesitates about joining the Church that will require his entering into the married state with one woman, whom he knows he may not whack, and who will go and report all his little failings up at the mission, and get him into hot water with the missionary, whose good opinion he values highly, and he is artful enough to know he enjoys this good opinion more as an interesting possible convert, than he would as a Church member requiring "discipline."

But the larger number of cases where polygamy troubles the missionary are those of boys trained in his mission school and married to school-trained girls; for a time they live according to Church ordinance, and then they keep it to the eye and break it to the heart, and after this period of transition, during which the missionary fights for their souls, a hard and losing fight, against their inherited sensualism and sloth, they sink into, to my mind, a worse state than they would have been in had they never seen the missionary.

This missionary-made class of man is a curse to the Coast, and you find him in European clothes, and without, all the way down from Sierra Leone to Loanda. The Pagans despise him, the whites hate him, but he thinks enough of himself to make him comfortable. His conceit is marvellous, nothing equals it, except perhaps that of the individual rife among us, whom *The Saturday* once so aptly described as "the suburban Agnostic."

He returns to his country fashion, dealing with his fetish in very much the same way as the suburban Agnostic does with his religion

i.e., he removes from it all the inconvenient portions. He "shouldn't wonder if there might not be something in the idea of the immortality of the soul, in a future Heaven, you know, but as for Hell, my dear sir, that's rank superstition, no one believes in it now, and as for Sabbath keeping and food restrictions, what rubbish for enlightened people!"

So the backsliding African deals with the country fashions he returns to, and he eliminates from them the fetish idea of immediate retribution, &c., and keeps his polygamy, and his dances, and his lazy, hazy-minded native ways, believing in the efficacy of repentance. His education in reading and writing, in conjunction with his knowledge of his local languages, fit him for a commercial career; as every African is a born trader he embarks in trade, and there are pretty goings on. On the West Coast he frequently sets up in business for himself, on the South West he usually becomes a sub-trader to one of the great English, French, or German houses; on both coasts he gets himself disliked, and brings down opprobrium on all black traders, expressed in language more powerful than select. This wholesale denunciation of black traders is very unfair, because there are many perfectly straight trading natives. Still, the majority are recruited from the mission school failures, and are utterly unreliable and dishonest. *Post hoc non propter hoc* is an excellent maxim, but one that never enters the missionary head down here. Highly disgusted at his youth's goings on, and absolutely convinced of the excellence of his own methods of instruction and the spiritual equality of all colours of Christians, the missionary rises up and says things, one can understand his saying, about the bad influence of the white traders, stating that they have lured his pupils from the fold; these things are, nevertheless, not true. Then the white trader gets his back up and says things about the effect of missionary training, which are true, but harsh, because the missionary intention is not to turn out educated thieves and unmitigated liars, although this is practically the result. This missionary and trader palaver is a *bête noire* to me on the Coast, for my personal friends are among the white traders, but there are exceedingly nice ladies who are missionaries, and missionaries' wives. It is a most unfortunate arrangement for me, and frequently gives rise in my mind to the desire to wring the neck of the missionary, particularly the male missionary, when he starts telling me "things I really ought to know" about my friend the local trader, and makes the trader regard me as a soft-headed idiot when I say that it is not the individual missionaries' blame that a lamb recently acquired from the fold has gone down the primrose path with "the trust" or the rum.

I have purposely referred to polygamy as it bears on life in

settlements in contact with white culture, where one would have thought if it were not an ineradicable attribute of the African, it might by now be becoming eliminated from his daily life.

Polygamy in the interior, besides being founded on the predisposition to the practice, is supported by a custom, common as far as I have known or heard of to all African tribes, and well known to ethnologists, and rests also on the sheer impossibility of one woman doing all the work of the house.

As regards the liquor traffic in West Africa no one seems to have the courage to speak the truth about it. The missionary party have gravely exaggerated both the evil and the extent of it—in order, I believe, to account for their own want of success, which I have above attempted to show arises from a diversity of causes among which drink is by no means the most important. They know that the cry against alcohol is at present very popular, and it has also the advantage of making the subscribers at home regard the African as an innocent creature who is led away by bad white men, and so making the African still more interesting and more worthy of, and in need of, subscriptions than ever. I should rather like to see the African lady or gentleman who could be led away; all the leading away I have seen on the Coast has been the other way about. I do not say every missionary who makes untrue statements on the subject is an original liar, he is usually following his leaders, and repeating their observations without going into the evidence round him; the fact that in the missionary papers the word rum is printed in italics or heavy Roman is quite sufficient for some people. I have said "Protestant English missionaries," because the Roman Catholics, who are far more successful on the West Coast, by no means make such a palaver over it, and the French Protestant mission, of whose working I have had the pleasure of seeing a good deal, and for whom I have every admiration and esteem, merely regard it as a cause among many others, although drunkenness must strike them more forcibly, not being accustomed to see its extent and evil consequences so much in their own country as we are in the United Kingdom. My own belief is that our knowledge of the effect of drunkenness in England makes us prone to accept as true, without calm investigation, statements regarding other people. I have no hesitation in saying that in the whole of West Africa, in one week, you would not see one quarter the amount of drunkenness that you can see on any Saturday night, say, in the Vauxhall Road in a couple of hours; and you will not see in a whole year on the Coast one seventieth part of the evil, degradation, and premature decay you can see any afternoon you like to take a walk in the densely populated parts of any of our own towns. I have no

financial interest in the liquor traffic whatever, and I own the whole affair is no business of mine, but I hate this playing upon emotional sympathy by misrepresentation, and I grieve to see thousands of pounds wasted that are bitterly needed by our own cold, starving poor. I do not regard it as wasted because it goes to Africa, but because such an immense percentage of it does no good, but much harm, when it gets there.

It is customary to refer to the spirit sent out to Africa as "poisonous" and as "raw alcohol." It is neither. I subjoin an analysis of a bottle of trade gin, which I obtained to satisfy my own curiosity on the point.

"ANALYSIS OF SAMPLE OF TRADE GIN RECEIVED OCTOBER 2ND, 1895.

"With reference to the bottle of the above, I have the honour to report as follows:—

"It contains

	Per Cent.
Absolute Alcohol	39·35
Acidity expressed as Acetic Acid	0·0068
Ethers expressed as Acetic Acid	0·021
Aldehydres ... ... Present in small quantity	
Furfural	—
Higher Alcohols	—

"The only Alcohol that can be estimated quantitatively is Ethyl Alcohol. There is no Methyle, and the higher alcohols, as shown by Savalle's method, only exist in traces. The spirit is flavoured by more than one essential oil, and, apparently, Oil of Juniper is one of these oils.

"The liquid contains no sugar, and leaves but a small extract. In my opinion the liquid essentially consists of a pure distilled spirit, flavoured with essential oils. Of course, no attempt to identify these oils in the quantity sent—viz., 632 c.c.—was made. The Ethers are returned as ethyl acetate from a fractional distillation. Amyle acetate was found to be present.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"(Signed) G. H. ROBERTSON,

"Fellow of the Chemical Society,

"Associate of the Institute of Chemistry, &c., &c., &c."

In a subsequent letter Mr. Robertson observed that he had been "assisted in making the above analysis by an expert in the Chemistry of Alcohols," who said that "the present sample differed in no material particulars from, and was neither more or less deleterious to health than the gins purchased in different parts of London and submitted to analysis."

I think the above is an answer to the "poison" statement of the anti-liquor-traffic party, and should be sufficient evidence against it for all people who are not themselves absolute teetotalers. Absolute teetotalers are definite-minded people, whom one respects more than one can respect those who "don't hold with it for themselves, but think it is a good thing for other people," and with the definite teetotaler it is no use arguing, because he says all drink is poison, and he won't appreciate any evidence to the contrary, so

"palaver done set." But a large majority of those who attack, or believe in the attack, are not teetotalers, and should be capable of forming a just opinion.

A very instructive series of observations on the West African liquor traffic appeared in *The Times*, commencing on June 4th, 1895, and ending on June 7th, 1895. First comes the Bishop of Lagos; then the Governor, Sir Gilbert Carter; then comes *The Times* leader, representing public opinion, very high souled, well expressed, rather smug, and utterly led away by a live bishop. I must say, too, that although the Governor's letter answering the Bishop's accusation, contains 75 per cent. more truth than either of the other statements, it is exceedingly ill-advised in tone—a man who says "Christianity and drink usually go together" is stating a fact undeniable, but unacceptable. He also bears testimony to the superiority of the Mahommedan Africans. I cannot say anything about this, never having been sufficiently in contact with them, but I have no hesitation in endorsing every other statement made in the Governor's letter; I will not do as much for those in Bishop Tugwell's. I dare say he did sit two hours in the market-place waiting for fire-wood or food, but I know the mission in Lagos are setting their faces against paying the higher wages and prices the natives are now getting, in consequence of the energetic developments, Governmental and trading, going on in that Colony, and as for sticking on a sand-bank, Sir Wilfred Lawson, even if he were paddled by the World's Women's Temperance Association, would infallibly stick on several sand-banks if he went gaily down a West African river in the dark. Then there is the case of that "old chief of one of the villages of this district." He, I expect, was an average artful African. He knew his man, and so said what he did—they will always say what they think you want them to. I will not give any more conjectural criticism on the Bishop's letter; we who know the Coast can read between the lines. But I would warn the British public to accept very cautiously the statements of any man who says "the evils connected with the traffic in spirits cannot well be exaggerated." These evils can not only "well be exaggerated," but are easily exaggerated by any prejudiced fanatic who has not been a week in West Africa. My personal knowledge of the district, where most of the liquor goes in, has mainly been gained at Duke Town, Old Calabar. I have been there four separate times, and stayed continuously there for several months. I was there last year, during a period when, if Duke Town had wanted "to go on the burst," it certainly would have done so, for the police were away at Brass, and most of the Government officers, and the white traders, were down with an epidemic of a bad form

of malarial typhoid. But Duke Town did nothing of the kind. I used to be down in the heart of the town, at Eyambàs Market, by Prince Archebong's house, &c., night after night, alone, watching the devil-makings that were going on there, and the amount of drunkenness I saw was exceedingly small. I did the same thing at the adjacent town of Qua. My knowledge of Bonny, Opobo, Bell, and Akwa towns, Libreville, Lambarene, Kabinda, Boma, Nokoi, &c., is extensive and peculiar, and I have spent hours in them, when the whole of the missionaries and Government people have been safe in their distant houses. Had the evil of the liquor traffic been truly anything like what it is made out, I must have come across it in appalling forms, and I have not.

The figures of the case I will not quote, because they are easily obtainable from Government reports by anyone interested in the matter. I regard their value as being small, unless combined with a knowledge of the West Coast trade. The liquor goes from the sea-coast into the hands of the tribes, who act as middle-men between the white trader and the interior trade-producing tribes. We English are in direct touch with none of the interior trade, save in the territory of the Royal Niger Company. The Delta tribes subsist on this trade between the interior and the coast, and they prefer to trade in spirits, because they get the highest percentage of gain, and the less amount of loss by damage in dealing with spirits, than in dealing with any other form of trade commodity; in these towns there are immense stores of gin, which they would as soon think of drinking themselves as we should think, if we were English butchers, of going and eating up our stock in the shops. A certain percentage is consumed in the Delta, and if spirits are wanted anywhere, they are wanted in the region of the Oil Rivers, and about one-eighth of the quantity is used for fetish worship. There is no doubt in the African mind of the want of alcohol being a real one, living as they do, in saturated forest swamps, reeking with malaria, their damp mud-walled houses frequently flooded, they themselves spending the greater part of their time dabbling about in the stinking mangrove slime, for five months in the year wrapped in the almost continual torrential downpour of the West African wet season, which is followed in the Delta by the so-called "dry" with its thick morning and evening mists, and the air never beyond dew point. Their food is of poor quality, and insufficient quantity, and notably deficient in districts near the coast of meat of any kind. I think their desire for spirits quite reasonable, and that alcohol taken, as it usually is, in moderation, is anything but deleterious. When the African cannot get white man's spirit, "min makara" as he calls it in Calabar, he takes to black man's spirit, "min effik." This is a palm wine,

and although it has escaped the abuse heaped on rum, it is worse for the native than rum, for he drinks a disgusting quantity of it, for, from the palm wine, he does not get the stimulating effect so quickly as from gin or rum, yet the intoxicating effect is ultimately severe, and the enormous quantity consumed at one sitting will distribute its effects over a week. You can always tell whether a native has had a glass too much rum or half a gallon or so too much palm wine. The rum he soon recovers from, while the palm wine keeps him a disgusting nuisance for days, and the constitutional effects of it are worse than those of rum, for it produces a definite type of renal disease, which, if it does not cut short the life of the sufferer in a paroxysm, kills him gradually with dropsy.

G.W.I. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

I have already encroached so much on the space at my disposal that I cannot go into details of the magnificent results of the working of the Roman Catholic Mission at Landana, nor of the Mission Evangélique Française in Congo, and I will only say that I make no accusations against missionaries personally; they are often superbly brave, noble-minded men who risk their own lives and frequently those of their wives and children, and sacrifice their personal comfort and safety to do what from their point of view is their duty.

MARY H. KINGSLEY.

VOLUNTEERS.

THE Volunteer Force may be said now to have passed the time of youth, and to be in the period most critical for all human organizations, when the outcome of maturity must show itself, either wild fruit, the barrenness of the tree that is a cumberer of the ground, or the fruit which can be gathered and garnered for the good of the land. The plant was one of the most remarkable which ever sprang up in a national soil. It was the spontaneous uprising of the spirit of a people, which has no desire for mere military renown, or ambition to show its power over others, or to earn fame by conquest. Whatever the foreign newspaper or stump orator may say of us, in his desire to please the vanity or work upon the passions of another people, no sane Continental politician harbours the idea that Great Britain has any aim but that of peace, and is not prepared to give up everything, except her honour, to preserve it. But, it is equally certain, and no one who really knows us doubts it, that if the British subject ever is driven to fight for national existence he can fight and will fight to the last of his treasure and his strength. The events of 1859 were a symbol of this national sentiment, and the history of the Volunteer Force for the last thirty-six years gives unmistakable evidence that the feeling is not one which froths up in big words and high-sounding phrases, but springs from deep-seated sentiment, capable of developing a potential action of stern determination should occasion require it. To those who have gone through the whole course of that history, in practical association with the work which has been done, it is perhaps more remarkable than it can be to others. They know how it has been treated from time to time, with alternate foolish petting and equally foolish neglect. They know in what essential particulars it has changed its character, and how it has done so, and that the mode in which it has been looked upon and treated by the military authority has also changed. They know, as none others can, how hard has often been the struggle to make things go, and to prevent collapse, when the public ceased to subscribe, and the strings of the public purse were hard to open, even to provide necessary equipment, while the generally prevalent idea in

the mind of the official class was that volunteering meant not only giving much time and some money without reward for the national defence, but that the volunteer was a creature who, if he chose to save others from having to serve in the militia, had no business to take such a duty on himself unless he was prepared also to relieve the taxpayer from all the expense.

An illustration of this occurred about ten years ago. In no other country in the world could such an event have happened as was witnessed then. The military authority said, most rightly, that volunteers without proper equipment were practically useless, and proposed to call upon the volunteers to supply themselves within a certain time, under penalty that if they did not do so, the poor pittance already provided for indispensable expenses, and which in very many cases was for local reasons insufficient to meet them, should be cut off. And then, what did we see? A Lord Mayor of London, apparently ashamed that men who gave their time and work freely should have exactions made upon them for national purposes—thus taxing them exceptionally because they were doing a duty that others declined to do—went hat in hand to the citizens begging for money to save the force from being called upon to furnish its own tools for the nation's work, and from punishment by fines on defaulters who failed to do so. It was only after one Ministry had narrowly escaped defeat and another had been actually out-voted on an amendment on the estimates, that a sum was granted to cover the necessary expenses of providing field accoutrements and great-coats. The whole episode was remarkable, and without parallel in the history of nations, the military authority declaring that certain things were requisite, and the ways-and-means authority obstinately refusing to find the money for them, until it had received first a moral and then a real slap in the face.

The present time seems to be suitable for a review of the volunteer question, for the country has been stirred by events of that class which compel a consideration of its military position. And no one who reads the utterances of those high in military position can doubt that the volunteer force is now regarded as a substantial factor in the military strength of the country. In 1859, when the first enrolment took place, the military mind had no idea of such a thing as citizen soldiers organized into battalions and brigades, and capable of being used as troops in the line of battle. The celebrated "Green Book" which was issued officially for the instruction and training of volunteers is a striking and permanent record of what was thought in Pall Mall. The whole organization and drill there laid down were based upon the idea that the highest volunteer command

would be that of the captain, and the drill itself was made different from that of ordinary troops, presumably upon the assumption that the Red Book would be too great a tax upon the volunteer intelligence. But the time which it took to print and publish the Green Book after it was compiled, was sufficient to render it a dead letter, and its only effect was that in the few cases in which obedience was paid to the order appointing it to be followed, those whose sense of discipline made them thus do what they were told were laughed at, and sometimes censured, for what were called stupid mistakes by army generals who had never seen a Green Book and did not know of its existence, or that it was imposed upon the volunteers by army order. Corps grew with rapidity, and in some cases far beyond the ordinary battalion strength. The writer marched as a captain to the royal review in 1860, in Queen's Park, Edinburgh, with a corps that had upwards of 1,600 men on parade. Six months had sufficed to show that this volunteer movement was not to end in the establishment of a mere congeries of Rifle Clubs or companies of Franc-tireurs, but that it possessed the elements of real military organization, and would have to be taken account of as a substantial factor in the army of the country. Nobody at that time did more to foster the new force than the late Sir Montagu M'Murdo. He grasped the possibilities of the force, and in spite of much discouragement led it forward in a way to which its present position of permanency is in great measure due. Its danger lay in becoming, as it did for a time, the pet of the public. Ill-considered praise and fulsome flattery were freely lavished on the volunteer, and in many cases money was too freely given, and very foolishly expended. Having been a battalion commander for twenty-nine years, I can say that the companies with whom money was most "flush" in the early days of the movement were those in which failure, or if not failure, weakness, showed itself most markedly in after years. It did not take long to produce a change. The fickle public, which, when excitement is passed, soon neglects where formerly it petted, ceased to take any serious interest in the force. This was seen in the decay and disbanding of many companies formed of men of the well-off classes, and the disappearance from the ranks of all corps, but a very few, of the leisured, or the moneyed citizen. While in 1860 the volunteer force had a very large proportion of such citizens, now their numbers are represented by a small decimal per cent. The ranks are for the most part filled by those of the artizan class, and of those of somewhat better station who remain a considerable percentage are the rifle range pot-hunters, who do as few drills as Regulation insists upon, and spend the rest of their volunteer existence in struggling for individual money prizes at rifle meetings.

It is a sad thing to say, but it is unfortunately true, that the upper and middle classes of the country take no practical interest whatever in the volunteer force. It has been my lot many times to respond to the toast of "The Health of the Volunteers" at public entertainments, and I have said then what I say now, and those to whom it is said must confess its truth: Is it possible to conceive that there would be the dearth of officers from which the force is suffering, if the men of position and of means had any heart in the matter? For one man who gives a thought to it and makes up his mind to a little sacrifice of his time, or, if he be too old, encourages his son to do so, there are a hundred who never give the subject a moment's consideration, or if those of the latter class do take up a position it is too often an adverse one, holding their sons back rather than pressing them forward. This may seem a strong thing to say, but I know from my own experience and that of others how many are the obstacles put in our way when we seek for suitable men to fill up the number of the officers to the regulation strength. I would ask, how many who read this paper can, as they do so, conscientiously look back and say that during the last twenty years they have done anything for the volunteer force, except, perhaps, drink its health, when they were spending as much as would equip a company upon civic banquets, or turn round to take a look at a corps as it marched down the street. When this *argumentum ad hominum* is used, and is found unanswerable by direct statement, the reply sometimes is: We pay our taxes, and what more is there any call upon us to do? But the volunteer pays his taxes also, and therefore in that respect nothing can be claimed, and this very reply indicates the thoughtlessness of the good citizen. He fails to realize that to keep up a force of 250,000 men who serve in peace time without any pay, some moral force from the community is essential. Vigorous recruiting and the obtaining of officers are not promoted by a mere cheerful payment of taxes. The absence of a sense of encouragement is like the feeling of a damp and foggy day, depressing and enervating. There must be the sunshine of affectionate stimulus. How often have I felt, when at the head of a large corps, that my efforts were weakened by the indifference of those from whom a very little would mean so much in the way of infusing energy? If a voluntary national force is to exist, it must be truly national. It is not enough to have some enthusiasts pressing forward in the front. There must be the weight and energy of the nation behind. It is a well-known thing in battle that the power to push on, the spirit which carries a fighting line forward, but too easily evaporates if there is not the knowledge that the supports are behind. No amount of zeal and energy on the part of the few can do more

than keep up a temporary efficiency. The power from within may last as long as the spirit can hold out in its own strength, but it must in the end fail. Every year the volunteer force requires new blood, both in men and officers which can only be infused if the national heart is providing the flow. The nation, if it looks upon its volunteers as something separate from itself, and with which it has no practical concern, will be responsible for having destroyed it. If the soil is uncommunicative and grudging of its stimulus, the plant must wither and die. A volunteer force without a nation which has the spirit to create it and foster it, must be a sham, and cannot be a continuing thing. If it is made up only of those who have a fancy for soldiering, and to whom it is no sacrifice, it can never be a true factor in the nation's defences.

As a race we are easy-going. When there is a call for energy which cannot be denied, we wake up like a slumbering giant, and sometimes do wonders. But unless events occur to shake us up, we are very prone to accept the suggestion that "It's all right," and to shut our eyes, and have a little more slumber. And if what has been said above is true about the indifference shown nationally to the volunteer movement in later years, it may perhaps with justice be put down more to our take-it-easy tendency than to any actual deficiency of patriotism or culpable indifference. But if this be so, then there is the greater need that such matters should be brought before the national mind, and efforts made to wake up the slumbering lion. We have heard a good deal lately about twisting the lion's tail. We know very well that if anybody twists sufficiently hard to wake him up thoroughly he can give a good account of himself. But what I would fain urge upon my fellow-countrymen is that they should consider whether he should be allowed to fall asleep so often, and whether a little wakening up would not be advisable, without the stimulus of unfriendly attack. Recent events have been of a very awakening character, and the sight of a rapid fleet mobilization has done us good both at home and abroad, while the prospect of a large addition to our naval strength will give gratification to every good citizen. But the drowsiness will glide over us again if we do not realize that in these things we are doing by sudden spurts and under pressure what should be done regularly and steadily, and as a matter of course. And it is most desirable that the opportunity should not be lost as regards the reserve portion of our forces, of bringing home to the mind of the arm-chair politician what the national duty is in regard to the volunteer. With a view to this it may be well that he should first be informed as to what has been done and is doing in the volunteer organization. For on these things it is my experience and that of

others that the general public is lamentably ignorant, which is another proof of the indifferent frame of mind into which it has fallen on the subject.

For the first twenty years of the existence of the volunteers very little was done beyond acquiring the rudiments of barrack-yard drill, and a certain amount of proficiency in individual firing at the target. At the time when the force was first brought into being, the general character of the military training of the infantry in this country was but a repetition of the drill of a previous period, and utterly out of date. The smooth-bore small-arm had just disappeared from the scene, but the tactics and drill which were suitable for it were retained and practised with wearying monotony. All sorts of movements, intricate and full of complications, which had come down to us from the time when armies practically paraded in front of one another at three or four hundred yards distance, and when infantry were almost helpless against cavalry unless they could get into square, were still gravely laid down in the books of field exercise as being things not merely of training drill, but of actual application to the field. Military instruction consisted in a perpetual repetition of a narrow routine, and the parade ground was, to use the words of the late General Hamley, "a mere scene of empty show, where many of the manœuvres practised bear little relation to actual warfare," and which Field-Marshal Lord Roberts says were often practised in a course of "objectless repetition." Thus the drill, while from its strictness and enforced precision it had a disciplining effect on those subjected to it, was a mere thing of rote. It was disciplinary but not instructive. An officer was a good officer if he could repeat like a parrot certain expressions at proper times, but his position was one in which he did not need to trouble himself about tactical problems, or exercise any discriminating intelligence in doing his duties.

That this was the state of things in the army, all old officers frankly admit. The work consisted in doing a number of formal things in a formal way, for which no military knowledge was necessary, and the study of tactics, the science of military application of force to defeat an enemy, was quite unknown, except to a few enthusiasts. It is the fact, as I have often heard it stated by the highest military authorities, including the present Commander-in-Chief himself, that there is always a tendency in the military world to remain in grooves. He said, only a few years ago, "We are still in that condition in the infantry which has come down to us from old times, when captains looked to their colonels, and when all the companies in a battalion were moved in a mechanical way by the voice of the colonel." Nor was this confined to our own country.

The works of foreign military writers were, during the period under discussion, full of lamentation and sarcastic comment upon the constant "routine of exercises not having any real object in war," and as Von Boguslawski said not very many years ago, "on the drill ground we still remark formations that sprang from the battles of 1813."

It must be confessed that there is, even to this day, a considerable leaven of this false conservatism as yet unpurged. Too often when the volunteer battalion sees a regular officer for the one single day in the year on which it does see him, the proceedings which pass for an inspection are but a concatenation of beggarly elements, a meaningless succession of movements, some elementary, and some antiquated, and that, while capacity for orderly movement is shown, not one single thing is done which tests practical efficiency, or indicates the presence in officers or men of true field aptitude. The corps is got up to a performing pitch in the cut-and-dry formations of a drill-book, but it may, notwithstanding, be in the most true sense of the word inefficient, and unfit for the work of the field. There may be much skill in trivial detail, while all the time the whole thing is more or less a sham. I quote the words of a distinguished officer, who said in public, when speaking of army inspections, "Many a battalion which has the best report from the general at an inspection may be one of the most inefficient in the army," and these remarks apply with equal force to volunteer inspections.

But although there is much of this make-believe still existing, and likely to exist until the whole system of inspection is radically altered, as it ought to be and must be, there has been a great change slowly proceeding, promoted by some of the master-minds of the army. The tendency is to make training in field aptitude and fire efficiency take their proper place, to relegate barrack-yard drill to its proper sphere as a preliminary instead of being the be-all and the end-all of the training, and to count nothing as entitled to the name of efficiency which ends with the performance of mere marching past and movements of parade. The bringing of the training of the soldier up to what the Commander-in-Chief has spoken of as "the most modern notions of what war really is," is now occupying the minds of many in high position in the service. No one who has had the privilege of attending camps of exercise such as are held at Aldershot, can fail to see how absolute is the change which has come over our ways in military matters within a generation. I have seen more than once in the writings of old army officers, speaking of the officer's life of former days, these words, "*The idle life of a barrack-yard*," and have heard similar xpressions from the lips of others. *I* have also heard officers

state that it would take them weeks in the barrack-yard to get their men into proper drill condition after they had been at manœuvres in the field. Could there be anything more strong to indicate how in the past there has been a divorce between the barrack-yard and the field, instead of each being the true complement of the other? What testimonies these utterances were to the rottenness of the state of things which was allowed to exist! This is a reproach which can no longer be applied to our whole military system. The tendency is to real tactical training, and to exacting from officers a very different standard of knowledge and practical fitness from what was sufficient to "pull through" an inspection of the old style.

But how does the case stand with the volunteer? I fear it must be answered that he is neither given the facilities nor the means for getting much beyond the stage of cat's-cradle performances on the flat. I have myself, at a comparatively recent time, attended a course of instruction at a school for officers at the Guards barracks, and I left it a sadder and, contrary to the adage, not a wiser man. The idea of a soldiering school which obtains there is limited practically to acquiring the details of parade movement on a barrack square. The young subaltern is placed before a company, and made to understand that proficiency in an instructor consists in being able to say exactly in the words of a book what is about to be done, and then give an order. His mode and tone in giving the instruction are of no consequence. They may be absolutely monotonous and scarcely intelligible, but the alteration of a syllable is a fault, whether it alters the sense or not. It is simply a gabble by rote—the very opposite of an intelligent mode of teaching, in which the mind of the teacher is trained in instruction, the mind of the pupil awakened and interested. And what was the drill itself; nothing but a monotonous weary round of parade, in which the idea was never once suggested to the mind of the officer that the soldier should be handled and dealt with as an instrument of fire, and made to feel that efficient fire was his business, and that movements were a means for bringing fire efficiently to bear. In short, we learned —no doubt with considerable addition to smartness—what we had already learned *ad nauseam* at home, but, alas, every officer was sent back to his corps having only one idea ground into his very being, viz., that soldiering consists in making soldiers march about a barrack-yard in an aimless succession of movements, few of which are of any use at all, and the remainder only of use in getting to the field, but wholly inapplicable when the field is reached. And this folly has been practised for the last thirty years and more, and is still perpetrated. I do not hesitate to say that the so-called "schools" are not only valueless, but harmful, being merely smarten-

ing shops to make externals better, but most pernicious in engraining into officers sent for instruction an entirely false idea as to what it is their duty to devote themselves to in the training of their men. Young officers cannot be expected to be become fit for real command if they are taught at school under officers of the corps which they naturally consider to be the "cracks" of the service, that nothing more is required than is taught there, and come home with a p.s. after their name in Her Majesty's *Army List*, certified as officers educated for their duties. If the volunteer officer, whether at Wellington Barracks when attending the school, or in his training and examinations in his own district, never has anything presented to him but parade movements, and if the whole energies of commanding officers are directed to working up a good march past, then all that will be acquired will be that Lord Wolseley calls "very pretty in Hyde Park, and amusing to the nurse-maids there, but of very little use in war."

What is really wanted is that the whole character of the inspection should be changed. It has been well said that whatever the general character of the inspection is, the previous training and work of the troops will be adapted to prepare for that inspection. If it is known that show, a formal exhibition of formal things, is what will be expected by an inspecting officer, then show and form will be the characteristics of the previous training. And that it still is so to a great extent cannot be denied.

But in many quarters there has been a very decided advance, and a much higher degree of efficiency has been reached than was formerly the case. The officer in the volunteer force has in a great many instances been improved in a very marked degree. While as has been said, in former days there was drill, but no tactical training, now a large number of officers have received certificates for tactical knowledge, on papers set by the military authorities and on the report of army officers. This is a great advance, and the amount of sacrifice in private study in preparation is much more than those who do not know the facts would suppose. This tactical knowledge is kept alive by practice of the war game, in which the principles are applied in practical contest so far as this can be carried out on maps. Further, the volunteers are now assembled in camps in large numbers, where actual tactical operations are carried out, and much useful field instruction given. A marked development is also going on in the introduction, where possible, of field firing, in which the volunteers are exercised in combining manœuvre with the actual use of ball cartridge fired at screens representing opposing troops. Tactical societies have been formed in many of the large towns, where historical, theoretical, and practical lectures are delivered, and discussions of an instructive character take

place. But, most important of all, the officers in high command in the army, and the staff officers under them, have been taking a very much greater interest in the volunteers within the last few years. Time was when, in many districts, except on the occasion of the annual inspection, the volunteer never saw an officer of the regular army from one year's end to another. The army officers neither gave the volunteers their countenance in the field nor at the Tactical Society meetings. There has been in this matter a great change. Interest is shown in a most marked manner, and in the district with which I am connected several of the Society lectures every season are given by army officers; and army officers attend and give valuable aid in the discussions; while the generals who have recently held the command in the district have, often at inconvenience to themselves, personally attended the Tactical Society, and also taken an interest in outdoor tactical manœuvres. There is, therefore, much within the military circle to encourage the volunteers, for which every member of the force has reason to be grateful, and may perhaps be entitled to feel that it is the reward of persistency and diligence in self-improvement within the force itself. It only requires a little more interest and encouragement from without to make the position of the volunteer more satisfactory than it has been.

Has the volunteer a claim to this? Let the citizen judge. The position of the force as regards its percentage of efficiency is at present highly satisfactory, although the standard of efficiency is much higher than it was formerly. The capacity and acquired skill of the officers is immeasurably higher than in the earlier days. Recent developments have also tended to bring out a much greater efficiency in the non-commissioned ranks, the sergeants having a real command of their sections in fire action. These facts may, it is hoped, appeal to the citizen, and cause him to think whether there may not be a call upon him to co-operate in giving us a further impetus. It is not possible in this paper to enter upon all the matters in which, if he had the will, he might do good. But there is one of such paramount importance that it may be singled out for emphatic recommendation, and even entreaty. The great difficulty with which the volunteer system has to contend is the dearth of eligible men to fill the commissioned ranks. It is true of all soldiering that the military units, large and small, are the reflection of what the officer is. And a difficulty of filling the commissioned ranks necessarily results in two evils, that many men are made officers who are not the most eligible (this being the only means of minimizing vacancies), and that unfilled vacancies are a source of weakness and depression, hindering recruiting for the ranks, and having a

lowering effect on efficiency. A most earnest appeal must be made to society. Here is a force, well established in the country, maintained as necessary for national defensive purposes, and recognized by authority as an integral part of the country's defences, and as relatively satisfactory, and which has shown itself capable of standing the test of time, by outliving the blow-cold stage of the national mind. Is it too much to ask that some interest be taken in it—real, substantial, thoughtful interest—by those classes who have ceased to send their members into the ranks, and relegated the general duty of service to those less wealthy; is it too much to ask that they will find the men for the commissioned ranks? If one man in fifty of the people of higher station and better pecuniary position were to-morrow to make up his mind that he had a duty towards the maintenance of the volunteer force, not for its sake, but for Queen and Country, and put forth some activity towards its good, there would no longer be the crying need for officers. The only weak spot would soon be made strong. Is it anything else than a disgrace that—to quote one instance among many—in such a city as my own, Edinburgh, where there is a large resident population of people of position and wealth, there should not be in the five battalions of my brigade one single officer whose time is his own? Not a man of position or of wealth who is free to do what he will with his time is to be found taking his share of the duty of upholding the volunteer defences. Every single officer is a man engaged in business, whose volunteer work must be taken out of his well-earned hours of leisure. Yes, and to many of them the provision of their uniform, subscriptions, and other expenses is a heavy drain upon purses not over well filled, while there are many with means who never give one sixpence to aid them in meeting the expenses which are not laid upon the taxpayer, or ever give a thought to furthering the force by their countenance and support. If the wealthy non-volunteer would only give a voluntary contribution in lieu of the service which he cannot himself render, or, at least, does not render, it would free the active volunteers of a load they are often ill able to sustain, and open the way for many eligible young men who cannot at present take commissions because they cannot conscientiously meet the expense, being often men just entering upon life, whose earnings are little more than those of a common labourer, and who often have others dependent upon them for the necessaries of life.

May not the volunteer appeal to the nation to send out to him from its abundance the men that are needed to take the positions of command as officers? If the heart of the nation were roused by great events, it would send men more than enough. But they

would be of little use. They must be sent before the time of need, so that should it come they may be equipped ready for duty's call. Common prudence will suggest that if the force is to be in its place as a useful part of the country's defences, both to avert the risk of attack, and to assist in repelling it, the well-trained officer is the thing of paramount necessity. Will those classes from whom the officer element must be recruited take this home to themselves and realize that the present dearth can only be made abundance by their goodwill and energy? If this were done, and we volunteers shall hope against hope that it may yet be so, the most important of the volunteer difficulties would be removed.

In what has been said the volunteer may perhaps, in my person, have laid himself open to the remark that he is rather free in expressing his opinions, and not in very measured terms. I plead in excuse two things, first, that experience shows that if any change is to be effected in military matters it requires to be advocated with some audacity and persistency. Half the valuable changes made during the last forty years have had to submit to rejection, passive resistance, and cold tolerance, before being adopted with final approval. That they have been followed by marked success, and the silence of the croaker, no one who knows the facts can deny. Secondly, I say that the volunteer has been encouraged by what has occurred in the past to say what he thinks, if he has really thought with earnestness and a desire for his country's good, and says what he has to say with a sense of responsibility. I give the highest authority for this statement, that ofthe Commander-in-Chief himself: "The volunteers have helped us forward in our desire to improve ourselves and to proceed on the line of reform and progress." So far back as 1878 the same officer, when Adjutant-General of the Forces, used these remarkable words: "If you look back to all the great reforms which have been effected in our tactical formations, a very large proportion of them have been forced upon the army by outside pressure, and that outside pressure has within the last fifteen or sixteen years almost invariably come from the volunteer force." There is encouragement in such words as these. We learn from them that, by speaking out, volunteers have been instruments for some good in the past, and so we have hope that, speaking out again, we may escape the accusation of presumption, and be in some degree useful.

The desire of this paper is that our fellow-citizens may be persuaded to do their part to make us still more useful as an auxiliary defence for Queen and Country.

J. H. A. Macdonald.

BEAUTIFYING LONDON.

It is interesting to note with what different eyes men of artistic sense and wide observation regard modern London. Some can see nothing but its comparative architectural poverty and meanness. Others will forget its deformities in its accidentally beautiful views, and in the atmospheric effects with which kind Nature sometimes redeems even its ugliness. On the one side there is Mr. Frederic Harrison, who, on his return last autumn from a tour in Belgium and Holland, soundly declared, "I was struck for the fiftieth time with the poor, starved, mesquin character of the public buildings and thoroughfares in England. Holland and Belgium are two of the smallest and poorest states in Western Europe; and yet their railway-stations, public-offices, town halls, main avenues, libraries, museums, courts of justice, and artistic and scientific institutions make our own look dingy and provincial. In all things of this kind London is content to put up with buildings that would be held discreditable in a foreign town of 50,000 inhabitants." If there is a view in London which most of us think we have reason to be proud of it is the view of the Thames and its Embankment from one of the bridges between Westminster and Blackfriars, but Mr. Du Maurier in *Trilby* in a cruel passage, rather inexplicably, I think, contrasts a view of the Seine at Paris to the crushing disadvantage of the Thames. On the other hand, Mr. Augustus J. C. Hare in the preface to his *Walks in London* argues, "in fact, if the capitals of Europe are considered London is one of the most *picturesque*—far more so than Paris or Vienna; incomparably more so than St. Petersburg, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Brussels, or Madrid." And Mr. Herbert Marshall, who has done so much to make clear to unobservant eyes the unsuspected charm of many an apparently commonplace London view, while (in an article in *The Studio*), he admits, "beautiful it is not; its streets wind aimlessly without plan or system; it has no *coup d'œil*," says "the great strength of London's character lies in the indefinable colouring and grandeur of its scenic effects. The sun's behaviour and apparent disregard of all optical laws is quite unintelligible. These extraordinary and quite

distinctive attractions render London, compared with other cities, so unique in its picturesque aspect."

But whether we are sensible of the picturesqueness of London, or whether we are blind to it, we must all desire that it may gradually be made more beautiful, and worthier of its pre-eminence amongst the cities of the world. It so happens that just now several large so-called "Public Improvements" have been decided upon, and will shortly be carried out. They are of such scope and magnitude that they must transform central London. If they be executed hurriedly and without sufficient artistic forethought, they may but furnish cause hereafter for vain regrets for neglected opportunities. On the other hand, if true taste now comes to the assistance of the Government and municipal officials who are actually designing the proposed alterations, the most depreciatory of Englishmen will be forced to admit that at last London is becoming beautiful. Too often in the past the whole responsibility for the conception as well as for the execution of such public works has been left to the authorities directly charged with them; and it has not been till the work has been completed, and when criticism is too late, that London has realized what is being done, and that every newspaper has echoed denunciations of the Philistinism of the Office of Works or of the municipal authorities. Who cannot now perceive that a grievous error was committed when the Victoria Embankment, at its junction with Westminster Bridge, was not slightly widened on the land side so as to allow the whole height of the clock tower to be seen from Charing Cross Bridge and onwards from there? As it is the roadway is positively deflected towards the river. The St. Stephen's Club has been built up close to the right hand pavement, with the result that it shuts out from view the lower half of the tower, and mars what would have been a most striking termination to the embankment. Anyone, again, can see now the strange perversity with which Northumberland Avenue was laid out. Given the task of making a new street through the lands of old Northumberland House, between Trafalgar Square and the Embankment at Charing Cross, it would seem sufficiently obvious that no effort should have been omitted to give at one end prominence to the Nelson Column, and at the other end to the Embankment and the river. But the carvers of the Avenue ingeniously contrived that it should exactly fail to afford a view of the column, and that with a nice precision it should open out a most offensive view, not merely of a railway bridge, but more particularly of all the signalling apparatus of a London terminus.

All the characteristics of the London climate and atmosphere make it important that our streets and places should lend them-

selves to distant views, and should produce large effects. In a word, these characteristics, while they tell against the bright and gay architectural beauties of sunnier capitals, do generate a picturesqueness which has a charm of its own. But then this picturesqueness does not show itself in the near view of particular edifices, but in a group of towers, or some one striking feature standing out against the sky, and seen from afar. Thus, all the more delightful of Mr. Herbert Marshall's drawings represent distant views of St. Paul's, or of the towers of Westminster, lovely in themselves, but having an added loveliness from some golden mist, peculiar to London, which is bathing them. And in his not less true or clever drawings of prospects which are intrinsically commonplace, one sees how some tall building of no artistic merit in itself acquires, when seen from a distance through the haze of a long street, a mysterious picturesqueness. My object, then, in this article, is to endeavour before it is too late to attract the attention and the criticism of men of taste to the notable schemes of public improvements which are about to be carried out, so that on their completion, not merely may the convenience of traffic be increased, but the true beauty and picturesqueness of London may be enhanced.

The most important of all these projects is the long-talked-of street between Holborn and the Strand. It is convenient to couple with this the widening of the Strand between Somerset House and the Royal Courts of Justice. The Improvements Committee of the London County Council presented to the Council last October definite proposals for effecting these objects. A section of the Progressive Party was then able on a side issue to prevent the necessary Parliamentary action being taken for this Session, and, consequently, to postpone any further progress being made for yet another year. But as this scheme of the Improvements Committee is in substance the same as that which this Committee presented to the Council in July, 1892, it may be assumed that it will be recommended to the Council again next year. Now is the time, then, when our architects and artists should be considering what will be its picturesque results, and whether, indeed, this scheme, and not some alternative one, will add most to the grandeur and beauty of central London.

This is the plan. A new street ninety feet in width would start from Southampton Row at Theobald's Road, traverse Holborn by Little Queen Street, proceed through this street (which would be widened) to Great Queen Street. It would pass on in a perfectly straight line, and in a nearly due south direction, intersecting Sardinia Street, Vere Street, Stanhope Street, Wych Street, and Drury Court, until it emerged in the Strand upon the north

side of the Church of St. Mary-le-Strand. It is proposed that on its approach to the Strand this hitherto inflexibly straight street should broaden out to the east and west, and enter the Strand with a curve on each side, and also that at its junction with the Strand the northern side of the latter should be considerably set back. As an integral portion of the scheme it is further proposed that the Strand should be broadened from this junction on to the Law Courts by the removal of all the houses south of Holywell Street. Then, in addition, it is recommended that two spur streets should diverge from the main thoroughfare at about where Blackmore Street intersects Stanhope Street, and should run, the one in a south-easterly, and the other in a south-westerly direction, until they respectively reach the Strand at St. Clement Danes' Church and Wellington Street. The Improvements Committee in their Report then review and reject several alternative schemes for achieving the main objects of their own plan. It may be well briefly to describe these other proposals. One provides for a new street from Little Queen Street, which would run straight thence southwards to where Drury Lane is intersected by White Hart Street and Blackmore Street, and then curve westwards till it opened into the Strand between Catherine Street and Wellington Street. It is objected that this scheme makes no provision for traffic going from the south towards the Law Courts and the City; that the gradient of the new street as it neared the Strand would be a bad one; that the street would not open upon any architectural feature, and that unless the Strand is widened by St. Mary's Church the widening of it to the east and west would afford no real relief to its traffic. A second plan provides for a street running from Little Queen Street in a south-easterly direction to Lincoln's Inn Fields, which it would skirt on the west, and thence by Paternoster Street, King's College Hospital, and Clement's Inn, until it opened into the Strand on the north side of St. Clement Danes' Church, and close to the Law Courts. At the same time, a curved spur street would be made at the south-western corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields from the junction of the new street with Paternoster to run to Wellington Street at its junction with the Strand. To this plan it is objected that it would be more costly than any of the others, that the recoupment to be obtained for it would be less, and that the directions and lines of its streets would be ugly and inconvenient. I confess the use which would be made of Lincoln's Inn Fields is attractive to me, and I should have thought that the approach to the Strand on the south of St. Clement's Church, and with the Law Courts on the east, might have been made striking and picturesque. Another scheme proposes the construction of a street to

run in an almost straight line from Little Queen Street to the south-eastern corner of the Gaiety Theatre, and to the formation of a large open space by the acquisition of all the buildings bounded by Exeter Street, Wellington Street, the Strand, and Catherine Street. It is objected that this scheme would be excessively costly, and that the gradients by the Strand would be bad. On the other hand, it is claimed for the recommended plan by its authors, firstly, on utilitarian grounds, that "a direct street, passing in a straight line from Holborn to the Strand would become one of the most desirable in all London from its close proximity to" a large number of centres of industry. "It would receive the whole traffic passing south-westerly from Islington, Rosebery Avenue, Theobald's Road, the Bedford Estate, and the three northern railway stations; and it would divert much of the traffic now passing through Endell Street, Bow Street, Wellington Street, Drury Lane, and Chancery Lane." On these grounds it is suggested the street should be "perfectly symmetrical, and not less than ninety feet in breadth, so as to allow for lofty buildings of the most important class on its frontage." Secondly, on æsthetic grounds, it is contended that the Church of St. Mary's "would become the central point of a noble street to the north, and would be visible from Holborn just as it now is from the western end of the Strand. If the Strand is not widened to the north of it, the church will one day be pulled down." I think it is true that the tower of St. Mary's would give dignity and effect to the view for all those who are travelling towards the Strand. On the other hand, the new street would start from nothing at its northern end, and would present no kind of climax to those who are going towards Holborn. Nor would it intersect any street or place that would open out on either side a vista of interest or beauty. The artistic success, in fact, of the new street will depend upon the character of the buildings that will line it, and on the view of St. Mary's Church. If, as the outcome of the thorough discussion which should precede the definitive adoption of plans, it is decided that this scheme does on the whole, and in its main proposals, promise the best utilization and artistic results, it may yet be possible to modify it with advantage in many not unimportant details.

The particular course that should be taken by each of the two new streets that will radiate from the central thoroughfare should be most carefully considered. It is easy to be misled by a small plan, but it would certainly appear that the street which will go in a south-easterly direction towards St. Clement Danes' will not command any effective view of that church until it is quite close upon it. Again, would it not be practicable to have a connecting street with Lincoln's Inn Fields, which would give directly upon

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

the gardens there, and let into the main thoroughfare a broad glimpse of their beautiful trees? A perfectly straight, and "perfectly symmetrical," street of an uniform width of ninety feet, which skirts no squares, which traverses no place, and bounds no park, will be much in need of variety and relief, and the view through any of its side-streets of a garden, or of the distant tower of St. Clement Danes', would add vastly to its attractiveness. It is noticeable that with the exception of the curving entrance of the main thoroughfare into the Strand, the authors of this scheme cling to rigidly straight lines, and to an inflexible uniformity of width. Would the best architects and artists agree that such unbroken precision is likely to produce the most beautiful results? I must confess that the phrases in the report which I have quoted above, "perfectly symmetrical" and "lofty buildings of the most important class" are not calculated to inspire any enthusiastic confidence in the artistic taste of their authors. Let, then, cultivated experience come now, while it is yet time, to the friendly assistance of the Council and its Improvements Committee.

Although, as I have said, the addition which this great scheme of improvements will make to the general picturesqueness of London, and to its attractive views, will depend mainly upon the direction which the principal and subsidiary streets will take, it is greatly to be hoped that artistic care will guide the erection of the buildings that will line them. The following principal conditions, it seems to me, should be observed. The uniform height of the buildings should not, as in Trafalgar Avenue, dwarf the roadway, and shut out much-needed light and sunshine. There should be variety in the height of the houses, and the sky-line should be frequently broken by bold gables. Balconies and porticoes again should be encouraged so far as stern Building Acts will permit. It is large features, and marked effects of light and shade, which are required in our dull atmosphere, and not elaborate detail, and minute ornamentations. Then, the authorities should insist that the sides of the new houses should be decent as well as their fronts. Nothing is commoner, alas! and nothing is more discouraging in our modern street architecture than to see a highly ornate and pretentious front of some lofty building, which at the same time gives to the passer-by a side in profile of blank ugliness and mean material, towering hideously above the older buildings on each side of it, and which after all is seen for a longer time by those who use the street than the actual façade. There is another consideration, in a measure antecedent to these last-mentioned conditions, which must receive careful attention when the outlines of the property to be acquired for the making of new streets are being determined. It is greatly to be desired that the land then acquired should provide spacious and convenient

plots for the sites of the new buildings to be erected on each side of it. It has too commonly happened that when a new thoroughfare has been opened, frequent spaces of the building land on each side of it remain for some years vacant and hideous. The passer-by sees plots of desolate land of exiguous size, and awkward shapes, vainly appealing for a building purchaser. It is really incomprehensible why any architect or builder should ever tax his ingenuity in the hopeless attempt to erect a commodious and comfortable structure on such mockeries of sites. Rosebery Avenue supplies a depressing illustration of this state of things. At its City end there is a welcome little open-space, Spa Green, which, with some trees in adjoining old gardens, gives a pleasantness to the view. And the new roadway itself is just at first worthily lined by the Clerkenwell Town Hall and a bank, but after that for some way westward there is desolation. The meagre plots of land on each side are still unoccupied. The squalid backs and sides of the little houses that have been abruptly broken in upon stand out in their naked ugliness, while the props, which everywhere are shoring up the outer walls of the old tenements, confirm the general impression of ruin. The effect is infinitely more melancholy and hideous than that of the oldest and meanest of streets: and yet how can handsome and convenient buildings be erected at a profit on these shreds of land?

The next great "improvement" which is about to be begun is the long-talked-of widening of Parliament Street. By an Act passed in the first short Session of this Parliament power was given to the Treasury to expend the moneys required for the acquisition of that long derelict and barren ground at Westminster between King Street and Delahay Street, and of all the rights over it and surrounding land which had in some mysterious manner been allowed to vest in a private building company. And now the necessary Parliamentary notices have been given of the intended application this Session by the Commissioners of Public Works for power to purchase all the houses and lands, "bounded on the north by Charles Street, on the east by Parliament Street, on the south by Great George Street, up to and including No. 23 in that street, and Boar's Head Yard, and on the west by the building of the Institution of Civil Engineers and Delahay Street." However the space may be treated which will thus be made available for the widening of Parliament Street, and the erection of Government Offices by its side, the result can hardly fail to be magnificent. If the present line of the Home Office be followed straight down to Bridge Street, the northern side of the Abbey, Westminster Hall, and the Victoria Tower would become visible from far up Whitehall. If the

widened roadway were deflected on the west, and entered into Bridge Street with a broadening curve, the more extended would be the view of the Abbey, and farther up Whitehall would the western towers of the Abbey be seen. However, the relative artistic merit of such a junction, or of a rectangular one, of Parliament Street with Bridge Street must be left to the decision of experts; but at all events this should be carefully considered by them. It may be that the expediency of a curved entrance would depend upon the practicability of having a similar curve on the east side of the junction of the two streets. And, I suppose this is now impracticable. But it is pardonable, if Utopian, to dream for a moment of the grandeur and interest of the prospect that would thus be revealed to the view of Whitehall and Parliament Street.

Not far off, in Old Palace Yard the houses near Poet's Corner have been pulled down, and at last it is possible to obtain a view of the south-eastern end of the Abbey and of the Chapter House. Happily, in this instance, First Commissioners of Works have insisted that the houses should be cleared away, and that the effect of their demolition should be thoroughly appreciated before any decision should be arrived at as to the use which should be made of their sites. It will be remembered that an offer has been made to give to the nation a monumental chapel at the south end of this ground, which would be connected with the Abbey by a cloister running under the buttresses of the Chapter House; and Mr. Pearson has prepared plans for this. The mere opening out of this end of the Abbey is an enormous gain to the beauty of Westminster. If the ground be simply treated as an ornamental precinct the new views of the Chapter House, of Henry VII.'s Chapel and the Abbey, that will be presented to those passing by the Victoria Tower from the south, will be most beautiful. For the first time, too, the whole length of the Palace of Westminster will be visible from Poet's Corner. One is inclined, indeed, to suggest that a further clearance should be made, and that, even to the temporary inconvenience of Mr. Labouchere, No. 5, Old Palace Yard, should be pulled down. At any rate, the greatest caution must be observed before these new prospects are in any way impeded, or before any structural addition is made to the ancient buildings of the Abbey.

There is yet another much-talked-of "improvement" in central London, the execution of which cannot be much longer postponed. As all the world knows the broad avenue—the Mall—which stretches eastward from Buckingham Palace, ends abruptly, so far as carriage traffic is concerned, in an irritating and ugly *cul-de-sac* at Spring Gardens. It is years since the desirability of extending the roadway into Charing Cross has been admitted. And, when

the new Admiralty buildings were begun, it was hoped that the time had come for demolishing the houses that stand between the Mall and Charing Cross. But it was necessary apparently to use them for official purposes until the first block of the new offices had been completed. Successive First Commissioners of Works have promised that when this time arrived these houses would be pulled down, and the broad thoroughfare continued from the park to the streets to the east of it. The first block of the new Admiralty is now occupied ; and so we may assume that the opportunity has at last come for the execution of this improvement. But before the new roadway is actually laid out, it is very important that the most careful thought shall be given to the exact line and direction it shall take. If the Mall be simply prolonged in a rigidly straight line until it reaches Charing Cross, the junction will occur near the neck of that street, and (so far as I can judge) there will be no monument, and no additional feature of beauty or interest to terminate the vista. Surely it will be well to divert the roadway to the north, and so to make it enter Trafalgar Square with a slight curve. If I am not mistaken, it would then make as it were towards the base of the Nelson Column, which would form a central part of the view, while the portico of St. Martin's Church would be visible for some little distance. From the other side, to those, that is to say, who were coming from the Strand westwards, the artistic superiority of such a line of thoroughfare is apparent. The entrance into the park, the new Admiralty, and the trees of the Mall would be seen from all Charing Cross, and from a great part of Trafalgar Square, and not merely by those who were descending the very street of Charing Cross. Such a line of roadway would also, I think, be for the general convenience of traffic, and would form a more continuous route between the west end of the Strand and the present Mall. While the houses of Spring Gardens are still standing it is difficult for one who is not an expert in such matters to be certain of the exact line which should be followed by the new road. But I am sure that the general considerations I have here advanced should be borne in mind before its direction is definitely settled, and that if they are, the "finest site in Europe" will have gained a new justification for this hyperbolical description.

So far I have reviewed some large projected "improvements." But a reference to the following minor examples of the slovenly indifference of the State, and presumably of Londoners, to the decoration of the capital, will show how many smaller deformities are being suffered to remain unremedied. Think of the Whitehall façade of the Home Office still without the statuary or balustrade, which should adorn each extremity of its roof, and correspond with the remainder of the roof, which actually has been fittingly

adorned. Look at the Marble Arch, and the Wellington Arch, and the colonnade at Hyde Park Corner, still lacking their necessary adornment of sculpture. Look at the Ministerial houses, or rather cottages, and lean-to sheds, that disgrace the south-east side of the Horse Guards Parade. Ascend the flight of main steps, and pass along the alley that divides these hovels from the Foreign Office, and you may still see the springs of the arches which were evidently intended to give some sort of comeliness to this passage, and to connect the Foreign Office with the adjacent buildings. But for years and years no effort has been made to give effect to this intention, and the ordinary Londoner acquiesces, and has been taught by experience to acquiesce, in this careless maiming of the design for Government offices in the very centre of the town. Proceed eastwards along Downing Street until you reach the turning on your left, which leads through a tunnel into the Horse Guards Parade. Can anything be conceived more unsightly than the backs of the Government buildings, which show themselves on each side of this passage? Or can dirtier and less cared for backyards be anywhere seen than the purposeless enclosures which separate these buildings from the passage? And yet this is the direct route for any foot-passenger between Pall Mall and Westminster, and is probably more often trodden by Cabinet Ministers than any street in London. Or, again, see how St. James's Palace is uncared for, and marred and hedged in by unsightly and unworthy surroundings. Still more scandalous, of course, it is when we not only suffer disgraceful defects to remain uncured, but positively and gratuitously deface or destroy the too few monuments of ancient beauty which still adorn our town. It is futile to dwell upon the sins of the past—upon the destruction of the Hospital of Emmanuel at Westminster, upon the rotting of the stones of the colonnade of Burlington House, on the strand at Battersea. But it is not too late for the Office of Works to pay some heed to Mr. Poynter's appeal, and to rescue the Banqueting House at Kensington Palace from the decay into which, with disgraceful neglect, it has allowed it to fall. This beautiful work of Wren's can surely be put to some better use than that of a winter potting-shed.

It may be objected to this article that it is an incitement to extravagance, written by one who is a member of the Municipal Party in London, which has economy as one of its watchwords. Well, I yield to no one in my anxiety that the ratepayers shall most carefully watch the expenditure of their money by the administrative bodies; but I am inclined to think that this money cannot be spent in a more proper or remunerative way than on public works. Moreover, to put the matter in the most vulgar way—Is it not the fact that the more effective, artistically,

the line of a new street be, and the more commodious the spaces left for building on each side of it, the better will the "improvement" pay? While as regards the actual architecture of our public buildings let us be slow to believe that ugliness in them is necessarily economical, or that congruous beauty of design must inevitably be extravagant. The bulk of this article was written before a series of rude shocks had stirred us all out of our insular indifference to foreign affairs. And some may think that this is a singularly inopportune moment for taking thought of these seemingly parochial matters. But, after all, may not many, who do not really care for æsthetic reasons about the beauty of a town, desire on patriotic grounds that London should be architecturally the worthy capital of the British Empire? Certainly, apart altogether from æsthetic considerations, when I think of all the generations of British folk born in the Colonies, who will in years to come travel from every quarter of the globe to see their Motherland, it hurts me that the capital of all their mighty Empire should not have more that is stately, and should not have less that is mean, to show these visitors. And, is it too fanciful to think that the unattractiveness of London is a little responsible for the vague dislike with which too many foreigners regard our nation? It is from London that the great mass of travelled foreigners derive their sole impressions of England, and of its people. And how can any Anglophile amongst them all, believe that there is anything loveable in the builders of Gower Street, or in the makers of Soho and Leicester Square? Or, to come down to our own times, how can he but shrink from the barbarians who permitted their river to be defaced by the monstrous stations of Charing Cross and Cannon Street?

This is a curious reflection. No people have succeeded so well in making their country houses charming and beautiful as the English. They have done more. They have made the typical English village the most attractive of the country abodes of man. They have given to the whole of rural England a smiling and a pleasant face. Anyone would gather from these results that we were an amiable and gentle race. But then the ordinary foreigner only catches a hasty glimpse of all this pleasantness from the windows of an express train. And, as for our capital, where foreigners must most congregate, there we abandon all our rural care for the amenities, and must perforce appear to external observers to be a thoroughly Philistine and most unattractive people. And so, even beyond the more relevant promptings of taste, there are serious reasons why all good Englishmen should wish to see London beautified.

C. A. Whitmore.

WORKMEN DIRECTORS.

The proposal to create Workmen Directors is only the latest step in a movement that has been for a long time slowly developing and was brought into marked prominence by the uprising of the new Socialistic Trade Unionism in 1889, the year of the Dock and Gas strikes. This step is a comparatively small part of a great question of urgent necessity, viz., the reconcilement of capital and labour, or the identification in practical working of the interests of employers and employed.

It is necessary for a right understanding of the question to consider the past and present condition of labour, and to trace the steps that have led to the proposed creation of Workmen Directors.

"The old order changeth and giveth place to new." Probably never before has the change been so great in an equal period in the relative position and power of the labouring classes as during the last fifty or sixty years in this country. They have advanced greatly in education, and have risen in many trades to a position not far short of equality with their employers in settling the terms on which they will work, and, if votes only are counted, they have obtained a preponderance of political power.

Under the old order businesses generally were small, the master was personally acquainted with his men, and commonly worked with or amongst them. On the other hand the workman frequently could look forward to becoming himself a master, and a feeling of fellowship and personal sympathy existed, which greatly tended to promote friendly relations. By common consent the workmen of fifty years ago, although to a great extent uneducated, were skilled in their various trades—for instance, the late Sir Edward Harland told me that the old millwrights compared favourably with the modern engineers. In capacity and willingness to work, and other good qualities, the old workmen were certainly not inferior to their present day successors. The old system, however, was far from perfect, and necessarily varied greatly with variety of employment, and with different masters

and men. It was based upon personal relations, rather than on any mutuality of interest. It is now gone beyond recall, to make room ultimately, as I fully believe, for something better. May we not say with Tennyson in *Locksley Hall*, even in regard to so commonplace a subject as Capital and Labour,

> "Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs
> And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

The new is with us, and so far appearances are not in its favour. It is crude and imperfect with much that is very objectionable and mischievous, both to labour and capital. It has produced a condition of chronic hostility with frequent outbursts of open war, and employers and employed seem to be farther apart than ever; this unpromising outlook, however, is only an additional and very strong reason for all who have influence to exert it in the right direction. Here is a grand opportunity for employers—the natural leaders of the industry of the nation—to take the lead in reconciling the opposing hosts of capital and labour. Many are working earnestly with this object, and many more would do so were it not that they are out of touch with their men, and that they feel it to be hopeless to attempt to create a feeling of mutual confidence. They do not see how this initial difficulty of want of confidence is to be overcome, and they fear that any advances or proposals they may make will be regarded with distrust and will fail; probably doing more harm than good. I can fully sympathize with them, for this was exactly my state of mind seven years ago, and as a result I neither did nor attempted anything.

It has been said by Mr. Gladstone that nothing puts a man or a body of men so surely to the test as the possession of power. Applying this test to the wage-earners it is only fair to say that as a body they have so far borne it satisfactorily, but there is a considerable section represented by official Trade Unionism, of whom so much cannot be said. Of course there are some honourable exceptions, but the greater part of the Trade Unions have been captured by the Socialists, or rather they have adopted Socialist views. In a great number of cases they have used their power most tyrannically towards their own members, towards non-Unionists, and towards employers. In regard to their employers it has been made clear that they do not desire friendly relations, and they plainly told the Home Secretary so on the 13th of November last. On the 13th of January, 1896, *The Daily Chronicle*, which has always championed the Trade Unions, in a leaderette referring to the Glasgow strike said:—"We pointed out at the time the unwisdom of rejecting the terms then offered. The rejection of those terms was, we believe, brought about by the Independent Labour Party and

the Socialists, *who seem bent, both amongst engineers and miners, upon making any reasonable settlement of labour disputes impossible"* (the italics are mine). Capitalists and employers are spoken of and regarded as "the enemy," and at the Trade Union Congresses the whole tone of the speeches is one of hostility towards them. If this were a true representation of the spirit animating the entire body of the wage-earners, the outlook would indeed be dark, but happily men are better than their theories, and good sense and a readiness to respond to fair dealing still prevail with the greater number. This may not always be so: if employers allow the good ship of British industry to drift, she may get into the breakers.

It seems to me that employers have to choose between the division of the industrial host into two hostile camps, such as at present largely prevails in many trades, and partnership, in one of its various forms, but the more thorough and complete the better. The employers on one side and the Trade Unionists on the other are each fighting for their own hand with little regard to the well-being of the industry in which they are engaged. Although there is room for difference of opinion as to the share of each in the joint product, prosperity and the power to hold their own in the markets of the world can best be secured by uniting their forces. The question is, How to unite them? The first and absolutely essential step is mutual confidence, without which no real and lasting improvement in the relations of Capital and Labour is possible. The history of the movement that has led in our case* to the proposal to create workmen directors will show how, in a small section of the industrial field, a condition of distrust and illwill has passed into one of mutual confidence and goodwill. The guiding principle should be of universal application, but the complex system of modern industry necessitates great variety in its adaptation to the various industries of the kingdom.

In 1876 the sliding scale which regulates the relations between gas shareholders and gas consumers was adopted, giving the former one-quarter per cent. more dividend for every reduction of one penny in the price of gas below a fixed initial or standard price, and reducing the dividend an equal amount for every penny rise in price. The arrangement is good so far as it goes, but it leaves the employees of the gas company outside its influence. This was felt to be a defect from the first, but the time had not come for such an extension of the principle. The opportunity came as follows.

In March, 1889, the Gas Workers' Union was formed; certain demands that they made were readily granted by the South Metropolitan Gas Company in July, but these being obtained so

* The South Metropolitan Gas Company.

easily others followed in rapid succession. The Union originally consisted entirely of stokers, but it soon, with increasing strength, endeavoured to enrol every man employed by gas companies in its ranks. By the end of September the control of the work in the retort houses had quite passed out of the hands of the Company's officers and foremen into those of the Union delegates, and the situation had become intolerable. To counteract the influence of the Union on the yard-men and others, not stokers, their hours were reduced and their pay increased. This had a good effect, but the Union became more aggressive than ever, and the foremen said that unless something more was done to attach the non-Unionists to the Company, all the yard-men would be forced into the Union, which would then become absolute master. This being the position in November, I proposed an extension of the sliding scale in the form of profit-sharing. The directors unanimously adopted the scheme, and the same afternoon it was offered to the men. The non-Unionists accepted it gladly, the Unionists said it was a good idea but they must consult their executive, with the result that they received peremptory orders to reject the offer. At that time unanimity on the part of the men was thought to be necessary, and I feared the idea must drop, but the non-Unionists said, they "did not see why they should lose a good thing because the Unionists were fools enough to refuse it," consequently the following week the offer was again made to all or any who chose to accept the profit-sharing scheme, the condition of acceptance being the signing of an agreement. Within a fortnight all the free men, about 1,000 in number, accepted and signed the agreements binding the Company to give them work for twelve months, and binding them to serve for that period, with a proviso that they, as individuals, might leave at any intermediate period with the consent of the engineer; this left men free to leave, in small numbers at a time, to better their condition, but they could not leave in a body; thus the power to strike was taken away—a power which the great majority of the men were only too glad to relinquish. The profit-sharing scheme provided that for every penny at which gas was sold below 2s. 8d. per 1,000 cubic feet, a bonus of 1 per cent. on the wages of workmen and the salaries of officers should be paid annually; the employees having the option of taking the amount in cash or of leaving it in the Company's hands to accumulate at 4 per cent. interest. The Company also offered to take care of their savings at the same rate of interest. The result was most gratifying; year by year nearly half the annual bonus was left in the Company's hands, besides large deposits in the shape of savings, and a considerable amount was invested by the employees in the Company's

ordinary stock. This was gratifying in two ways. It gave unmistakable evidence of an amount of thrift that was quite unexpected, and it was also good proof of the *confidence* of the employees in the Company. In fact, the system had attained its object, viz., of attaching the workmen to the Company. At its start the Gas Workers Union said this would be the result, hence their hostility, which culminated in December, 1889, with the following demand :

" That in the opinion of this meeting of Delegates representing the men of the Gas Workers' Union, the action of the South Metropolitan Gas Company in forcing upon us to work with men who have signed the Bonus Scheme (brought out by Mr. G. Livesey) whom we look upon as blacklegs to our Society, is condemned by us as being unjust, unfair, and must be resisted, and that all the men are justified in giving in their notices forthwith until the same be abolished, and the said men be removed from the works, and that a copy be sent to the directors." The directors of course refused this demand, and the next day all the stokers (2,000 in number) gave in their notices to cease work that day week, the strike took place, new men took up the work of the strikers, the power of the Union was broken, and the relations of the Company with their workmen have been very satisfactory ever since.

For two years the annual bonus under the profit-sharing arrangment was at the rate of 5 per cent. on salaries and wages—the employees of all ranks are on the same footing of participation—then the increased cost of coals necessitated a rise in the price of gas, which reduced the bonus to 3 per cent., which the men accepted in the right spirit, it then went to 4, 5, and last June a bonus of 6 per cent. was declared—next June it will be at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

From the outset, facilities were given to the employees to invest their bonus and savings in the Company's stock, and in 1894 being justified by the improved working and loyal conduct of their men, the directors offered to increase the rate of bonus from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per penny reduction in the price of gas provided they would agree to invest one-half of their total annual bonus in the Company's stock leaving only the other half free to be withdrawn at any time on a week's notice. This proposal was accepted, and the amount now invested in stock is £25,642, while over £30,000 additional of accumulated bonus and savings is deposited with the Company at 4 per cent. interest, the total number of profit-shares is about 2,500, and the above totals belong mainly to about one-half of them. In a very few years, by the operation of the new system, every man in the Company's employ will become a shareholder in his own right, and that being so, it is to be expected that

they will claim the right to have some share in the management of their own property. In proposing that power be obtained from Parliament to create, at the proper time, Workmen Directors, I am simply anticipating the demand that may certainly be expected, and I hold that it is better to grant a right before it is asked for than to wait for the demand to be made.

The following are the provisions inserted in the Bill now before Parliament for giving effect to the proposal, subject, of course, to any alterations Parliament may deem necessary :—

"Section 21. (1) At any such time after the total investments of the employees of the Company in the ordinary stock of the Company dating from the distribution of the first profit-sharing bonus in July one thousand eight hundred and ninety shall exceed the nominal amount of forty thousand pounds of such stock the directors of the Company may as and when they deem expedient prepare a Scheme for the purpose of enabling employees holding ordinary stock of the Company to elect one or more of their number but not exceeding three to take part with the directors in the management of the Company :

"(2) The Scheme shall be submitted to a special general meeting of the Company duly called with notice of the business to be considered thereat and the meeting may adopt the Scheme either without alteration or with such alterations (not being inconsistent with the provisions of this Act) as the directors may assent to :

"(3) The Scheme so adopted shall be submitted for the approval of the Board of Trade, and that Board may consider the same, and may either approve the same without alteration, or may suggest any alterations therein not being inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, and if the directors assent to the alterations (if any) so suggested the Board of Trade may approve the Scheme as altered :

"(4) The Scheme when approved shall be published in the London Gazette and (subject as hereinafter provided) shall for the period of three years and no longer from the date of such publication have effect. Provided that if at any time during that period the amount of the investment of the employees in the stock of the Company should fall below the nominal amount of forty thousand pounds the scheme shall cease to be in force :

"(5) On the cesser of such Scheme and subject to the provisions of this Act and to the like submission adoption and approval a new Scheme may at any time be adopted for any period that may be in that Scheme prescribed and so from time to time :

"(6) The qualification of an Employees' Director shall be fixed by the Scheme for the time being subject to the following limitations : The Employees' Director shall have been not less than seven years

in the constant employ of the Company and shall have held for not less than twelve months prior to the date of election and shall hold no less than eighty pounds nominal value of the ordinary stock of the Company and he shall become disqualified if and when he ceases from any cause to be in the employ of the Company or to hold the said amount of stock.

"(7) The fees to be paid to an Employees' Director for his attendance at the Board shall be fixed by the Scheme. The fees shall bear some proportion (to be fixed by the Scheme) to the amount of the qualification, not being less than his ordinary day's pay, nor more than four times that amount. He shall perform his ordinary duty except on Board day:

"(8) The scale and method of voting for and the mode of election of Employees' Directors and all other details shall be settled by the Scheme and may be varied by successive Schemes from time to time."

The only argument I can see against the proposal is that it is premature—the reason, however, for obtaining Parliamentary authority at this time is that the Company happens to be going to Parliament for other purposes, and thus the opportunity is presented for obtaining the necessary power to create, when the proper time comes, and the necessity arises, Workmen Directors. It is, as will be seen by reference to sub-section (4), admittedly an experiment, and certainly will not be renewed on the expiration of the first three years unless the result justifies the renewal. There are, however, precedents of a somewhat similar kind in other businesses which are working well. Some persons say the workmen will elect men of the agitator class, others, men of experience, say that they will choose the best and most intelligent of their number. I have been told that in talking over the question amongst themselves they say they do not want a "chattering workman" as a director, which is an indication that they have learnt to distrust the great talkers. We have had for the last six years a joint committee of workmen elected by ballot and an equal number of officials nominated by the directors to manage the profit-sharing scheme, and they have at the same time dealt with any other question relating to the workmen that has arisen. So far, although the committee is large and one-third retire every year—causing a good many changes—it has worked most satisfactorily without a hitch of any kind. This experience justifies me in believing that suitable men will be chosen as directors, and that the movement will mark a new departure in the relations of capital and labour. Of course there are and will be difficulties, but these have to be met and overcome. The Parliamentary authorization of the proposal is to be wide enough to permit alterations and

the modification of details as may be found by experience to be necessary or advantageous.

It is impossible to stand still. The Trade Union *régime*, so far as we were concerned, was a failure, and in our contest with it our work was destructive, but at that time a constructive or building-up process was begun. This work has grown from profit-sharing to share-holding, and should naturally proceed to sharing in the responsibilities of management. It is an educative process. Workmen have too long been in the position of children, without any knowledge of the difficulties, or experience in the work of management, for any reasonable man to expect that they can rise at once to a full mastery of so new and difficult a position. Great patience and consideration must be exercised towards them, and when they feel they are being treated justly and considerately, a hearty response on their part will follow. It is an indisputable fact that, as a result of our system of profit-sharing, a large number of the workmen are manifesting an interest in the welfare of the Company that was never previously shown. Of course, there are others upon whom apparently it has exerted very little if any influence, they are simply indifferent, and there are some imbued with Socialist notions, who are quite ready to take all they can get without giving anything in return in the shape of goodwill or any better work than is just necessary to prevent them losing their employment. On the whole, however, the result is undoubtedly good. No sane man could hesitate for one moment between the Trade Union system of estrangement between masters and men, and one that unites the interests and produces mutual confidence, peace, and goodwill between employers and employed. When every employee is an actual shareholder in his own name in the Company's stock, which will be the case in about three years, when the men who have entrusted, most likely, their entire savings with the Company are in turn trusted by the Company with a share in the duties and responsibilities of the directors, I shall be greatly surprised and disappointed if, after a short time, they do not rise to the occasion, and prove that by the institution of Workmen Directors the working of the business has been improved, and the stability and general prosperity of the Company increased. The workman will then have passed from a hired servant into a partner, and it is on the principle of partnership, applied or adapted as circumstances permit, that—Socialism being rendered impossible by the possession of property by the wage-earners—I base the hope that the new relations of capital and labour, of employers and employed, will with time and patience, and earnest effort, become far better than the old.

GEORGE LIVESEY.

THE CONVERSION OF MANNING.

In 1845, the culminating year of the Oxford Movement, when Newman submitted to Rome, no one seemed less likely to follow his example than Henry Manning, Archdeacon of Chichester. Five years later, even, when he was on the verge of the Rubicon, none but a few confidential friends expected to see him cross it. His was not the character on which the magnetic force of Rome seemed likely to act with power. Manning was not a poet, nor a dreamer, nor an enthusiastic lover of mediæval art or ecclesiastical ceremonies. He had not, like Palmer and others, spent his time in abstruse researches into liturgies or traditional customs. He had not, like Kenelm Digby, dwelt among the records and virtues of past "ages of faith." He was not, like Newman, a blend of high and distinguished poetic imagination, dialectical acumen, and historical learning. He was not carried away by the rush of the Oxford Movement; he had always lived well outside it. He was not influenced by intimate friends; he hardly seems to have had the genius of intimate friendship. Nor was he deceived by his own rhetoric or that of others; no man had more distrust of rhetoric and rhetoricians. His own speeches, sermons, and writings were cold, austere, correct, and methodical. It was not poetry then that led Manning to Rome, nor art, nor erudition, nor the spirit of romance, nor friendship, nor self-deluding eloquence, nor was it love of the past.

Manning was above all things a man of action. His father was one of the wealthiest London merchants of his day, and had passed most of his life in Parliament as a firm supporter of Tory Governments. Young Manning grew up amid political and mundane surroundings, went to Harrow, played cricket, shot, rode, dressed well, shone at Oxford as the most brilliant star of the Union debates, and was looking forward to a rapid transmigration, like that of his contemporary Gladstone, to the House of Commons, when his father went bankrupt. All the influence of the ruined merchant (like that of Endymion's father in Disraeli's latest novel) could only obtain for his brilliant son a supernumerary clerkship in the Colonial Office. Henry Manning soon found a

cell in a department too narrow for his energy, and, having obtained a clerical fellowship at Oxford, he took orders, with reluctance, and no apparent vocation, and became a curate in a Sussex parish. A little later he married a daughter of his rector and succeeded him in the living of Lavington.

It was evidently with a feeling of death in his heart, for a short space, that Manning turned his back on a political career. It was not, however, in his nature to brood long on the "might have been." He lived intensely in the present. Like all great men of action, he could concentrate himself entirely on the work in hand. He said, later, that he had been a priest, and nothing but a priest from the first. In his Anglican career, as at all times in his life, Manning displayed a restless activity in driving business along, and a tenacity of purpose which, if defeated on one road, attained its end by another. He was often called ambitious, and so he was. No man with a strong will and a clear idea of the right line to follow can possibly be content to see others doing worse that which he can, he knows, do better. A great man of action must, by his nature, desire to gain the places from which he can best guide the machine. This is ambition, but not vainglory.

"If it be ambition to desire to see work done that ought to be done, and to be done as it ought to be done, and when ill done to be done better, and to be done without being the doer of it, if only it be done at all; or to be impatient when with the evils and wants and miseries of people before them, men, and above all those who bear the office to do what is needed, do nothing, and, if they will not work, but make mountains of excuses and fictitious impossibilities, it be ambition to say, let me try them, I acknowledge to ambition, and hope to die in it."

So Manning, in his old age, on this charge. It reminds one of Napoleon's "Moi, je n'ai pas d'ambition; ou si j'en ai, elle m'est si naturelle, elle m'est tellement innée, elle est si bien attachée à mon existence, qu'elle est comme le sang qui coule dans mes veines, comme l'air que je respire." Manning's own letters and diaries show that in his youth, and till he was thirty-five at least, he was ambitious in every ordinary sense of the phrase. This makes his conversion the more remarkable. He threw up a certain and brilliant Anglican career, feeling, as he said, that he would, in consequence, "sink to the bottom and disappear." It so happened that his migration to a larger spiritual empire gave him a wider and more interesting ecclesiastical career than he could have had in the more provincial Church of England, but this he did not and could not foretell.

Manning had a passion for the concrete, the definite, the methodical, the categorical. On any point at issue he instinctively avoided abstruse speculation. He disliked the vague and obscure, on every question he collected, arranged, and numbered and sub-

numbered his facts, pros and cons, and definite statements. He said once, "Clearness of statement is evidence in itself." A conviction with him shaped itself slowly; but once it came forth embodied from chaos it became a stone laid for ever in the building of his mind.

In the memoir of Mrs. Craven, there is quoted by her a wise saying of her friend, Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, to this effect: "Unless one knows *all* about an affair it is surprising how little one knows about it." An outside historian of the events which led to Manning's conversion, who possessed not the intimate journals and letters which have come into the hands of Mr. Purcell, and have fortunately for us, been so boldly and unreservedly used by him, would have had to give the following account of the matter.

From the year 1833, such a biographer would have said, Manning was an exemplary rector of Lavington, of moderate views, but gradually leaning more towards the new school of High Church practice. In 1836 he voted at Oxford in favour of the condemnation of Dr. Hampden, the free-thinker, who had been appointed Regius Professor of Divinity. In 1838 he published a book called the *Rule of Faith*, strictly on the lines of the *Via Media*, condemning equally Roman and Puritan deviations from the main track of religion, and claiming that the Anglican Church was the truest guardian of the deposit of faith once for all delivered. A strong Anti-Erastian, Manning publicly opposed the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and declared himself an opponent of State secularism in education. His biographer would have noted his diocesan activity in doing the work of the old Archdeacon of Chichester, his appointment in 1840 to succeed him, and his zeal in discharging the duties of that office; especially his calm, sensible, and judicious annual charges to the clergy amid the ecclesiastical storms then raging. It would have appeared that in his charge of 1841 he prophesied that the Anglican Church would be "the regenerator of the Christendom that now seems dissolving, and the centre of a new Catholic world," and described the English Reformation as a "gracious act of God's providence towards His Church." This charge immediately followed the condemnation of Tract 90. Manning moved a good deal in the central political society of London in these years, and lost no opportunity of knowing and making himself known to leading men. In 1843 he was disappointed in an attempt to obtain that important foothold in London life, the preachership of Lincoln's Inn. In the same year he had entirely broken, as it seemed, with Newman, and the advance-guard of the Tractarian Party, by an attack upon them in his charge of 1843, and a strong Anti-Roman sermon preached at Oxford on "Guy Fawkes" day. In 1845, however, Manning

gave his vote at Oxford against the degradation of "Ideal Ward." The exoteric biographer would then have had to mention Manning's illness in 1847, his journey abroad, chiefly in Italy, in pursuit of health, the part which he took in the Education question in 1849. Then, in March, 1850, came the famous Gorham Judgment, and the published protest of twelve leading High Churchmen against it, headed by the name of Archdeacon Manning. This was followed by an appeal to the whole body of the clergy to join in the protest, and, on the failure of this appeal, in the autumn of 1850, his virtual resignation of the Archdeaconship, an act formally completed a few months later. On the 6th April, 1851, the ex-Archdeacon of Chichester was received into the Church of Rome. Such, in outline, is the external appearance of the Anglican career of Manning. It seemed, at the time, as if his change had been entirely due to the assertion of the power of the Crown in defining doctrines of the faith implied, as he thought, by the Gorham Judgment. In this light his conversion appeared even to one who, as he believed, knew Manning's mind intimately, namely, Mr. Gladstone. The materials now published by Mr. Purcell show how little this view corresponded to the real facts.

When, in January, 1895, Mr. Gladstone saw Manning's letters to Robert Wilberforce, and for the first time learned that from the year 1846, at least, onwards, the faith of Manning in the Church of England had been breaking down, he was pained and surprised, and said to Mr. Purcell, "In all our correspondence and conversations, during an intimacy which extended over many years, Manning never once led me to believe that he had doubts as to the position or divine authority of the English Church, far less that he had lost faith altogether in Anglicanism. That is to say, up to the Gorham Judgment." After a few minutes' reflection Mr. Gladstone added, "I won't say Manning was insincere, God forbid! But he was not simple and straightforward." The story only seems to show that Manning did not, naturally enough, feel that he could confide personal secrets to a public man like Mr. Gladstone as he could to Robert Wilberforce or to Mr. Laprimaudaye.

When Mr. Gladstone himself, in 1886, suddenly announced his own conversion to Home Rule, he was accused of having been converted to it upon a single ground, that of the existing balance of parties. He has, I believe, given it to be understood that his change of opinion had secretly been taking place during many years, and that the difficulty of carrying on government as parties stood in 1886 was merely the immediate cause. In the same way Sir Robert Peel seems to have been at heart a convert to Free

Trade for some time before the eventful winter of 1845-46, with its menace of famine in Ireland. The truth is that no leader, whether in Church or State, upon whose action depends in any great degree the opinions and conduct of numerous individuals, would be justified in announcing a change in his own mind before it has crystallized into an indubitable conviction. He cannot unsettle the minds and risk the careers and happiness of others by revoking his old published opinion before he is quite certain that his new one has come to stay.

The conversion of Newman in 1845 kindled civil war in many a heart and mind. Manning not only had to review his own opinions, but, as a leading clergyman, had to give spiritual counsel to the numerous persons who brought their own difficulties before him. Immediately after the conversion of Newman, in November, 1845, Manning wrote to Robert Wilberforce: "My heart is very heavy; I still seem to see great difficulties before us . . . for we shall have to give plain answers and firm to many hard questions. Not the least part of the difficulty will be to show why principles are safe so far and no farther." To those who are Christians, and yet do not believe that the existing Church is as much guided by the Spirit of Truth as the Church in the days of St. Paul, it is indeed a difficulty to explain at what exact point in history inspiration comes to an end. Newman himself, in a letter written in the autumn of 1844, had said: "This most serious feeling is growing on me, viz., that the reasons for which I believe *as much* as our system teaches, must lead me to believe more, and not to believe more is to fall back into scepticism." The argument was worked out in the *Essay on Development*, published immediately after his conversion; the book which, as Mr. Gladstone thought, "places Christianity on the edge of a precipice, from whence a bold and strong hand would throw it over." The Essay burst like a well-aimed shell amid the already wavering vanguard of Anglicans, rallied on the famous *Via Media* under the flag of Compromise, and scattered them in different directions. The choice given was all or nothing. As to Manning, he was forced by the wonderful book to reconsider the conclusions at which he had arrived on the subjects of "unity and infallibility" of the Church, and found in the result of that examination that his former published opinions no longer accurately expressed his present state of mind.

In his old age, Cardinal Manning wrote down the following statement:—

"About the year 1841 or 1842, I published a volume of sermons. A simple soul asked me why I had so seldom spoken of the Holy Ghost. I went over the book and found the question to be well-founded. From that day I have never passed a day without acts of reparation to the Holy Ghost. I bought every book I could

find on the work of the Holy Ghost, and studied them. After five or six years I reached the last step to which reason alone could lead me, namely, that the unanimous witness of the universal Church is the maximum of historical evidence for the revelation of Christianity. But historical evidence is only human, and human evidence is fallible after all. Then, and not before, I saw that the perpetual presence and office of the Holy Ghost raises the witness of the Church from a human to a divine certainty. And to Him I submitted in the unity of the one Faith and Fold."

When, about the year 1847, Manning had reached that last conclusion, it was, for his logical mind, all over with Anglicanism. The Church of England has not claimed, and does not, as a whole, claim for its hierarchy the power of evolving, or deducing, doctrine under divine guidance. This claim and belief has always existed in the Church of Rome. The Protestant belief, pure and simple, is that as God wrote down on Sinai the Ten Commandments once and for all, so in later days he once and for all inspired the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Book of Revelation. Under the influence of the school of evolution, a section of later Protestantism has come to adopt its own theory of development of revelation, namely, that human intellect, evolving as a whole, gradually expands the old conceptions, a theory which is, in a very distant way, more akin to the belief always held by the Catholic Church. Of all theories the stationary one of Evangelical Protestantism has now, as Carlyle would say, most "fallen dead," and become incredible.

In May, 1846, four years before the Gorham Judgment and five before his conversion, Manning wrote in his diary :—

"I am conscious to myself of an extensively changed feeling towards the Church of Rome. It seems to me nearer to the truth. . . . . There seems about the Church of England a want of antiquity, system, fulness, intelligibleness, ardour, strength, unity. We have dogmas on paper, a ritual almost universally abandoned, no discipline, a divided episcopate, priesthood, and laity."

In August, 1846, he wrote in his diary that the Church of England was "organically" diseased, and analyzed the disease into its separation from the Church "*toto orbe diffusâ*" and from the Chair of Peter; its subjection to the civil power without appeal; its abolition of penance and daily sacrifice; its loss of minor orders and mutilated ritual. He accused the Church also of loss of daily service, of discipline, and of unity in devotion and ritual, want of education in its priesthood, the unsacerdotal life of its bishops and priests, its effacement from the popular consciousness and its failure to maintain in the mind of the people the belief in mysteries and the sense of the invisible world. It must be observed that during the last fifty years the advance of the Anglican Church has certainly swept away the ground of some of these

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

accusations. But not now any more than then could that Church have given him what he sought—unity and infallibility.

A letter to Robert Wilberforce early in 1848 shows how far the mind of Manning had advanced on its fated march. It was written soon after the consecration of the free-thinking Dr. Hampden to be Bishop of Exeter.

"The separation of the English Episcopate from the whole Episcopate under heaven, the denial of Catholic doctrine in substance by a large body of the English priesthood, *e.g.*, the doctrine of the Sacraments, the Christian sacrifice, the visible and divine polity of the Church, and the rejection of the Catholic doctrine in *form* by the rejection of Catholic tradition as the rule of faith, the historical fact that the Church of England has made common cause with Protestantism as a mass . . . . all these have for a long time deprived me of the power of claiming for it the undoubted guidance of the Holy Spirit along the path of tradition. . . . . It is in vain to speak of the Church of England as a witness, except as an epitaph."

It was not enough to tell Manning at this stage that the Church of England rested on uncorrupted antiquity. "It is useless to offer me antiquity for my foundation. What do I know of antiquity? At my next birthday I shall be forty. I must rest on something which itself rests continuously on antiquity, whose consciousness is therefore continuous, running down from the Day of Pentecost to this hour."

At the end of 1849 the whole fortress of his Anglicanism which, ten years earlier, had presented such an imposing front to Rome on one side and Geneva on the other, was in ruins, breached in every point.

"My whole reason seems filled with one outline. The faith of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation subdues me into a belief of the indivisible unity and perpetual infallibility of the Body of Christ. Protestantism is not so much a rival system which I reject, but no system, a chaos, a wreck of fragments without idea, principle, or life. It is to me flesh, blood, unbelief, and the will of man. Anglicanism seems to me to be in essence the same, only elevated, constructed, and adorned by intellect, social and political order, and the fascinations of a national and domestic history. As a theology, still more as the Church or the Faith, it has so faded out of my mind that I cannot say I reject it, but I know it no more. I simply do not believe it; I can form no basis, outline, or defence for it."

A few months later he described the Reformation as "a Tudor statute carried by violence and upheld by political power," and added, "What principle of unity, of coherence do we possess? What principle do we recognize as divine? The Bible, the Prayer-book, private judgment and parliamentary establishment seem to me to make up the English Church. It has no idea, principle, unity, theory, or living voice, or will." And again, "In truth, the more I dwell on the Anglican Reformation, Theology, and Church, the more it seems to me to be a revolt from the mind and will of our divine Lord in the order and faith of His kingdom, and by

consequence the more worldly, intellectual, and of the natural man." Over against this wrecked belief he saw the continuous theology and the "undivided unity diffused throughout the world, of which the Cathedra Petri is the centre, now 1,800 years old, mightier in every power now than ever, in intellect, in science, in separation from the world; and purer too, refined by 300 years of conflict with the modern infidel civilization—all this is a fact more solid than the earth."

The intellectual debates through which Manning passed are of interest, but a far deeper interest attaches to the emotional side of the contest, where invincible desire gradually overcame the resistance of education, ambition, position, and pride. The real heart of the struggle lay here, just as the civil war was decided by the contending passions on the fields of Marston Moor and Naseby; not by the rival arguments of Oxford and Westminster.

One has to consider the death of his wife in 1837 and his resolve to devote himself henceforth entirely to the priesthood, his external life so full of active work between 1837 and 1847, and the struggles between his ambition and his moral conscience. During part of this decade he played rather a brilliant *rôle* in the central society of London, and felt, but, like Ulysses, resisted, the subtle transforming power exercised by that Circe. Had it not been for his sensitive conscience, Manning might have had the full social, ecclesiastical, and political success of his brother-in-law, Samuel Wilberforce. But, in the lonely intervals at Lavington, he was conscious of lapses from his ideal, of "pride, envy, jealousy, rivalry, and ambition." In December, 1845, shortly after Newman had completed his great sacrifice, Manning was sorely tempted by the world, in the shape of the Archbishop of York, who offered him a Court appointment, the sub-almonership just vacated by Wilberforce on his promotion to Oxford. Manning, after a severe mental contest, refused the post which had thus recently proved a step to an episcopal palace. His analysis of the reasons of decision is on record. Behind some superficial conscientious scruples and practical objections appears the real motive "that anything which complicated my thoughts and position may affect the indifference with which I wish to resolve my mind on the great issue. Visions of a future certainly would." He was afraid to advance within the sphere of attraction exercised by the Anglican thrones and dominations. But the decision was followed by natural regrets. "The associations of the world came about me, and made me feel that I had played the fool and lost a great opportunity." The decision was taken in the winter solitude of Lavington; the regrets made their assault during Manning's next visit to London. "I stood," he adds, "upon the threshold of the world in which

Samuel Wilberforce was plunged to his last hour, and everyone bade me go forward. What kept me back? God alone."

Was it about this period that, in his lonely room at Lavington, Manning, as he walked up and down, felt a reproach go to his soul, and thought as he looked at his books, "This is the intellect of the communion of Saints—and I am not with them. What would they say to me?" Soon after the decisive refusal Manning was "visited by strange thoughts." In July, 1846, he noted in his diary:—

"I feel as if a light had fallen on me. My feeling about the Roman Church is not intellectual. I have intellectual difficulties, but the great moral difficulties seem melting. Something keeps rising and saying, 'You will end in the Roman Church.' . . . I think it is a changed feeling towards the two churches which makes me less secular and desirous of elevation. . . . I am conscious that I am further from the English Church and nearer Rome than ever I was . . . . yet I have no positive doubts about the Church of England. I have difficulties—*but the chief thing is the drawing of Rome. It satisfies the whole of my intellect, sympathy, sentiment, and nature in a way proper and solely belonging to itself.*"

The words italicized are the essence of the whole matter; the true argument of Rome is higher magnetic power. Ten days later Manning wrote: "I had a cold feeling of destiny upon me—till positive acts raised the beat of my pulse and made me *forget realities.*" And, three days later still, "To-day is my birthday, thirty-eight. This last year has opened a strange chapter in my life. I never thought to feel as I feel now; and with my foot upon the step of what I once desired," an Anglican bishopric to wit.

At the beginning of 1847 came a long and dangerous illness, followed by a journey of convalescence, and a stay of some months in Italy. An active, over-worked man was thus brought suddenly within hail of death, and to a long period of inaction and meditation. Abroad, Manning visited churches and monasteries, discussed questions with ecclesiastics, contrasted the warm devotion of the faithful in Catholic countries with the chilly atmosphere of Protestant Swiss churches, or the tepid one of English congregations in Riviera resorts. Sometimes in a monk he noted "the balance and peace of a man who had found his place and calling in God's kingdom for life," or was struck by the "full and dogmatic belief softened by a fervent charity," as in that aged Fra Luigi, from whom, with a kiss of peace, he parted at Assisi. He saw with admiration the "mixture of majesty, love, and supplication," with which Pius IX. gave his benediction *urbi et orbi.* Who knows what effect certain visions may have on a maturing mind, that sunset at San Stefano, for instance, the "glowing, golden, soft blue sea, the church solitary by the shore, a chime of five bells ringing with clear musical peal—in a garden by the sea a little girl of eight dancing

to the chimes all alone," or that mass at Florence at the altar of Philippi Neri with the responses of invisible nuns, "very soft, tender, distant, plaintive"?

From Rome, early in 1848, Manning wrote to Robert Wilberforce: "Things seem to me clearer, plainlier, shapelier, and more harmonious; things which were only in the head have got down into the heart; hiatuses and gaps have bridged themselves over by obvious second thoughts, and I feel a sort of processus and expansion going on which consolidates all old convictions, and keeps throwing out the premisses of new ones." It was the building process which he expresses more vividly a year later: "In truth, everything as it ceases to be vague and negative, as it becomes positive, real, and intelligible, rises up with the faith and infallibility of the Church, which is the body of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Ghost." He was like a man who has long tried to discern through mists the outline of a mountain. The mists gradually disperse, and the grey rock-cliff stands out against the clear sky. The end was rapidly approaching. In December, 1849, he wrote: "I have tried to hold my peace, to lose myself in work, to take interest in other subjects which I dearly love and delight in, but all in vain; my whole reason seems filled with one outline."

In the spring and summer of 1850, soon after the Gorham Judgment, the contest between the Desire and the Resistance was at its height. "Alas," he wrote, "every morning when I open my eyes my heart almost breaks. I seem to be divided between truth and love. All my soul cleaves to my old home, but inexorable laws of reason and revelation stand over against me without shadow of turning. Can this be illusion?" In August he wrote: "I am suffering much. . . . . If I stay I shall end a simple mystic, like Leighton. God is a Spirit, and has no visible kingdom, Church, or Sacrament. . . . . But that is to reject Christendom—its history and witness for God." A month later he wrote: "I feel as if my time were drawing near and that, like death, it will be, if it must be, alone. But I shrink with all the love and fear of my soul." Then, a little later: "I am full of dread lest the truth of conscience should be lost by waiting and listening to the suggestions of flesh and blood." In November, 1850: "I feel that my foot is in the river. It is cold, and my heart is sad." In a letter to his brother he said: "I have weighed earthly happiness against what seems to me to be plain duty, and after great and prolonged suffering my deliberate choice is to do what I believe right, at the loss, if it must be so, of all I love best in life."

Several of Manning's friends had already passed the river. In January, 1851, he rode through Madon Park, and thought it "looked solitary, and of the old world, as all things begin to do now." In March he still lingered, but found himself "with no

reason against acting but the shrinking of flesh and blood, and the vague fear of making a mistake, where my whole light tells me there is no mistake. It is like the feeling of fear at passing a mountain road, of the safety of which I am by reason perfectly convinced." On the 6th April, 1851, came his final surrender. He wrote on the 7th: "I cannot trust myself so much as to speak of my beloved flock and home; and I know the spiritual fire which penetrates every affection of the heart by love and fear in this great furnace. But He has led me through, and I am in peace; my reason, conscience, and heart filled to overflow." To Sidney Herbert he wrote: "Never has anything cost me such suffering, but never have I acted with so full and unchanging conviction both of reason and conscience." Nor did he afterwards repent his step. Three years later he wrote: "It is like the rest and certainty after a kind of death to self and the world, and to error." Manning was free thenceforth to throw himself whole heartedly into external affairs, like a kingdom which has finished its internal troubles and achieved unity.

Many roads, it would seem, lead to the spiritual city of Rome. Some men have taken the road of historic learning, others that of a deep and mystic philosophy. Some have been led, apparently, by love of the Beautiful; others by the desire to belong to the widest fraternal association on earth, extending to people of all classes and all countries. Others again have followed the road of human affections and the lead of those whom they love or admire. Others, like Alexandrine de la Ferronays, in the touching *Récit d'une Sœur*, in terrible suffering or affliction have sought divine consolation in a form of religion which, more than others, recognizes the power of intercession, and spiritual communion between the living and the departed. The road taken by Manning was that of high policy, the theocratic route. He was attracted by the greatness and system, the antiquity and continuity of the Imperial Church of Rome.

The nature of this attracting force, taking so many various forms, this kind of home-sickness, which outsiders of very differing kinds have so often felt, is, at least, a fact which deserves careful study. Does the Anglican Church exercise this indrawing power, or does the Russian? No conversion, perhaps, was ever really sudden. The "drawing power" of the infant Christian Church was, doubtless, acting on the heart of Saul long before that ride to Damascus, even, perhaps, before he assisted at the death of Stephen. The strenuous disciple of Gamaliel, under the influence of an irresistible attracting force, deserted the National Jewish Church, to which he was bound by every conceivable tie, to join an association which to the Jews must have seemed to be founded on a most odious and appalling falsehood. We know in detail the

history of the long process by which Augustine was torn, against his will, from the pleasures and proud philosophies of his time, and compelled to join those who held the despised doctrines which were then called "Catholic." Neither Paul, Augustine, nor Manning were, either before or after their change, men of the "saintly," beatific species. They were men of action and of the world, with fire in their veins.

A scientific non-Christian of the present day (and who can *prove* him wrong?) would account for the conversion of Paul, Augustine, and Manning alike, by the action of some law of Nature, not yet fully ascertained by psychology, whose operation is seen in illusions of many kinds, and can be illustrated by examples drawn from many religions. A Roman Catholic would also have a single explanation, viz., that all three of these illustrious converts were led, in different ages, by the Divine will to the one true Catholic and Apostolic Church. The Anglican has a more difficult task than either. He has to explain why the conversion of Paul and Augustine are to be attributed to the call of God, while that of Manning, in appearance so similar, was a surrender to delusion. He has to show why the attractive power which led men like Manning and Newman from a better form of religion to a worse, so closely resembles, in all its phenomena, the attractive power which led men like Paul and Augustine from a worse form of religion to a better. If a historical novelist, wishing to depict a conversion to Christianity in the third or fourth century, borrowed his materials from the contrast between invincible Desire on the one side, and Fear and Resistance on the other, revealed in the story of Manning, would he not draw a picture which had every appearance of truth to nature?

A strong opponent of Roman influence cannot, of course, admit that the Roman Catholic Church lies nearer than our own to the centre of all spiritual attraction, and that therefore the central attraction draws to and through her. If the Anglican Church is to maintain the claim to spiritual superiority, or, at least, equality, her skilled defenders must be able to show that conversions to Rome are, in spite of an apparent resemblance, due to causes essentially different from those which led to the early conversions to the Christian Church. Many English writers have devoted their energy to proving that this or that rite or doctrine of the Roman Catholics departs from "primitive" usage or belief; but not many, I think, have faced the central question. The historian of the invasions of Italy by the Barbarians compares the successes of the Catholic Church over the Arians of the fifth century to the enchantment of the magic island mountain in the Persian story, which drew into itself the nails and bolts from all ships that approached it, and so sank them. The Anglican writers should endeavour, for

our assistance, to explain scientifically the secret of that strange power of attraction which from time to time carries beyond the border some soul of *élite*. If it is not the attraction of an inner circle of religion, more nearly inspired by the essential genius of Christianity, are we to hold that it is merely one version of the power over the hearts of men of the Siren, *male blandientis?*

> "Io son, cantava, io son dolce Sirena,
> Che i marinari in mezzo il mar dismago,
> Tanto son di piacere a sentir piena."

Bishop Wilberforce was not afraid to take this view. In his letters he calls the Church which had captured his two brothers and his brother-in-law by such titles as "Sorceress of the Seven Hills," and "Painted Hag," and "Roman Jezebel," although he elsewhere speaks rather inconsistently of her "many noble and devoted adherents." The very sound, so out of date, of this language shows the extent of the vast subsequent change in opinion. But, apart from the language, how many of our present bishops would adopt unreservedly this Duessa or Armida view of that Church to which Bossuet and Fénelon, Francois de Sales and Lacordaire, greater men, surely, than Wilberforce, were proud to belong? Or are we to believe that the spell of Rome is the fascination of the Abyss, not of Love, but of Death, like the indescribable craving which drives some to suicide?

The attractive force of Rome is something *sui generis*. A Wesleyan finds that the service in the parish church suits him better than that in the chapel; he discontinues attendance at the one and resorts to the other. The process of conversion to the Roman Catholic Church is absolutely different in kind from this, as different as a strong passion from a new acquaintanceship. The transition from Methodism to Anglicanism is like stepping across a ditch; that from Anglicanism to Rome like crossing a deep and stormy sea. What is it in this world-wide association which so powerfully attracts some and repels others, even when those attracted and those repelled are closely allied in blood? Is repulsion one form or stage of attraction? This drawing felt in some form or degree by so many of the most finely tempered souls—is it from the true centre of all spiritual attraction, or whence?

It would be interesting and useful if some strong antagonist of Rome, who has been able to devote more skilled attention than a layman like myself to these matters, the Dean of Canterbury for instance, or the Archdeacon of London, would some day, instead of carrying on general polemics, undertake a close examination of the points to which, as an enquirer, I have called attention.

BERNARD HOLLAND.

THE WORSHIP OF THE UGLY.

WHATEVER hereafter may be said about the productions of the latter half of the nineteenth century, there can be no doubt that the period has been one of remarkable activity and interest in all branches of art. If the word "Renaissance" may appear to the future historian to be too august in its associations to be fitly applied to the movements of to-day, it is impossible for us who live in the midst of them to deny their variety and vitality. It is difficult to pass down a street without being conscious that the dull uniformity of fifty years since is broken by many new erections, most of which are of greater size than their neighbours, many of considerable beauty, and nearly all showing a desire after novelty and attractiveness; nor can we enter even an old-fashioned house of the better class without seeing evidence of a desire to be surrounded by an "æsthetic" atmosphere, if it consist only of the rearrangement of old furniture, and bric-a-brac brought out from the store cupboard. Those which are newly decorated and furnished show still more strongly an awakened interest in beauty as an element of daily life. Walls, floors, and even ceilings are enriched with pattern and colour; every article, whether for use or ornament, has been selected and arranged with a view to "artistic" effect. Moreover, where the taste is defective, the fault is on the side of the owner, for there is no reason why anyone who has good taste should have ugly rooms, ugly furniture, ugly ornaments, or even an ugly coal-scuttle, although there be nothing in his house which is not newly made. Indeed, it may be safely said that never in the memory of living men have the decorative arts been so assiduously or successfully cultivated.

This activity has not been confined to architecture and decoration. Assuredly in no branch of art has there been so great and vital a change as in that of sculpture. Never, perhaps, since the sixteenth century has it been brought so nearly in touch with modern life. It has had to stoop a little from the false pride of its long-cherished ideal, but it has stooped to conquer, for its new life is full not only of truth, but of beauty. Nor have the painters and other graphic artists shown less zeal or activity. Our books and periodicals

swarm with an astonishing abundance of vigorous effort in every form of design, our hoardings are covered with bold and clever "posters," and lastly our pictures have greatly increased in number, in variety, and average excellence of execution.

But while progress in the other arts has been generally in consonance with the more cultivated taste of the nation, and while the whole tendency of their movement has been to increase the number of beautiful things, it is, indeed, a question whether the same can be said of painting. Of new theory, of new experiment, of new aims, of new observation, there has been much, but while of new ugliness there has been a great deal, of beauty, new or old, little or nothing; that is to say, if we mean by beauty that which has been regarded as such for some centuries, if not since the birth of art. This is true even if we confine beauty to those sources of enjoyment which are most indissolubly attached to painting among the arts—beauty of form and beauty of colour. In these respects the tendency may have been towards truth, but not towards beauty, while if we regard beauty as including grace, elegance, dignity, charm of expression, poetical feeling, refinement of sentiment and humour, and many more qualities hitherto associated with what is admirable in art, we find that a great number of the younger artists, of all schools and sections of schools, not only do not seek for them, but turn their back on them apparently on principle. Unfortunately, these are qualities which, if not essential to art, are at least essential to the enjoyment of art by thousands of men and women of culture and education, and unless the stream of painters' energy returns to more wholesome channels, art, or at least the art of painting, will lose its hold on the interest of those classes which have the greatest power of disseminating good taste throughout the nation.

It is no doubt impossible to find a definition of beauty which will meet with common assent; equally impossible, perhaps, to say absolutely what is moral or immoral, decent or indecent in art; it is not easy to contest the claim of a painter to paint whatever he chooses, in the way he prefers, or to say how far an artist is responsible for the effect his work may have upon others individually, or on society at large. The present world is not at all inclined to draw any line of the kind too strictly; it is by no means bigoted on the subject of either art or morals. The noble teaching of Mr. Ruskin as to the functions of art is no longer accepted as an infallible guide to criticism, and the influence of Mrs. Grundy has declined. Nevertheless, neither the sense of the dignity of art, nor of what is lovely in life, is extinct, and they cannot be violated with impunity even by the artist. The memory of the reader will probably be sufficient, without mentioning names, to call to mind

some recent designs which are something more than ugly or of questionable taste—designs loathsome and corrupt, revolting not only to the feelings, but also to the senses of even unfastidious men.

Such excesses as those referred to are sufficient to prove to all rational minds, and to all who have any care for the future of English art, that there are some legitimate limits to the right liberty of the artist. Never, perhaps, and certainly never since the Middle Ages, has this liberty been so complete. The history of painting, especially since the fourteenth century, has been one of its gradual emancipation from everything which could trammel the personal will of the painter. From being the slave of the Church, and dependent upon architecture for its life, it has gradually won its way to a freedom equal to that of literature, and has become a means by which expression can be given to all the thoughts and feelings, small or great, of humanity. The patronage of the Court and the noble, the tyranny of prevalent theories and fashions, the pedantry of academies, the restrictions of locality, are only some among the many forces which have in the past limited the complete freedom of the painter. Some of us may think that these restraints were not unwholesome, and that without them painting would never have risen to such a high position as it once attained among the fine arts, but few wish to re-impose them or interfere with the present liberty of the artist to exercise his powers in the direction most suited to his own nature. But it is vain to assert, as is the fashion, that such liberty brings with it no responsibilities. Art, and the artist, too, were made for man, not man for art or the artist, and if those to whom the great charge is now entrusted restrict its sphere of usefulness and pleasure, abandon its nobler aims, and lower its standard of beauty, they will do a lasting injury to society, and reduce an honoured profession to insignificance.

To those who are thoroughly interested in the divers little professional movements of the day, and know enough about them to see what the artist is trying to do and whether he has been successful or not, the picture exhibitions are no doubt entertaining enough. Whether the "values" are right, whether the figures are in the same atmosphere as the landscape, whether the true tone of flesh in sunlight has been "hit," whether the artist has solved some "problem" of "colour," or achieved a triumph in "violet shadow," or the "vibration of light"—are subjects capable of incessant discussion, accompanied with no little heat. To the student of humanity, also, the modern picture gallery is full of interest, as it presents the spectacle of a hundred energies employed in a hundred directions, and animated by every variety of aim and opinion.

But for those others (and, at the risk of being called a Philistine, I confess to much sympathy with those others) who care very much for the impression of a work of art upon the mind, and trouble themselves little about the minutiæ of process and method by which this result is attained, modern exhibitions of pictures contain little that is either interesting or delectable, and still less to excite agreeably either their emotions or their imaginations. And these others, at least a great number of them, are not exclusive in their tastes. They can spend hours of the purest enjoyment in the National Gallery, and many of them have travelled also. They have received noble impressions from Michael Angelo, and gentle ones from Raphael, without considering the accuracy of their draughtsmanship; the glorious tones of Titian have soothed them like an organ, and those of Tintoretto have stirred them like a trumpet without any doubt as to the accuracy of these painters' "values." They can admire the exquisite painting of Van Eyck, although he did not practice the "square touch," and enjoy the robust vigour and lifelike force of Velasquez without searching the secrets of his manipulation. The profound humanity of Rembrandt's portraits touches them deeply, and the jovial groups of Teniers and Jan Steen amuse them, while they are not at all insensible to the charms of their colour and light and shade. Delights keen and abundant they derive also from the works of their own countrymen, and they ask, and surely the question is difficult to answer, why so many modern painters should cut off from art those sources of pleasure which they find not only in all the "old masters," but in the works of such men as Reynolds and Gainsborough, Morland and Wilkie, Mason and Walker. If they are to be content with pictures of current life, why should they be allowed so few glimpses of what is most charming and cultivated in modern society; if they are to have peasants, what has become of the comeliness and grace, the cheerful spirits and racy character, which animated the older pictures, and which to their own knowledge are still to be found for the seeking amongst our rustic population? Why these clumsy idylls oft repeated, with heavy men and women apparently weary of life, always with faces in half-shadow, and no more expression than a cheap photograph? Or if the life of towns is depicted, why is it to be mainly confined to the slum, the music-hall, the café, and the studio? Are such subjects specially suitable to the artistic nature, and are "those others," who cannot enjoy an Arcadia without charm and a Bohemia without romance, unworthy of the consideration of the true painter?

"Those others" are also so benighted as to think that a portrait should be a good likeness, however well it may be painted, and that, in this case at least, it is not unfitting that the painter

should rather forget his own personality than that of his subject. They also think that he should make the best of his sitter, and endeavour to express not only his physical but his mental characteristics. It does not content them to be told that the artist has only to deal with the surface, for they are aware what wonderful mysteries the superfices of a human face is capable of reflecting, and what capacities to reproduce such reflections are possessed by paint, when laid on by the hand of a Rembrandt, a Reynolds, a Velasquez, or a Watts. They are still less satisfied when they are told that the likenesses of themselves or their friends must, and rightly must, depend on the "impression" of the painter, and even on the particular mood the painter may be in when he condescends to paint them. It is no consolation to them, when they see a well-known face caricatured by the exaggeration of a casual expression, or the selection of its most disagreeable aspect, to be told that the picture is a splendid piece of brushwork.

The dogma that acquits the artist of any moral responsibility is probably accountable for the gravest outrages of modern art, but there are at least two other prevalent notions which are prolific sources of insipidity and ugliness. These are that art is quite independent of subject, and that there is nothing ugly in nature. The latter is akin to the theory that there is no such thing as evil, and might, one would have thought, have been dissipated in many instances by a mere glance at a mirror. No doubt, however, there is some truth in it, and that nearly all objects may give pleasure when seen under certain effects of light. This power to transform the ugly and commonplace into sources of pleasure is of course one of the most essential qualifications of the artist; it has been done by a number of painters of all nations, including especially the Dutch and the English. But failure is disastrous, and is almost the rule among the modern generation of painters, which is far more intent on triumph over technical difficulties, than on the total beauty of the result. This frequent indifference to the total beauty of the result is perhaps the most essential difference between the older and the younger art. However unlovely the separate forms introduced, however gross the subjects of Dutch and Flemish art, not only are all the parts executed with the greatest skill and care, but the picture is a piece of organized beauty—beauty of composition, of colour, and of tone. In modern, or at least in the most modern art, there is, indeed, abundant cleverness of execution, and often much beauty (in a purely artistic sense) in passages, but too often the whole is a thing of ugliness, which no one would be glad to see in nature, or wish to remember if he did.

The indifference to subject, which seems to me to be a fruitful

cause of this lack of beauty, has unfortunately been intentionally or unintentionally fostered by the example of several men of very distinct talents, if not of genius. Amongst those most often cited as prophets of what may be called the new gospel of paint are M. Degas, Mr. Whistler, and the late M. Manet. None would wish to restrain any artist of such exceptional gifts as these from full liberty to use them as their feeling prompts them. They have all done their best to throw new life into their art, to destroy stale conventions, to lop off boughs of false sentiment, and to make the language of painting pure and strong, and distinct from that of any other art. Yet no artist can get away from subject any more than from his shadow, and no indifference to it can prevent him from exercising his faculty of selection, so that one may be allowed to regret that M. Degas (as M. Manet before him) should choose the victims of absinthe as subjects specially fitted for the exercise of his great powers, and show so marked a preference for the lights of the theatre and the postures of ballet girls. With Mr. Whistler the case is different; his selection of subject, though dictated no less (indeed, it seems to me much more) by his artistic feeling, is seldom if ever ugly in any sense, and though he is very slight, he never forgets the total effect. Most even of his sketches are "things of beauty," not very substantial "joys," indeed, but yet "joys for ever" to those who can taste them at all. He is, truly, an artist pure and simple, with a sense of his materials and tools, whether he works with the etching needle or pastel, with water-colour or oil, such as can scarcely be excelled. He has done, in a manner altogether masterly, things which no other artist has done before; he has revealed new beauties in nature and added to the resources of art. But he has also turned his back on human interests, he has done his best to dissociate art from everything but art itself, and has laboured apparently for the sole end of showing what it is to be an artist, and nothing more. So far so good, as far as he himself is concerned, but what of his effect upon others? He has done more perhaps than anyone else to fill our galleries with pretentious inanities, for his many followers cannot imitate the artist, but they succeed excellently in imitating the "nothing more."

Another of the many notions in the air which conduce to insipidity in modern pictures is the bogey called the "literary idea." This, like most of the prevalent notions which more or less direct the efforts of modern painting, has its germ of truth, but it is pushed to ridiculous extremes. That the main effort of the professor of any kind of art should be to express those ideas most suitable to its special means, and give those pleasures which no other art can give in like measure, are propositions which few will

deny. But the ideas or the pleasures which are exclusively the property of any one art are very few, and to exclude all others from its province would be to pauperize it. I do not know which would be more pauperized, literature or art, if the right of painting in words and that of telling stories in paint were both abolished. Literature and art, if not twins, were at least rocked in the same cradle, and have lived in perfect harmony since the beginning of the world. The history of art to the present time is little more than the history of the now discredited "illustration," and the suggestion that this has all been wrong, and that literature and art are henceforward to take separate paths is almost too ridiculous for argument. But the existence of such a tendency is undoubted, and is justified mainly as a revolt against the popularity of pictures in which appeals to cheap sentiment were more successful than the most exquisite painting, or in which themes drawn from or suitable to literature were chosen without regard to their fitness for pictorial expression, or were treated without the exercise of the pictorial faculty. But similar faults and misconceptions are incidental to all arts, and the remedy in this case is surely not to taboo sentiment altogether, but to adopt that which is truer and nobler, as artists in the past have done; not to discard themes which, appealing to all humanity, are proper subjects for both literature and art, but to show how they should be conceived by the graphic artist, and treated in the manner appropriate to the painter. By this means only can painters retain their noble heritage intact.

Probably the younger painters do not fully realize how large and noble a territory they have already abandoned, and how small and comparatively worthless a strip of land they are bent upon overpopulating. Fortunately, the former has not disappeared but is cultivated by numerous artists in "black and white," the comparatively despised "book illustrators," whom the future historian cannot neglect if he wishes to discover what was most fanciful and imaginative, most national and noble in English art of this period. There he will find that not even ideal beauty is dead, and that the present world of England of all classes, in town or country, is mirrored with truth and liveliness. It is perhaps only consistent with modern views that the beauty of line and contour, and the searching draughtsmanship which show the beauty of construction (say of the hand), should be comparatively left to the sculptor and the artist of the point, but at a time when so much importance is claimed for *technique*, and such particular stress is laid on the mechanical restrictions of each branch of art, it seems strange that painters should not cultivate that beauty of colour which is the peculiar distinction of their craft. But we have only to compare any assemblage of modern pictures, I will not say with the National

Gallery, but with pictures by the earlier masters of the English School, with the works of Reynolds and Gainsborough, with Turner and Old Crome, and even with those of many minor masters of the period, to see a change which may be in the direction of truth with regard to particular effects of light, but is certainly not in the direction of beauty. Instead of rich harmonies in full scale, we have at most a melody of two or three notes, and instead of a blending of the truths of tone and colour (without which, indeed, no really fine colour can be produced), we have on the one hand scores of pictures in which colour is almost ostentatiously sacrificed to tone, and on the other, an equal number in which tone is sacrificed to colour. Nor is anything more observable than the deterioration in the quality of the colour. Instead of purity and transparency, we have dirt and dinginess; instead of infinite gradation, the bluntest of contrasts; instead of exquisite variation in "inclosed" colour, the dull monotony of a plasterer; instead of delightful illusion which make us forget the material, we have what is obviously paint and nothing else. With regard to handling also, which is surely a purely technical matter, can it be said that the change, if in the direction of dexterity and smartness, has been also in the direction of beauty? In this case if any, surely the old maxim of *ars est celare artem* is peculiarly applicable. It was felt by the old masters, whose clear, crisp touches, drawing and painting at the same time, and infinitely varied shape and stress, needed no disguise; yet, though beautiful in themselves, and in the case of such free handlers as Veronese or Velasquez not concealed, they never obtrude themselves on the notice, to the disturbance of the general effect. To-day, the ostentatious display of the method by which the result is achieved seems to be one of the principal aims of the painter, who is "up to date." The canvas is often covered with a slovenly mess of strokes and streaks, smears and splashes, the intention of which is only to be realized at a distance, which too frequently adds little enchantment to the view.

It is probably useless to remonstrate. The world of young artists is split up into sections, each of them pursuing some particular "notion," which represents to them the whole and complete truth about art. They are united in neither aim nor principle, and if they care nothing for the opinion of the public, care scarcely more for that of their professional brethren. The voice of Reason herself could hardly expect a hearing in such a Babel. But it would be well for those at least who are still in training, and have not yet become possessed by any particular fad, to decide whether the function of an artist is fulfilled by the exhibition of professional skill, the following of his own whims and caprices without regard to the common sense of the many, and the record of the impres-

sions on his retina without regard to their beauty or value, and to think whether it would not be wiser for an artist, instead of wandering about asking "What is beauty?" as Pilate asked "What is truth?" to endeavour to find out at least what specially appeals to him as such, and how far his view is in accordance with the best taste of all ages; and to determine, at least, that he will not devote his life to the manufacture of works which will lower the moral standard of art and promote the worship of the ugly.

Even if he clings to the creed that the artist is responsible to himself only, and not to the public, he has, it is to be hoped, some pride in his profession, and would not wish the day to come when the taste of the painter should be generally recognized as below that of the most cultivated classes of the day. Yet is not there at least some danger of this? Already he or she who demands something in a picture more than professional merit, who cannot pardon all faults against taste or manners for the sake of the execution, who refuses to tolerate vulgarity because the painting is "slick," or to be interested in the dullest of landscapes because of its admirable "values"; who cannot admire a mean face on account of its excellent "lighting," and recoils from a gross "nude" notwithstanding the pearliness of the tints—who, in a word, expects some pleasure from a work of art which the artist will not or cannot give, is regarded from the art-camp as a Philistine. But the number of persons to whom such pictures yield no pleasure is not only a very large one, but includes probably the majority of men and women of good breeding and fine feeling, of culture and of intellect, and if there should come a time when the present more "advanced" theory and practice of the painter's art prevail, and they should look in vain in our picture-galleries for the beauty, the fine taste, or any of those stimulants to imagination, or to wholesome and elevating emotion, which have from time immemorial been associated with the name of art, will not the term Philistine be more properly applied to the painters themselves?

Cosmo Monkhouse.

OUR FOOD SUPPLY IN THE EVENT OF WAR.

SINCE President Cleveland threw his Venezuela bomb among us, and the Emperor of Germany suggested unutterable things to President Kruger, much emphasis has been given to the subject named above, and many alarmist articles have been written upon it. This is not surprising, seeing that we are dependent upon foreign countries for a large and increasing proportion of our food, while we are almost as constantly adding to the possessions which we may have to defend. But, as alarmist articles are always one-sided and almost invariably exaggerated, it is worth while to consider calmly and judicially our position in relation to food in the event of war.

To conduce towards a clear judgment it is desirable to review our position as to food in times of peace, beginning with wheat.

Taking the average annual supplies of wheat, including flour, for the last three years, we have the following figures for Great Britain and Ireland, the home crop of Ireland for 1895 being estimated, because the official return for that portion of the kingdom is not issued at the time of writing :—

	Quarters.
Home Production	6,263,000
Imports	22,827,276
Total	29,090,276

The principal sources of our foreign and colonial supplies of wheat, including flour, are enumerated below, the annual average supply of each for 1893-5 being stated :—

	Quarters.
United States	11,616,879
Russia	3,877,600
Argentina...	2,529,185
India	1,582,630
Canada	1,109,000
Australasia	774,170
Chili	418,713
Austria-Hungary	380,000
Roumania and Turkey	308,227
Other Countries	230,872
Total	22,827,276

Our consumption for all purposes during the cereal year 1895-6 (ending August 31) is estimated at 29½ million quarters, of which we produced in the United Kingdom a little less than 4¾ millions, or 1¾ millions less than in 1894. The acreage for the crop of 1895 was smaller than it would have been under ordinary circumstances in consequence of the extreme wetness of the autumn of 1894, while the drought of 1895 diminished the yield. The consumption during the next two or three years will increase by about a quarter of a million quarters annually. Therefore, if from an acreage, which will certainly be larger than that of 1895 we produce 6¼ million quarters next harvest, we shall need to import about 23½ million quarters.

Barley comes under consideration mainly as the raw material of beer, though it is also of interest as a substitute for wheat in an emergency.

Oats, ordinarily used chiefly for oatmeal and cakes, so far as they come into the human food supply, would be even more extensively consumed in place of wheat if necessity arose; while beans, peas, and maize would take the place of barley or oats more or less, as food for stock. The inclusion of potatoes in the table needs no explanation.

The annual averages for 1893-5 (the Irish contributions of oats and barley, and the entire crops of beans, peas, and potatoes in 1895 being estimated) are as follows:—

	Home Production.	Imports.	Total.
	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
Barley... ...	9,125,000 ...	7,232,450 ...	16,357,450
Oats	21,980,000 ...	5,320,000 ...	27,300,000
Beans and Peas	1,377,000 ...	1,690,000 ...	3,067,000
Maize	— ...	7,949,000 ...	7,949,000
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Potatoes ...	5,914,000 ...	154,835 ...	6,068,835

Our imported barley comes mainly from Russia, Roumania, the United States, Turkey, Germany, Denmark, Austria-Hungary, and Chili; but a good deal extra might also be obtained from Holland, Sweden, France, Canada, Tripoli, Algeria, Egypt, and Persia.

Oats we receive chiefly from Russia (three-fourths in some years), Sweden, Germany, Holland, and New Zealand. The United States, Canada, Turkey, and Roumania would greatly increase their supplies if necessary.

Our small imports of rye—too insignificant to be given in the table—come mostly from Russia; but a liberal supply could be procured from Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Turkey, Roumania, the United States, and Canada.

We rely on Egypt, Morocco, and Turkey for the greater part of the beans we import, smaller quantities being derived from a num-

ber of other sources. Thirteen are separately enumerated in the official returns. Foreign and colonial peas come mainly from the United States, Canada, India, and Russia, but could be obtained also from numerous other sources.

In 1893 Roumania sent us more than half our maize, and in 1894 not far short of that proportion. The United States, Russia, and sometimes Canada, are also large contributors, while Turkey, Bulgaria, Argentina, Egypt, Morocco, Germany, and other countries help towards the total.

The small proportion of potatoes imported comes chiefly from the Channel Islands, France, Holland, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Malta, and the Canary Islands. Some of these countries could send us ten times their usual contributions if we needed extra supplies.

With respect to meat and dairy produce, it is desirable to take the figures for 1895, as our imports of meat and butter are constantly increasing. The estimate of home-grown meat is based on Mr. Turnbull's calculations, now recognized as the most trustworthy :—

	Cwts.
Home production of Meat	25,000,000
Net Imports	15,000,000
Total	40,000,000

Rabbits, poultry, and game are not included in the imports, as it is impossible to estimate the home supplies with any certainty. The principal sources of the foreign and colonial supply of meat are the United States, Canada, Australasia, and Argentina. It would be possible to obtain a large quantity of meat, alive or dead, from a good many European countries; but sanitary restrictions close our ports to live stock from most of them.

The home production of butter and cheese is estimated from the best available data. The quantity of margarine made in the United Kingdom is not known even approximately; but the raw material is nearly all imported.

	Home Production. Cwts.	Net Imports. Cwts.	Total. Cwts.
Butter	1,768,000	2,749,683	4,517,683
Margarine	—	930,723	930,723
Cheese	1,900,000	2,062,000	3,962,000

Denmark, France, Sweden, Australasia, Germany, and Holland supply all but a small proportion of the imported butter; Holland sends nearly all the margarine; and Canada, the United States, and Holland are the contributors of about six-sevenths of the cheese. It would be possible to increase our supplies of both butter and cheese greatly from the near countries named above.

Having shown to what extent we are indebted to countries outside the British Isles for the principal articles of food, and the chief sources of our supplies in times of peace, it remains for me to indicate how our demands could be met in time of war.

In order to clear the ground, I will admit at the outset that such a combination of Foreign Powers against us as could starve us into submission in six months is quite conceivable. It is mere vainglory to talk of "England against the world." But it might equally be said of any other country that a conceivable combination could reduce it to submission in six months, if not by starvation, by more direct means. If Russia, France, Germany, and the United States were against us, and we had no powerful ally, they could starve us in six months; but it is equally true that they could occupy London in half the time, and dictate terms to us. It would be sheer waste of time to discuss such an extremely unlikely contingency, and if it were not so, the question would have nothing to do with our food supply, because if we had food enough to keep us for a decade, it would not prevent our defeat.

Let us turn, then, to the consideration of our position in the event of our being at war with such a combination as we might hope to cope with, so long as we could furnish ourselves with food. Two such imaginary cases are before me; the first that which Mr. R. B. Marston has dealt with in his article on "Corn Stores for War Time," in *The Nineteenth Century* for February; and the second a case supplied to me by one of the leading members of the grain trade in this country.

Mr. Marston declares that "if the United States and Russia declared war against us there would practically be no food supply to protect," as "they would keep the immense supplies we now get from them at home, and the fear of capture or destruction would effectually prevent Argentina and other neutrals from sending food to us in any sufficient quantity." Here Mr. Marston assumes that our enemies would dare to make themselves also the foes of neutral nations by seizing their ships. Surely he knows that International law sanctions interference with the ships of neutral countries only in the event of their attempting to run a recognized blockade; and it can hardly be maintained that Russia and the United States could maintain an effective blockade of all the ports of Great Britain, leaving Ireland out of the question. The two countries named would certainly be the most formidable couple for reducing our food supplies to an alarming extent; but our navy could meet with confidence all the war-ships that Russia could send against us, while sparing enough cruisers to keep the small American fleet busy in defending the ports of the United States.

But, although the supposed alliance against us could not pre-

vent us from getting food from neutral countries, if America and Russia kept at home for a whole year all the food which they usually export, they would undoubtedly be able to restrict the supplies of our own and other countries as well. But to do this would be to ruin millions of their own farmers, and to bring the two Governments to bankruptcy. On the other hand, if they exported food to other countries than our own we could obtain it from neutral countries. As far as grain is concerned, we should not need to wait to see whether our enemies would pursue so suicidal a course as the one supposed; for, immediately on war being declared, we should be able, by means of the offer of high prices, to obtain enough grain of various kinds in a few weeks to make up, with what we grow, at least a year's supply. This point will be dealt with more in detail later on, after reference has been made to the second supposititious case that has been put before me; and at the same time it will be shown that we could do without the meat and dairy produce now sent to us by the United States and Russia.

As Mr. Marston labours under the astounding delusion that we have "only a precarious week's supply" of food in this country, it is not surprising that he has written in an extremely alarmist strain. His object is to prove the necessity of keeping constantly in State granaries, which he would have us build, enough corn to make up, with what we grow, a year's supply. By "corn" it is to be presumed that he means wheat, as he names the quantity which we might need, after a bad harvest, to make up twelve months' supply of that grain. He proposes that the Government should build granaries, and purchase, to store in them, 25,000,000 quarters of wheat which, after the first year, would be sold off gradually while fresh wheat to replace it was being as gradually brought in. As the private correspondent who has propounded the second problem for my solution also contemplates a similar scheme, it will be convenient to state his case before giving my objections to the plan.

The second supposititious case is a combination of France and Russia against us, and it is assumed that they have come to a secret understanding to humiliate Great Britain in the cheapest way, and that this will be by starving us. In order to take us in hand when nearly all our home crop of wheat is consumed, and there is still some time before a new crop will be reaped, they are supposed to commence operations on the 31st of March. France sends a confidential broker to the United States to buy up all the wheat which, with the help of American brokers employed by him, he can purchase for immediate or future delivery. The French agent is supposed to acquire about 25,000,000 quarters in this way, though all but a very small proportion of it would be for delivery a month,

two months, or six or more months ahead. As it comes due, the wheat is to be held in the United States, so that none of it can come to Europe. All this is to be done without exciting our suspicions. Moreover, another Government agent in France is to buy up all the cargoes of wheat on passage to Europe that he can get. On the 2nd of April Russia is to prohibit exports of grain entirely. Other continental countries, alarmed as to their own supplies of food, follow suit, and Great Britain is at the mercy of her two secret enemies without a shot being fired, or even a declaration of war being made. Then we are to pay an enormous indemnity, equal to £5 a quarter for all the wheat purchased by France, and to give up some of our colonies and dependencies.

Really, this is too far-fetched a romance of plotting to be worth serious consideration. For any two nations to attempt such a plot against a country while on ostensibly friendly terms with her, would stamp them with infamy in the eyes of the world, and probably bring us some powerful allies to defeat it. Apart from this consideration, the secret would be pretty certain to leak out prematurely. If not, we could defeat the scheme as soon as we discovered it, by buying all the available wheat in the United States not actually in the hands of the French agent, for present or future delivery, at a price so much higher than he had agreed to give, that the sellers of "futures" would not be able to get any to deliver to the Frenchman. If he ventured to cap our offers, there would be a contest, and the longest purse would win. It is obvious that the plot would be defeated, and then the question would be whether the combined fleets of France and Russia could prevent food supplies from reaching us. They could not starve us so long as American cargoes under the Stars and Stripes could reach us, which would be until they could maintain an effective blockade of all our ports. This they would not be able to do until they had destroyed our navy, and then we should be at their mercy, if they chose to starve us into submission, or much more quickly, in all probability, if they elected to land a million soldiers to capture London.

It might fairly be argued that, before contemplating the probability of starvation or invasion, we should be able to secure a powerful ally, such as Germany, by offering some great concessions as to territory in Central Africa or elsewhere; but I will not avail myself of this plea, as I prefer to admit that we should maintain our navy at such a strength as to enable us to beat the combined fleets of any likely combination. With such a navy, I maintain that no two Powers would be able to starve us into submission to their terms.

But, it may be asked, why object to the plan of storing a year's

supply of wheat in State granaries, which would render us absolutely secure against a famine in the event of war? My answer is, first, because of the enormous cost of such a plan, carried out year after year in times of peace as an assurance against a difficulty that may never occur; secondly, because it would involve a Government monopoly of our entire foreign wheat and flour trade if it succeeded; and, in the third place, because it would annihilate wheat-growing in this country.

It is difficult to estimate the expense of the scheme with any approach to certainty. I have no idea as to the cost of the granaries which would have to be built, and therefore I will leave this item out of the account, and assume that granary space is hired.

First, there would be the annual interest on the capital sum invested in 25,000,000 quarters of wheat, which at the present price would cost over £33,000,000. Mr. Marston proposes to meet this by the issue of Imperial Corn Bonds, bearing interest at $2\frac{3}{4}$ or 3 per cent., and at the lower rate the interest would amount to £907,500 per annum. Commission on buying and selling the wheat would be at least £1,250,000. Storing, at the usual rate of 3d. per ton per week would cost £3,482,000 per annum. For waste and deterioration at least another £1,000,000 must be allowed, and, in all probability, there would be a loss between buying and selling. The cost of transport into and out of the granaries and by rail if sent to different parts of the country for storage would be a serious item, probably over £1,000,000.

Altogether the cost of carrying out the scheme cannot safely be estimated at less than £8,000,000 per annum, and if we spent this sum upon the progressive strengthening of our navy—that is, in addition to the usual expenditure—instead of absolutely wasting it, our national safety would rest on a far securer basis than any accumulation of food would give us. Such an enormous expenditure annually in times of peace, by way of insurance against famine in the event of a war which may never occur, would be intolerable. especially as it would not protect us against invasion or strengthen us in defending our immense outside possessions; whereas the same amount of extra expenditure on our navy would be a comprehensive insurance.

With respect to my second objection, as it is proposed to buy in and sell out annually a quantity of wheat equal to our total imports of wheat and flour, it is obvious that, if the operation of the scheme is to be permanent, it would involve a Government monopoly of the entire trade in imported wheat and flour. Surely this would be an intolerable interference with trade.

As to my third objection, it rests mainly upon the certainty that private importers of wheat and flour would not give up their

business without a struggle. They would continue to import, and all that they imported would be in excess of the consumptive demand. Therefore, our markets would be constantly glutted, and the price of wheat would fall to so low a level that its production in this country would be ruinous, and that industry would be annihilated. As it would not be safe to store flour for many months, it may be assumed that the Government would buy only grain. But the great American millers would not cease to send flour to us, as they have no other means of getting rid of all the surplus which they produce. In order to keep their machinery in full swing, it answers their purpose to export flour at almost any price when they have more than they can dispose of promptly at home. The case would be made all the worse by the extra production of wheat that would be stimulated in foreign countries by the knowledge that the proposed State granaries had to be filled. In short, the result of the scheme would be so ruinous to British agriculture and trade, that an overwhelming agitation would soon be got up against it, and it would have to be given up after all the expenditure on State granaries had been incurred.

Since first publishing his scheme, Mr. Marston has modified it, to meet objections, in a letter to *The Standard;* but he has not in any way improved it. His modified proposal is that we should store 5,000,000 quarters of wheat annually for five years, getting the full reserve of 25,000,000 quarters by the end of that period. But he really appears to write without thinking out what his proposal involves; for he contends that the purchase and distribution of 5,000,000 quarters per annum would not affect prices much. Surely a moment's reflection will show him that if the same quantity as is bought is distributed annually we should never accumulate the larger quantity. If we bought 5,000,000 quarters this year, keeping it for twelve months, and then gradually replacing it by a new supply of equal quantity, we should maintain only a reserve stock of 5,000,000 quarters. In order to accumulate the full quantity we should need to purchase and sell as follows :—

	To Purchase. Qrs.	To Sell. Qrs.
First Year ...	5,000,000	—
Second ,, ...	10,000,000	5,000,000
Third ,, ...	15,000,000	10,000,000
Fourth ,, ...	20,000,000	15,000,000
Fifth ,, ...	25,000,000	20,000,000
Totals.....	75,000,000	50,000,000

Balance at end of fifth year, 25,000,000 quarters.

After the end of the fifth year it would be necessary to buy in and ll out the w··ole of the 25,000,000 qrs., or, rather, a constantly

growing quantity in excess of that total, if a full year's supply of imported wheat had to be kept in reserve.

Mr. Marston alludes to the extremely high prices reached by wheat in certain years from 1800 to 1812, when we grew most of the corn we needed, as a proof that having the command of the sea is not sufficient to prevent famine prices in time of war. But at the time mentioned there were no exports from America, and Napoleon closed the ports of Europe against us. It would be more to the purpose to refer to the prices of wheat in 1854 and 1855, when we were at war with Russia. In the first of those two years the average was 72s. 5d., and in the latter 74s. 8d. a quarter. Just before the war Russia and Prussia contributed half our foreign supplies of wheat, and in 1855 we received no wheat from Russia and less than half the supply of 1853 from Prussia. Our total imports of wheat in 1855 were not much more than half the quantity received in 1853. That the price of wheat would become very high for a time if we were at war with two great naval powers I do not for a moment question, though there is no reason to suppose that such prices as £5 to £6 a quarter would prevail, as in certain years from 1800 to 1813. Wars nowadays, it is to be borne in mind, do not last long, and therefore there is the less fear of starvation in the case of a nation dependent upon foreign supplies. If, as I contend, shortly after war became imminent, we could make up with our home supplies enough grain of various kinds for a year's consumption, bread would not need to be dear, even if wheat should become a luxury. Mr. Marston wants to know how our live stock would be fed if we used for bread those kinds of grain which are chiefly consumed by animals; but of course the supplies we should obtain would be in excess of those needed for live stock.

If it be necessary to obtain the previous sanction of Parliament, it would be a prudent precaution to pass an Act authorizing the Secretary of State for War and the President of the Board of Trade to pledge the credit of the State to the extent of the value of a year's foreign supply of wheat and flour, in order that they might, in the event of war being imminent, purchase as much wheat and other grain as they deemed desirable, without a moment's loss of time, getting as much as possible into the country before there had been time for a great advance in prices to take place. As to the distribution and storing of the grain, a Departmental Commission of the Board of Trade might be appointed to make enquiries and arrangements. Apart from the great granaries at the ports, there are thousands of warehouses and mills in which large or small quantities of corn could be kept till it was needed for use, and the owners in most cases would gladly agree to keep the grain

for the Government at a moderate charge. So little grain is stored nowadays, as compared with what used to be held, that the granary space in the interior of the country is seldom half-filled.

Now let us consider what would be done to secure our food supply in the event of war with France and Russia being imminent. The officers of the Board of Trade would at once commission brokers dealing with different countries to purchase for the Government all the wheat and flour that could be obtained in the markets of neutral European countries and America, and all cargoes on passage to Europe not already sold. Let us take April 1st as the date when operations would commence, that being the most inconvenient period of the year for the declaration of war, as far as our food supply is concerned, because most of our home crop is by that time consumed, and there are five months to come before new wheat grown in this country will be available. We should need about 12,500,000 quarters of wheat to carry us through to the end of August. Supplies in the principal ports of the United Kingdom are hardly ever less than 2,000,000 quarters, and stocks scattered over the country are at least as much—probably a good deal more. Wheat in farmers' hands may be put at a minimum of 1,000,000 quarters. It is to be observed that these quantities within the country, are equal to about nine weeks' consumption, instead of Mr. Marston's "precarious week's supply," although they are probably underrated.

Wheat on passage to Europe, including flour, is seldom less than 3,000,000 quarters, four-fifths of it being for the United Kingdom, though liable to be diverted to some extent to other countries. Let us suppose that we make certain of 2,500,000 quarters by buying the cargoes not already purchased. In neutral European countries we might easily obtain another million quarters by offering a few shillings advance on the current price. We have then the following quantities within the country, or obtainable for the most part within three weeks :—

	Quarters.
Stocks in the Great Ports	2,000,000
,, in the Interior	2,000,000
,, in Farmers' Hands	1,000,000
Wheat and Flour on Passage for U.K. ...	2,500,000
,, ,, obtainable in Europe ...	1,000,000
Total in Sight	8,500,000
Balance Needed to End of August	4,000,000
Total Required	12,500,000

Can anyone suppose that we should have the slightest difficulty in getting the balance of 4,000,000 quarters after the war had been

begun? The United States alone could send that quantity under the American flag, borrowing our steamers if necessary. But we should not be dependent upon one country, as Argentina, Chili, Turkey, and all other neutral countries which could spare any wheat would be eager to sell to us at the advanced prices which we should be willing to pay. Starting from such prices as prevail at present, it is probable that we should obtain all the wheat we needed up to the end of August at an average of 40s. a quarter or less, and bread would still be very cheap.

Having reached the period when wheat from a new harvest at home would be available, we should have at least two months' supply without any fresh imports, although the latter would continue to arrive if we could prevent a blockade. At the end of that period the war would have lasted seven months, and probably we should have defeated our enemies or they would have beaten us by that time. But we should not have relied upon so speedy a termination of the war. On the contrary, as previously intimated, we should have arranged for a whole year's supply of imported grain. So long as we could keep our ports open we should continue to obtain supplies of wheat and flour from America, Argentina, Chili, and other countries under neutral flags. But, as a safeguard, at the outset of hostilities, we should have purchased enough grain of other kinds than wheat to make up a whole year's consumption with what we produce at home. From the list of countries given above from which we could obtain barley, oats, beans, peas, and maize, it will be seen that there would be no lack of probable sources of supply. Besides, we could obtain great quantities of rice and other farinaceous food from various parts of the world. Again, we could import from the west of Europe a practically unlimited quantity of potatoes.

As the advocates of State granaries do not propose more than a reserve of grain equal to a year's foreign supply, my alternative plan goes as far as theirs. But if, in the autumn, the war seemed likely to be prolonged beyond twelve months from the 1st of April, the prospect of high prices would induce farmers to plough up millions of acres of temporary and comparatively new permanent pasture for the purpose of growing wheat, which would be ready for use seventeen months after the declaration of war. We could easily grow all the wheat we required in such an emergency, as 7,000,000 acres, in addition to the exceptionally small area cropped with wheat last year, would suffice to produce the necessary quantity. For the first five months of the second year of war we should have to rely on being able to keep our ports open to foreign supplies, the home crop of the first harvest having been allowed for.

Nothing has been said of supplies from India and our colonies,

because British ships would be liable to seizure. But, assuming that the war lasted longer than a year, our ship-building yards would not have been idle, and it is reasonable to suppose that we should be able to send out a number of war-ships to convoy cargoes sent under the British flag.

An alliance between the United States and Russia against us would be worse for us, in relation to food supplies, than the combination just referred to, supposing that those countries prohibited all exports of food, but not otherwise. It has already been stated that their refusal to export to neutral countries is highly improbable, because it would be ruinous to their farmers and to their national finances. But if they exported to neutral countries we could get all the wheat and flour we needed from the latter, as we should certainly be able to keep command of the British Channel and the German Ocean against Russia and the United States. If they kept all their wheat at home we should have to depend upon other kinds of grain, to some extent, for our bread-stuffs. France and her colonies would be among the countries contributing materially to our supplies of grain of various kinds other than wheat. As we cannot accumulate great stocks of meat and dairy produce for future use, there is nothing to be said in this connection except that against either of the supposed combinations, our only means of obtaining our usual supplies would be the maintenance of open ports. If we kept command of the German Ocean we should be able to get enough of both classes of food to make shift with without serious privation; and, so long as our ports were open, Argentina alone could go far towards meeting our demands for meat of one quality or another.

As we must depend upon our naval supremacy for sufficient supplies of other food than grain, which could be stored, the argument used in the early portion of this article is all the stronger. Therefore, I cannot finish my remarks more appropriately than by repeating that if we are to spend several millions per annum to secure ourselves from shortness of food in time of war, we shall do better by devoting the money to the progressive strengthening of our navy than by frittering it away in years of peace in maintaining a reserve stock of one class of food only, to the ruin of our private foreign wheat trade, and the annihilation of wheat-growing in this country.

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G.W.R.
MECHANICS'
INSTITUTION.
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EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

THE KALEIDOSCOPE.

The kaleidoscope of Foreign Politics continues to revolve with bewildering rapidity and fresh situations are revealed almost every week. It is quite beyond a monthly chronicle to keep measured step with them, one can only note the latest transformation and speculate as to the next. A few weeks ago we were all engaged in anathematizing the German Emperor for his manifestation of unfriendliness over the Transvaal disaster. A Flying Squadron was equipped, patriotic householders foreswore German bread, and patriotic children declined to play with German toys, while German bands in London felt constrained to confine themselves to "God Save the Queen" and "Rule Britannia" in order to preserve a precarious livelihood. The rupture between Great Britain and the Triple Alliance was declared to be complete and irremediable. An *entente cordiale* with France and a *rapprochement* towards Russia became the two favoured policies among men interesting themselves in Foreign affairs. Austria and Italy grew exceedingly apprehensive at the possible consequences of their partner's telegram, and set to work to make it up between this country and Germany —what steps were taken, and how far they succeeded we do not know, but it is known that for a period of some weeks the relations

between England and France were better than they had been for years. Even the French Press ceased to revile us—all the snarling was done in Germany—and common-sense appeared likely to have a chance of settling the outstanding difficulties between the two nations. An excellent commencement was made over Siam, and we were believed to be near a settlement of our Niger difficulties. The appetite for solutions would probably have increased with eating, and a clean sweep might have been made of half-a-dozen or more vexatious and by no means insoluble problems. The prospect of making it up with France which commends itself to so many Englishmen because she is our nearest neighbour, and because they are unconscious of harbouring any ill-will towards her, appears to have been completely shattered for the moment. The Triple Alliance has reasserted itself and is co-operating with this country. Only the other day that combination was discontented and tottering—now it is more united and virile than ever, and is making a bold bid for the adhesion of Great Britain. The success of that bid, of course, depends upon the decision of our Foreign Minister—he is the best judge of the situation,—but his action must largely depend upon the wisdom of France. We devoutly hope she will not insist on driving us into the opposite camp.

OUR FRIENDSHIP FOR ITALY.

The Triple Alliance's opportunity has been afforded by Italy's calamity Italy has been our one consistent friend in Europe for years, and has been the chief bond of union between us and the Triple Alliance, of which she is the naval member. We are mutually interested in maintaining the *status quo* in the Mediterranean, and it has been understood between the two nations for the last ten years that in a time of peril they might count upon each other. Italy has loyally and laboriously fulfilled her part of the bargain by maintaining a navy consisting of both men and ships, and when recent diplomatic history comes to be written, it will be seen that she has abstained from gratuitously thwarting us like other members of the Triple Alliance; she has never intrigued against us, and has done us many a good turn. We boast that we do not entangle ourselves in alliances—it is a foolish boast, because isolation is far more entangling, as we have found to our cost, both in the Near East and the Far East—but this country still knows how to stand by a friend, and the one feeling that inspired public opinion in England on learning of Italy's misfortune in Abyssinia, was a desire to do something to help her. We cannot remember any foreign event that has called forth so spontaneous an expression of English sympathy as greeted this disaster. Italy

is known to be a grievously over-burdened country; she aspires to be a first-class military as well as a first-class naval Power. For about fifteen years she has borne this impossible double burden, and when she embarked upon colonial adventure she added a third. The worst was consequently feared when the news from Abyssinia arrived, especially as semi-official Vienna and Berlin proclaimed that Italy must vindicate her honour in Africa while her partners in the Triple Alliance guaranteed her safety in Europe. Had this fatuous advice been accepted, nothing could have kept Italy's head above water. Fortunately wiser counsel prevailed, and she is coming to terms with the King of Abyssinia.

"A Staunch Ally."

The Germans with their customary amiability, having begun by taunting us with doing nothing to show our professed sympathy for Italy, on hearing that we intended to effect a diversion in her favour by advancing into the Sudan, turned round and began violently abusing us for exploiting the misfortune of a friend to serve our own purposes. They could not refuse her acquiescence, however, because their statesmen know, whatever their Press may affect to say, that our action has already had an immense influence of both a practical and moral kind in relieving the strain on Italy, and so indirectly, as she is a sorely wounded member of the Triple Alliance, of strengthening the position of her partners. All the savagery of the Eastern Sudan would have concentrated itself upon the Italians which is, now said to be converging upon the British-Egyptian expedition, and it is idle to pretend that it could be otherwise. A catastrophe might have ensued heavily involving the whole Triple Alliance By the prudent self-restraint of Italy as regards Abyssinia and the bold initiative of Great Britain in the Sudan, this risk has been avoided. Fair-minded Germans, and there are fair minds in all nations, though not in the Press of all nations, must recognize that so far from turning the Italian reverse to our own advantage we have used it to our disadvantage. We are not going forward at a moment convenient to ourselves, and had it not been for Adowa and the menace to Kassala we should not have made any forward movement for the present. We have plenty of anxieties on our hands in other parts of the world, and it is the wrong time of year to advance into the desert. Control of the Nile Valley is no doubt a goal of our ambition, and the Sudan hangs heavy on our souls—it has become an abomination of desolation through British vacillation and pusillanimity in the past. It holds the key to the prosperity of Egypt, and we have frankly said it can never be in other hands than our own; at the

same time nothing was further from our thoughts than a present advance, which has been undertaken as a means of supporting a "staunch ally" (as Mr. Curzon described Italy), and to protect Egypt from the consequences of triumphant barbarism.

THE ITALIAN DISASTER IN ABYSSINIA.

The details of Italy's crushing defeat in Abyssinia —which, by a grim stroke of irony, was allotted to her "sphere of influence"—are noteworthy. General Baratieri, the Commander-in-Chief of the Italian forces, determined unexpectedly to attack the Shoan army before Adowa without waiting for the reinforcements which were being landed at Massowah. He had telegraphed on the Saturday (29th February) that the Shoan positions were impregnable, and yet on Sunday he suddenly determined to attack. The reason he gave afterwards for doing so was that the difficulty of obtaining provisions for his army made retreat inevitable, and he had "yielded to a rash impulse." His tactics were, however, bad. The troops were on short rations, owing to the lack of stores, and went into action fasting after a night's march. The Italians advanced at break of day with three columns on Sunday morning, March 1st. The right column was commanded by General Dabormida, the centre by General Arimondi, and the left by General Albertone. The total number of troops engaged was 17,000, of whom 7,000 were natives. The columns reached the ridges upon which the Shoans were posted, and at the beginning of the battle the Italians succeeded, and carried the positions they assaulted; but General Albertone's force had pushed on too far, and it was attacked by masses of the Shoan army. Generals Dabormida and Arimondi moved with their columns to his support, but not before the harassed brigade was broken up and falling back. General Baratieri meanwhile remained inactive with the reserve force. Having made bad arrangements for the attack, and lost all control over the movements of his army, he did not even wait to collect the remnant after it was defeated. The climax is thus related in a despatch from Massowah:—

"General Albertone, as he retreated, fell back upon the position occupied by General Arimondi, which was on a precipitous and broken side of the ridge, and Colonel Galliano's battalion, which was being held in reserve, moved up to reinforce this position. At this moment large and numerous bodies of the enemy, taking advantage of the broken ground, gathered once more and made a strenuous effort to envelop the Italian force, while another party which had got a lodgment on the mountain succeeded in forcing two battalions of Bersaglieri to beat a hasty retreat. At the same time, the battalions of the Brusati Regiment abandoned their position, the result being that the Alpine battalion of the reserve had also to give way. In the meantime the Shoans, climbing the slope with great boldness, had reached the position held by General Arimondi, and, forcing their way into the very

midst of the Italian ranks, fired almost point-blank at the officers. The fight was stern and stubborn, but in the confusion of the *mêlée* a retreat could not be conducted with calm. Later on the officers were able to order a retreat in some sort, but owing to a misunderstanding, easy enough on these winding and difficult paths, the column divided. One part, with Colonels Brusati and Stevani, went towards Mai Hafima, and the other, with General Baratieri, General Ellena, and Colonel Valenzano, fell back upon Addicaie." . . . . . "Some few companies fought gallantly, but the rest remained passive spectators, and before long began to break up. From that time the Italian left was outflanked, and the Amhara charged into the very midst of the different brigades. The flight, which was soon a rout, followed. General Baratieri and General Arimondi, revolvers in hand, sought to stay the panic-stricken men, but nothing could stop the general impulse to fly which had seized the troops."

Of the three generals heading the columns, Generals Dabormida and Arimondi were killed, while General Albertone was made a prisoner. The number of Italian officers killed was estimated to be 150. The total losses were put at 7,000 white and 2,000 natives. Of these, forty-eight Italian officers and 600 men are said to be prisoners. All the batteries were captured. It is not known how many Shoan were engaged, their losses, according to scouts, were 4,000 dead and 6,000 wounded.

THE FALL OF CRISPI.

The news of this terrible disaster was received with stupefaction in Italy. Demonstrations were made against the Ministry and the policy of colonial expansion. In some places the trains conveying troops were attacked and their embarkation was prevented. At Paira the cavalry were compelled to charge the mob which had torn up the railway tracks and telegraph lines and thrown them into the river. At Milan and Parma there were similar disturbances. Crispi's Ministry resigned on the 4th. General Baratieri was relieved of his functions as Governor of the Italian Colony. He will probably be tried and disgraced. Signor Crispi is succeeded by the Marquis di Rudini—a calm, dignified *grand seigneur*, of great wealth, who has already been Prime Minister. Ten years ago he enunciated a programme which consisted of the abandonment of the African enterprise and concentration at home. General Ricotti is the new Minister of War, and the Duke of Sermoneta is Minister for Foreign Affairs. There is a strong party in Italy, composed of some members of the Right as well as of the Radicals and Socialists, which demands the evacuation of Abyssinia altogether. The Marquis di Rudini made his Ministerial statement on March 17th. Referring to the military disaster, he said: "Our sons and brothers were led out to battle with an absolute lack of preparation." He undertook to promise that he would never enter upon a policy of expansion, indeed, "if the Negus were to offer us Tigre we should reject it as

prejudicial to our interests." His object was to safeguard the national honour and to secure satisfactory terms of peace. Signor Imbriani expressed his satisfaction at the declared intention of the Government to put an end to the African adventure, and demanded the impeachment of the Crispi Ministry. Menelik is said to be anxious for peace, notwithstanding his great victory over the Italians. In the meantime Adigrat is invested, and Kassala is threatened by Osman Digna and the Dervishes.

KASSALA.

Italy is the first European Power which has been routed in a great battle with native Africans. It has been said that Menelik's victory is that of all Africa, and that from one end of this continent to the other the news will travel like wild fire that Africa has conquered Europe, and the dusky myriads which swarm over it will be aroused to do battle with their white oppressors. There was a general ferment among the Dervish forces. Osman Digna had appeared before Kassala, one of the keys of the Nile. We are concerned to succour the Italians, and we cannot afford to let Kassala pass into the hands of the Dervishes or of any other European Power. It is at present held in trust by the Italians for Egypt; they being under an obligation to hand it over to the Egyptians on demand. The Abyssinian disaster made it incumbent on Great Britain to act and make a demonstration which would relieve Kassala. Mr. Chamberlain's argument in the House of Commons was that "It is wiser to anticipate the attack which is certain in the event of the fall of Kassala, and to prevent the concentration of the Dervishes upon a single objective which would, after a success in the first instance, bring them with all the prestige of that success to Egypt." Great Britain had to decide upon an advance towards Dongola. This friendly movement to a member of the Triple Alliance was cordially welcomed by Austria, and surlily assented to by Germany, who, however, will find herself compelled to stand by us.

FOLLY OF RASH PROMISES.

On learning our determination to advance towards Dongola, the French Premier inspired a sensational semi-official Note, stating: "The Minister for Foreign Affairs informed the Council that he yesterday received a letter from the English Ambassador to France, informing him of the project of a military expedition to Dongola. In a conversation which he then had with Lord Dufferin, M. Berthelot asked him for information on the causes and aim of this project, and called his attention to the gravity of its consequences." It was

subsequently explained, however, that much as the French Cabinet dislike our action, this *communiqué* over-emphasized the attitude they desired to adopt, and that its issue was an impulsive indiscretion. It did not excite great annoyance in England, because we recognize that the French are determined to treat our relations with Italy and our occupation of Egypt as two standing grievances. Englishmen desire to remain on cordial terms with France, but the bargain must be mutual. Great Britain intends to stand by Italy and she declines to be coerced or nagged out of Egypt: indeed, it is very difficult to foresee the end of our occupation. We went there to take up work in which France refused to co-operate, we intended to withdraw, and promised to withdraw, and every year we have become more deeply absorbed in the regeneration of the country, and the fulfilment of our original pledge has increased and is increasing in difficulty. It is foolish to make rash promises, perhaps we ought to have allowed Egypt to lapse into the state of the Sudan, which has been a hell upon earth for the last twelve years, owing to the withdrawal of all external influence. Certainly Egypt could not have withstood the Mahdi in his palmy days without European aid, and what inducement would there have been to any European Power to step in in the face of France's dog-in-the-manger attitude? No one is likely to suggest in the light of recent events that Egypt should have been placed under the European concert?

TUNIS.

Two wrongs do not make a right, but they should mitigate an international grievance as between the wrongdoers. France seems to have forgotten that she occupied another portion of the Ottoman Empire—Tunis—under circumstances similar to our advent in Egypt, and with almost identical professions (see "Tunis and Egypt," by St. Loe Strachey, *National Review*, March, 1895). The French went there to restore order, and they informed all foreign governments that they had no thought of annexation in entering the territory of the Bey. They also concluded a Treaty with the Bey, agreeing to evacuate when the "Local Administration is capable of guaranteeing the maintenance of order" (see Treaty). The diplomatic correspondence in the spring of 1881, between the Governments of France and England, "positively reeks," as Mr. Strachey says, with the phrase, France "has no intention of annexing Tunis." Finally, M. Barthelmy St. Hilaire (the French Minister of Foreign Affairs) stated the French intentions with the most formal explicitness to the British Government:—"Your Excellency remembers that on several

occasions in my conversations with you I repudiated the idea of the conquest or annexation to France of any part of Tunisian territory. I have no difficulty in repeating here what I had already told you. I can reiterate to you that our arrangements with the Bey include no stipulation which is not in conformity with the assurances which I have given you. I reply, therefore, explicitly, and in a manner which I cannot doubt will appear conclusive to you, to your observations respecting the port of Bizerta. *We have no more desire to annex Bizerta than any other part of Tunis.*" Equally positive assurances were given to Italy. We are convinced that France intended to act honestly by both nations, but how, as a matter of fact, has she discharged her promises to withdraw? She has appropriated and fortified Bizerta, one of the best harbours in the Mediterranean, and thereby revolutionized the naval strategy of that sea. She is really out of court in reproving us for inability to leave Egypt.

LORD CROMER'S REPORT.

In what way Great Britain has fulfilled her mission in Egypt during her occupation is illustrated by the particulars of Lord Cromer's Report for 1895, recently published as a Parliamentary Paper. The surplus is the largest which the Egyptian Treasury has ever realized. The following table shows the general financial results obtained since the commencement of the British occupation:—

Year.	Surplus. £E.	Deficit. £E.
1883	—	920,000
1884	—	460,000
1885	—	697,000
1886	—	684,000
1887	111,000	—
1888	—	1,000
1889	160,000	—
1890	591,000	—
1891	951,000	—
1892	769,000	—
1893	720,000*	—
1894	785,000	—
1895	1,088,000	—
1896*	630,000	—

It is impossible to conceive a more striking testimony to the value of the British occupation. Among other results it may be mentioned that French shareholders, who own three-fourths of the Egyptian Bonds, have had the value of their property doubled.

* Estimate.

A CAMPAIGN OF HUMANITY.

We have been urged in the name of Humanity to sail our ships over mountains, and to risk a war with two great Powers in order to deliver the Armenians from the Turkish yoke. Here in the Sudan a campaign may be made which comes within our proper responsibility and that will achieve a far greater deliverance of humanity than even a redress of Armenian grievances. Mr. Stanley, the African traveller, remarked in his speech in the House of Commons debate of the 20th, that "members on the opposite side of the House professed to entertain a horror of the slave trade which was carried on in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, but when it was proposed that three or four millions of slaves should be relieved in the Sudan, they sat silent and stolid." The emotional sentimentalist is apt to narrow his sympathies and ignore the hideous cruelties committed under barbaric rule which are not flashed out in the head-lines of the daily press. To gratify him, Khartoum and the Sudan provinces were abandoned to the unreported horror of barbarism. All civilization is relative. Mr. John Morley denounced the Egyptian rule of a dozen years ago, but as Slatin Pasha has pointed out in his remarkable book *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, under Egyptian rule Christian churches and schools, Mahommedan mosques, telegraph and post offices were instituted, lands were cultivated, and hostile tribes were compelled to keep the peace; then he tells us that when the Egyptian rule was withdrawn, 75 per cent. of the population under Dervish rule were destroyed by war, famine, and disease, while the slave trade, with all its horrors, prevailed, and the cultivable plains were reduced to waste. The Khalifa's rule is simply diabolical. Slatin was for ten years in close attendance on this personage, and he recounts some of the awful deeds which were committed by his master. Great Britain, in consequence of her scuttle policy in 1885, has made herself responsible for ten years of anarchy and bloodshed.

GREAT BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY.

"If," says Sir Alfred Milner in his admirable book, *England in Egypt*, "the Egyptian Government were left to itself to-morrow, the recovery of the Sudan is the first thing it would attempt." The campaign would not be waged on sentimental grounds but—"There can be no permanent rest for Egypt as long as a reign of explosive barbarism still prevails from Suakin to Darfur, and from Wadi Halfa to Wadelei. The Egyptian Question can never be regarded or even approximately settled until order is re-established along the Nile Valley to at least a considerable distance beyond Khartoum." An advance has been made as far as Akasheh, which is eighty miles

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

above Wadi Halfa. It is not intended to proceed further during the summer. Mr. Chamberlain said in his speech during the debate on Mr. Morley's amendment that the advance would be limited by the amount of resistance encountered. He was much jeered at for this, but in reality the declaration was a sensible one. The force sent represents a sort of reconnaissance. We shall strengthen this force entirely as it seems necessary, and advance step by step to reclaim the Sudan from anarchy. If we are not prepared to do this we had better make way for some other Great Power actuated by a sense of national responsibility. It is impossible to conceive either France or Russia or Germany or Austria occupying the position we do in Egypt and not determining to establish a civilized authority throughout the Sudan. We must accept the task that unforeseen events have so suddenly and unpropitiously thrust upon us.

THE EGYPTIAN *Caisse.*

Great Britain has proposed that £E500,000 of the Egyptian surplus she has created be appropriated from the *Caisse de la Dette* to defray the expenses of the new expedition. For this purpose the authorization is necessary of the Commissioners of the Caisse, or in other words of the six great Powers. The Gladstonian Radicals are anxious to support the French contention that the *unanimous* consent of the Powers is necessary to sanction Great Britain's proposal. Their patriotic ardour is, however, based upon a misconception of the different powers and purposes which are attributed to the various Reserves of the *Caisse*. The accounts of the Egyptian Government for 1895 show the following amounts in Reserve Fund on Dec. 31st:—

I.—Economics des Conversions	£1,833,000
II.—Fonds de Réserve Général	2,717,096
III.—Fonds de Réserve Special	471,581
	£5,021,677

It is the second of these which may be drawn upon for "dépenses extraordinaires"—"engagées," as the Decree says, "conformement à l'avis préalable de la Commission de la Dette." This obviously means the Commission as a body, *i.e.*, the majority of the Commission. No. 1 reserve obtained from savings on the conversion of the Debt can only be touched if *all the Powers agree*. No. 3 is a small Reserve belonging absolutely to the Egyptian Government, but which must be kept intact for small emergencies.

VENEZUELA *v.* GREAT BRITAIN.

The Blue Book on the Venezuela-British Guiana Boundary question has been published. It sets forth the British case with great force and fulness. We need not particularize it here as it is discussed in some detail further on in this number. The volume opens with a Preliminary Statement or summary of our position, and as this statement contains two or three *errata*, a perverted attempt has been made to depreciate and misrepresent the whole case.* Having made a most careful study of the subject, we can affirm with confidence that so far from our case being weak it is remarkably strong. At the same time we have throughout the tedious controversy, which has lasted for fifty years, treated Venezuela with great forbearance and have tolerated her unfounded pretensions with a respect they hardly deserved. If President Cleveland and Mr. Olney had had the true facts before them they would never have associated themselves with the Venezuelan claim. Venezuela demands that Great Britain shall submit to arbitration a stretch of territory, portions of which have been in the occupation of the British and their predecessors in title, the Dutch, for a period of nearly three hundred years: and there is probably no nation in the world which would resent a similar suggestion more emphatically than the United States—certainly, none would meet with greater approval in this country in taking such a course. A certain number of highly virtuous people regard arbitration as a panacea for every international difficulty. In their view, when a case is doubtful, a competent arbitrator should be summoned to solve the doubt, and when it is beyond doubt, they see no objection in submitting to arbitration and getting the certainty confirmed. An Englishman of this school would be willing to submit the Isle of Wight to arbitration, and an American of the same way of thinking, presumably, Rhode Island; but we doubt whether either would be willing to obey an adverse award even in so sacred a cause as universal arbitration. In its proper sphere arbitration is an admirable method of proce-

* It is most satisfactory to note the fair-minded manner in which our case has been received in the United States. A member of President Cleveland's Venezuelan Commission in a letter to *The Times* correspondent in New York, says: "It is possible that some member of the Commission may have spoken with some surprise of certain mistakes in quotations and the like which all of us noticed as soon as the book was opened, but no one has thought of imputing to Great Britain any wrong intended, and all we have seen of the book indicates that it is prepared with great care and thoroughness." Mr. Mallet Prevost, the Secretary of the Commission, in an official denial of the statement that the Commissioners had reached a conclusion unfavourable to Great Britain says: "The Blue Book, while remarkably full-detailed, does not include all the documents which may be adduced in support of its contention."

dure, but it has its proper limitations like everything else, and Venezuela oversteps them in demanding that the heart of a British colony should be submitted to the discretion of a foreign tribunal, however eminent and impartial.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

Does not the present controversy offer an admirable opportunity for establishing peace in the Western Hemisphere on, humanly speaking, an everlasting foundation? Mr. Olney reminded us in his historic despatch of the teaching and warning conveyed in Washington's farewell address:—"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course." According to Mr. Olney, this "took America out of the field of European politics," but "was silent to the part Europe might be permitted to play in America." Twenty years later, however, the Monroe Administration did not hesitate to accept and apply the logic of the farewell address by declaring in effect that American non-intervention in European affairs necessarily implied and meant European non-intervention in American affairs. There was to be no expansion of Europe in America, but in order to secure general respect for this policy President Monroe announced in his famous message (1823): "*With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere.*" He regarded that as the condition of peace, and if his spirit still animates the American people—certainly his name has never excited greater enthusiasm than now—their sole object in intervening in the Venezuelan dispute, or in any other, is to ascertain whether any European Power is increasing the possessions she held in 1823.* Great Britain inspired that policy,† and alone in Europe has supported and approved it. Why should not the two Governments come to a formal and binding under-

* "The declaration of the Monroe Message—that existing Colonies or dependencies of an European Power would not be interfered with by the United States—means colonies or dependencies then existing with their limits as then existing. So it has been invariably construed, and so it must continue to be construed, unless it is to be deprived of all vital force."—Mr. Olney's despatch.

† "Its pronouncement by the Monroe Administration at that particular time was unquestionably due to the inspiration of Great Britain, who at once gave it an open and unqualified adhesion which has never been withdrawn."—Mr. Olney's despatch.

standing to recognize and uphold it? Our support of Monroeism may be very valuable to the United States, as the doctrine is not at all unlikely to exasperate some great European Power in future years, and we should be able to counteract the possible effects of that annoyance. Mr. Olney ignored, it is true, the attitude of President Monroe towards "existing colonies," and some reciprocal guarantee would necessarily form a part of an international agreement. Moreover, until the fact is established beyond all doubt, Englishmen will decline to believe that the United States cherish designs against possessions regarded by President Monroe as inviolable.

THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA.

A number of fiery resolutions directed against Spain, and in favour of the black rebellion in Cuba, have been debated in the American Congress during the last month. The strongest of these was passed by the Senate by the overwhelming majority of 64 to 6. It runs as follows: "Resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, that, in the opinion of Congress, a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the Government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba, and that the United States of America should maintain strict neutrality between the contending Powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and in the territory of the United States. Resolved that the friendly offices of the United States shall be offered by the President to the Spanish Government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba." The Spaniards were naturally highly incensed by this resolution, and anti-American demonstrations, vigorously but with difficulty repressed, broke out all over Spain. Spain is a poor country, but she is proud and brave, and has no idea of being dictated to by a country of superior resources. She has been a long time in suppressing the Cuban rebellion, but the insurgents have gained no substantial successes, and it cannot be said that any case for a recognition of belligerency has been made out. Spain will insist on putting down the rising in her own way, and outside interference can only be exercised by a country prepared to go to war. President Cleveland realizes this and discourages these resolutions, but Congress takes its own line, and is anxious to fill the sails of the Republican Party with any passing wind of Jingoism. Still, there is a difference between playing up to a warlike gallery and actually courting war. The quick resentment of Spain had a calming effect on Congress, whose members are said to have had representations made to them by their constituents that these constant alarums and excursions are disturbing to business. At

any rate the hostile resolutions so forthcoming in the beginning of March are temporarily shelved.

INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM.

There was only one debate in the House of Commons, during the last month, of consequence. On March 17th, Mr. H. Whiteley, on behalf of the Bimetallists, moved a resolution, which was toned down to these terms, in order that it might be accepted by the Ministry, which is known to be divided into Monometallists like Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bimetallists such as Mr. Arthur Balfour, and Neutrals such as Mr. Chamberlain:—"That this House is of opinion that the instability of the relative value of gold and silver since the action of the Latin Union in 1873 has proved injurious to the best interests of this country, and urges upon the Government the advisability of doing all in their power to secure by international agreement a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver." After an interesting discussion, it was carried unanimously; and the rival schools are still contending acrimoniously as to whether it is in effect a victory for Bimetallism or Monometallism. Sir William Houldsworth, the leader of the Bimetallists in the House of Commons, declared that the resolution embodied all the principles that Bimetallists had contended for, and that if the word Bimetallism was omitted, this was due to the prejudice against it, even on the part of people who approved the thing it represented. There are two great dangers ahead of this country—(1) the increase of hostile tariffs abroad; (2) the competition of silver-using countries: as he epigrammatically put it, the struggle will be between "the white man with the yellow metal and the yellow man with the white metal." The only possible safeguard against these dangers is some system of international Bimetallism. The United States are practically unanimously in favour of some international arrangement, while there has recently been a favourable change of opinion on the Continent, and France, Germany, Holland, Italy, and Belgium are believed to be willing to co-operate, while Austria and Russia are willing to negotiate. He urged that the present most favourable moment should be utilized by the Government to secure "a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver," or, in other words, Bimetallism, which might be obtained without this country becoming Bimetallic. We should very much like to see an International Conference of experts and representative men of business assemble for the sole purpose of fixing a ratio between gold and silver as a basis for future discussion. Until this is done the question must remain in a vague inchoate condition equally unsatisfactory to all parties. Such an international conference might

fail to agree upon a ratio—Monometallists always maintain that it would—in which case the Bimetallic movement would receive a staggering blow, and from their opponents' point of view, no harm would ensue. If, on the one hand, the conference were able to agree upon a ratio—probably some point between 15½ to 1 and 30 to 1—the Bimetallists would have vindicated the practicability of their theory, and it would be open to the other side to expose the mischief and danger of adopting it. All intelligent men outside the editorial offices of our chief London newspapers are aware that so far from Bimetallism being mere moonshine in which a few crotcheteers bask for the benefit of fraudulent debtors and holders of silver securities, it is the deliberate creed of almost every economic thinker throughout the world.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach contributed to the debate the ablest speech that has been heard for a long time in Parliament. He is certainly the most formidable opponent the Bimetallists have yet encountered, because he can argue the question without losing his temper, and has some respect for the strength of the case on the other side. After our experience of recent years it is refreshing to note a vein of modesty in a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach confessed that the more he had studied this question the more complex and difficult it appeared, and he declined either to estimate the exact influence of our system of currency in the past upon the fortunes of this country and the world, or "to foretell and gauge" the result of a change of system. "As far as I am able to understand the matter, it seems quite impossible to fix a ratio which shall be absolutely independent of the market fluctuations, between two articles like gold and silver, both of them used for other purposes besides the coinage for which that ratio would be fixed, and one of them capable of being produced in almost unlimited quantities. But, on the other hand, I do not by any means imply that, if an international agreement of the kind suggested by my hon. friend were undertaken by a sufficient number of nations for the purpose of fixing a ratio between gold and silver for coinage purposes, that agreement would not influence the fluctuations between the two metals, and possibly bring those two metals nearer together in value than they are at present." The speaker quoted the famous admission of a Royal Commission, for once unanimous, that the Bimetallic system of the Latin Union exercised a material influence over the relative values of the two metals, and kept the market price of silver approximately

steady at the ratio of 15½ to 1. He declared, however, that a recurrence to that ratio or a similar one would be an act of "absolute dishonesty to creditors." He ignored, however, the "dishonesty to debtors" of exacting a perpetual payment in a greatly appreciated currency, which consequently renders the debt far more onerous to the debtor and valuable to the creditor—so long as it is not repudiated—than at the time it was contracted. While the 15½ or 16 to 1 ratio would be robbery, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinks that the approximation to the market price, which he maintains would have to be varied in accordance with the variation of the market price, would be powerless to fulfil the purpose of Bimetallism. Moreover, an international agreement would endanger the position of the Powers adhering to it, as it would be liable to be broken in the event of a political convulsion or war. Do our circumstances warrant our running such tremendous risks? "It is always agreeable to say we are ruined," but, as a matter of fact, we are "singularly prosperous." Our wealth is more diffused than ever, the volume of trade is enormous and improving, wages are generally higher than ever before, while their purchasing power is greater; finally, the immense burden of taxation is borne with less discomfort than ever to the taxpayer.

Two Depressed Industries.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that there are two great interests which are specially suffering, Agriculture and Cotton. This is due to low prices, and what is the cause of them? "Are they due to anything that could be cured by Bimetallism? are they, in other words, due to the appreciation of gold, or to the fall in the value of silver?" It used to be said that the demand for gold was greater than the supply, but the annual production of gold is greater than it ever was in "the most splendid times of California and Australia," and there never was a time since 1844 when the stock of gold in the banks was so large as now. There is no scarcity of gold, and as the rate of discount was never so low as now, can it be argued that the gold is being held back in the banks, instead of being invested in trade? The Chancellor of the Exchequer infers that the volume of metallic currency has probably a very slight effect on prices, and after comparing the varying fall in the prices of different commodities he concludes that the fall of price is due to the foreign competition:—"Foreign competition is due, first, to peace, which has enabled greater industry to be used in their production; to the more efficient use of capital; thirdly, perhaps to the use of the telegraph; fourthly, to the vast extension of railway in new countries—in America, in the Argentine Republic, in Russia, and in India—which

has brought the produce of these countries to the sea; lastly, and perhaps most of all, to the wonderful improvements in our mercantile marine, in the size of ships, in the cheapness of the working of marine engines, so that in fact the harvests of the world can now be brought from the places where they are produced to the very door of any country that may require them almost as cheaply as if they were produced in that country itself." Turning to the complement of his problem Sir Michael Hicks-Beach spoke forcibly of the effect upon agricultural prices of the depreciation of silver:—

MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, NEW SWINDON.

"But then I turn to what may be due to the fall in the price of silver. It has often been argued that the fall in the price of silver has brought Indian wheat into very serious competition with wheat grown in this country. That may be true to some extent, but this is a fact that the imports of the agricultural products from silver-using countries are now only 2 per cent. of the total amount of agricultural produce imported into this country which competes with agricultural produce grown at home, and the Indian harvests cannot be—both from the varying amount of their exportation and from the total amount that could be exported—anything like so potent a factor in determining the price of wheat in the world as the harvests, for instance, of Russia or of the Argentine Republic. I find that in the year 1894 only half the amount of wheat was exported from British India that was exported in the previous year; and I find that the amount exported in 1894 was very little higher that the amount exported in 1877, when silver was nearly double the price at which it stood in 1894."

As to the second depressed industry—Cotton—the speaker thinks its depression is exaggerated, as the number of spindles and looms is increasing and the wages of operatives have improved—in fact, the latter have secured a portion of what used to be the profits of their employers:—

"Is the trade with silver countries in the Lancashire cotton trade a losing one? If it is I am curious to know why our exports of cotton goods to these silver-using countries is increasing by a percentage three times as large as the percentage of increase in the trade between Lancashire and other countries that are not silver-using. I do not at all wish to underrate the importance, whatever it may be, of the fall in silver in the competition between Lancashire and the East in this matter, but I believe the danger of the competition—and I believe it to be a very real danger—is more due to other causes. I believe it is due, in the first place, to the fact that the cotton is nearer at hand there; in the second place, to the fact that the market is on the spot; in the third place—and by far the greatest of all—to the extreme cheapness of the labour. That labour is probably made more cheap by the effect of the bounty on the fall in silver, and therefore the competition becomes harder. I admit to that extent the fall in silver has been an evil. The fluctuations in the value between silver and gold have also been an evil owing to the difficulties which they have caused in the rate of exchange between gold-using and silver-using countries."

THE GOLD STANDARD.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach spoke of the closing of the Indian mints as having placed India on "an inconvertible, appreciated currency," which cannot be regarded as "a final solution" of that country's difficulties. It is, in fact, the difficulties of the Indian Government that soften

the heart of the most obdurate Monometallist, and incline the Government to feel friendly towards silver, and anxious to alleviate its lot, in co-operation with foreign countries. But there must be no illusion as to our adherence to the gold standard. The Imperial aspect of the subject, apart from India, is too often neglected: "We have in the United Kingdom a population of 38,000,000. Our colonies have a population of 20,500,000. Of these, no less than 15,500,000 (including all the great self-governing colonies) are on the basis of a gold standard with imports and exports in 1893 of 227½ millions sterling—four-fifths of the total colonial foreign trade." On the other hand, there are silver currency colonies with a population of 1,500,000 and a trade of 48,000,000 sterling. There are also colonies with the peculiar rupee currency of India containing 3,500,000 people doing twelve millions sterling of trade. Therefore, apart from India and the United Kingdom there are enormous interests to be considered. The Chancellor of the Exchequer concluded with this most discouraging declaration: "What is the policy which as a Government we intend to pursue? As I have said, we are willing, we are anxious, seeing that there are evils in the present low value of silver, and in the fluctuations in the value of the two metals, to enter into a conference, or into negotiations, which certainly I believe at the present stage would be much better than a conference, with other countries upon this subject, but we are not prepared to abandon the gold standard in the United Kingdom. If it be possible for other nations to be joined in a bimetallic league, or in an agreement on this matter which seemed good to themselves, I have little doubt but that the Indian Government would be prepared to agree with us in re-opening the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, and that we might endeavour by other minor means to promote the increase of silver in coinage to aid in an international agreement on this great question. But we can go no farther. This great capital is the monetary centre of the world. Our trade and commerce are probably greater than any other country has ever enjoyed. Our wealth is enormous. It arises from investments and enterprise in every quarter of the globe, and the great majority of the men, able and experienced financiers, who control the working of this gigantic machine are of opinion that it has been built up on a gold standard and that its permanence depends upon the maintenance of our monetary system."

THE NAVAL ESTIMATES.

The Naval Estimates for 1896-97 amount to £22,056,621, a net increase of £3,122,000 over those of the past year, and do not include a special vote of £2,750,000 for naval works at home and abroad. The two

most important votes are those for "Material" (ships building, repairs, maintenance, &c.) and for the *Personnel* of the Fleet. The total sum to be spent on new constructions is £7,384,874, an excess of £1,991,232 over the past year; £2,992,477 will be expended in the dockyards, and £4,323,114 in private yards for the ships to be built by contract, and a sum of £68,283 is also required for new mooring lighters and small dockyard vessels; £903,607 will be devoted to repairs and alterations, and £1,029,482 is the estimated cost of coal and stores for the ensuing twelvemonths, bringing up the total amount demanded under the vote with the establishment charges to £10,871,919. The following new ships are to be laid down: Five first-class battleships, three of which will be built in the dockyards and the remaining two by contract. Their dimensions will be:—Length, 390 feet, 74 feet beam, displacement, 12,900 tons; they will thus be 2,000 tons smaller than the nine ships of the *Majestic* class, but their armament and coal supply (1,800 tons) will be the same, while their speed will be rather greater (18·5 knots); there will also be less thickness of armour, although there will be no change in its disposition. Four first-class, three second-class, and six third-class, cruisers with twenty-eight torpedo-boat destroyers complete the new ship-building programme. The first-class cruisers are to be of the *Andromeda* type, four of which were commenced last year; they are vessels with a length of 435 feet, a beam of 69 feet, and a displacement of 11,000 tons, with a speed of 22 knots; the second-class cruisers are to be of the *Talbot* type, viz., 300 feet long, 53·5 feet beam, a displacement of 5,600 tons, and 19·5 knot speed; the third-class cruisers are to be of the *Pelorus* type, viz., 300 feet long, 36·5 feet beam, a displacement of 2,100 tons, and 20 knot speed. The new torpedo-boat destroyers are to have a speed of 30 knots. Including the ships already in hand, there will be a grand total of vessels under construction and completing during the ensuing twelvemonths of 13 first-class battleships, 10 first-class cruisers, and 48 torpedo-boat destroyers. For naval armaments a further sum of £2,543,200 is required; £1,010,200 of which is for projectiles and ammunition, and £801,900 for guns.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE NAVY.

The next important item in the Estimates is the vote of £4,419,800 for the *Personnel* of the Fleet, which, at the end of the financial year, will consist of 93,750 officers and men, 85,818 of whom will be available for active service. The foregoing does not include officers on half or retired pay, or the Royal Naval Reserve, which will be dealt with separately. The total number available for active service is made

up as follows:—4,842 officers of all ranks, including warrant officers; 56,420 petty officers and seamen for service afloat; 90 officers and 4,110 chief officers, petty officers, and seamen, or a total of 4,200 officers and men are employed in the coastguard service; 390 officers and 15,471 warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates make up the total of the marine forces available for service either afloat or ashore. There will be a net increase by the end of the financial year of 4,310 officers and men over the numbers voted last year. The remaining 7,392 are made up of 2,632 officers and men, including 280 naval cadets and 182 engineer students (the men being employed in miscellaneous services), and 5,300 boys under training.

THE ROYAL NAVAL RESERVE.

A sum of £229,800 is demanded for the Reserve Forces, and is made up as follows:—£223,387 pay while on drill and retaining fees for 1,600 officers and 24,200 men of the Royal Naval Reserve; £6,500 pay for retired officers and seamen-pensioners, while undergoing a course of drill. The 24,200 Reserve men are composed of 10,800 first-class (able seamen), 10,600 second-class (ordinary seamen), 300 third-class (boys), and 2,500 stokers. It should be mentioned also that in addition to this number, all pensioners from the Royal Navy or Marines are liable to be called up for service up to the age of 55. A further sum of £749,000 is required for officers on half, reserved, and retired pay; there being at the present time 192 officers of the Executive Branch, 47 of whom are Admirals, and 53 officers of the Non-executive Branches on half-pay, and 2,243 officers of all ranks on reserve or retired pay. Other important items in the Estimates are:—

	£
Victualling and Clothing	1,369,600
Medical Establishments	156,000
Courts-Martial, Naval Prisons, &c. ...	10,600
Educational Service	81,300
Scientific Services	63,000
Works, Building and Repairs	618,400
Admiralty Office	236,800
Additional Naval Force for service in Australian Waters	60,300

The weak point in the Admiralty proposals is that so few men are to be added, and that no apparent steps are to be taken to put our Reserves on a proper footing. Not counting these last, we require, at the very least, 100,000 men of the regular navy to be available for immediate sea-service; and it ought not to be forgotten that, while we can build a first-class battle-ship in two years, it takes us seven years to train a man from the time he enters as a boy until

he becomes a first-class seaman-gunner and torpedo-man. On the other hand, the Admiralty cannot be too highly praised for the important works they have decided to press on at Gibraltar. The construction of three docks there, and the extension of the Mole for the protection not only of our war-ships but also of the coaling stores for our merchant ships, and the adequate enlargement of the dockyard will, for the first time in its history, make Gibraltar a real strategic base for our fleets. Mr. Goschen (First Lord of the Admiralty) described his programme as "sober," and announced that it had been drawn up in the autumn, and therefore before the sensations of the last four months revealed the large amount of combustible matter that exists in every country on the globe. The estimates are both sober and thoughtful, though we cannot adopt the Admiralty's view that we are adding sufficient men to the navy. The French appreciate our weakness in this respect, and have frequently called attention to it—our small reserve would be almost entirely swallowed up by a big war, and how are we to meet subsequent losses ?

EGYPT AND ENGLAND.

THIS season has indeed been a season of surprises. When I left Egypt, on the 8th March, the mutterings of the storm which has burst upon us were still unheard. When I reached Venice five days later it was raging in all the newspapers. If it was gathering at the time I was in Egypt, it was gathering in the dark. It was gathering, not in the Nubian deserts or in the Cairo newspapers, but in the silent background of Whitehall. The topics which to an outside visitor like myself appeared most urgent, were very interesting; but they were not the fear of a Mahdi invasion or the security of the Egyptian frontier; still less the re-conquest of the Soudan and the advance of English military power into Central Africa.

A small raid there had been in Nubia; as there may and will be, on any frontier where savagery borders on civilization; but how little such raids affected the security of the country may be judged by the fact that up to the extreme frontier of Wady Halfa and Sarras unwarlike tourists like myself—parties of old men, ladies, and families—were, under Mr. Cooke's guidance, paying leisurely weekly visits throughout the region in which the raid occurred, without fear or suspicion, except such as might be inferred from a guard of black Soudanese soldiers on each boat, who conferred on our pleasure-parties some of the dignity without any of the reality of danger. To treat the supposed insecurity of the frontier as a reason for making Egypt advance it into the desert, is, to a recent visitor, a matter of astonishment.

Nor will anyone find a trace of the possibility of the present advance in Lord Cromer's most interesting report, which is dated as late as the 3rd February, 1896. It is long and exhaustive on most topics of Egyptian government, but on the topic which is now absorbing our attention the only observation is as follows.

"THE ARMY AND THE SOUDAN.

"There is nothing of any special interest to record as regards military administration during the past year.

"With the exception of a small raid on a village in the Wadi Halfa district, and an insignificant incursion into the Tokar Delta, the Dervish forces in the immediate vicinity of the Egyptian advanced posts, although of considerable strength, have maintained a strictly defensive attitude.

"I fear that raids, similar in character to those which took place last year, must from time to time be expected.

"I may mention that telegraphic communication has been established between Korosko and the Wells of Murad, which are situated half-way to Abu Hamed."*

Nor, apparently, has the advance been made in consequence of Lord Cromer's representations. We know, at any rate, from Mr. Curzon's reply to Mr. Allen that the Government have received no despatches on the subject from Lord Cromer, and no telegrams which they can publish.†

The present advance towards Dongola is as surprising as it is unintelligible; and the feeble explanations and defence of it made in Parliament throw little or no light on the question. But it is not my intention in this article to discuss the burning questions of the day—whether what has lately happened to the Italians justifies the military move which our Government has made: whether the arguments alleged in support of the move are sufficient and satisfactory; whether, assuming that the Soudan must be at some time re-conquered, the present is the proper occasion; and whether an advance into the desert as far as Akasheh, to be followed up by an advance into Dongola, if the Dervishes offer no effectual resistance, but to be stayed at Akasheh if the resistance of the Dervishes proves formidable, is a policy likely to strengthen our frontier, or to strike terror into the enemy: whether it will be possible, in any event, to stop at Akasheh: and whether the campaign will not cost many times the half-million now asked for. Upon this part of the subject I will only make two observations. The first is, that if the security of the Egyptian frontier is not the real or the sole object of those who are making this forward movement; if, consciously or semi-consciously, there lies behind this object a much wider and more daring scheme of policy—a policy of extending British influence into Central Africa, and of making Egypt, under British administration, shake hands with Uganda; if it is not the Dervishes whom we really fear, but the possible influence of other European Powers in the regions to the south of Egypt; then it will be altogether wrong and unjust to make the Egyptians pay in blood and treasure for what is a British and not an Egyptian policy. I can conceive nothing more injurious to the good fame and character of England than that she should make use of her present position in Egypt to extend her power and dominion at the cost of the Egyptians. I make no charge of any such intention. But there has in the past been so much helpless drifting, so great a want of plain thinking and straight speaking about Egypt that it is most desirable we should clear our own minds

* *Parliamentary Paper*, C. 7,978, p. 19.

† *The Times*, 25th March, 1896.

and be quite sure, when we are taking a new departure, that we know what we mean, and that we are not drifting aimlessly into a position that may lead to disaster and dishonour.

The other observation I have to make is this: Those who know most of and are most deeply interested in Egypt are, I believe, anxious that the good work which is being done there should be quietly proceeded with. Every year of silent work strengthens our position, and whilst increasing the welfare of the country, makes it more easy to get rid of the many obstacles to good administration which still exist. Every year of quiet progress adds to the resources and strength of the country; and the less international jealousies are roused by calling the attention of the world to the part which Englishmen are playing in Egypt, the more successful is their work likely to be. Now, the present move has drawn general attention to Egypt; it challenges directly the jealousies and suspicions of France, and it will undoubtedly trench to a very large and altogether indefinite extent on those resources which might either be employed in reducing the debt of Egypt, or, if applied to peaceful works of improvement, might indefinitely increase the production of the country and the welfare of its people. Whatever may be gained for Egypt by the re-conquest of the Soudan will be dearly paid for if it intensifies the international jealousies which are the curse of Egypt, or if it stays the works of peaceful improvement which are now going on.

I pass from the war question to the topics which naturally attracted the attention of a visitor to Egypt during the past winter.

The three or four months spent chiefly in lounging on the deck of a Dahabeah does not give the writer any title to speak with authority on such a question as England's relation to Egypt, a question on which much has been written by men who have a right to speak. But

> Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

Conversation with the men who have done and are doing England's work in Egypt, and a glance at the visible results of that work, give a keenness to interest and a clearness to opinions which can with difficulty be obtained by mere reading.

The present writer has a further reason for giving his impressions to the public. He has no prejudice in favour of the English occupation. He has always been of opinion that England had no business to be in Egypt. Her own interests did not require her to add the charge of that country to her gigantic Imperial burdens. She has, no doubt, an interest far greater than that of any other nation

in the traffic through the Suez Canal; but the command of Egypt is not necessary in order to protect that traffic. So long as there is peace, it is the interest of the managers and owners of the Canal —it is, indeed, the interest of the commercial world—to keep the traffic of the Canal open to ships of all countries on equal terms, and this is all that England requires. In case of war she could not rely on the Suez Canal as her means of communication with the East. Even if her ships were safe in the Mediterranean, which is more than doubtful, the sinking of a single iron ship would block the Canal. Only this winter its traffic was stopped for three days by the stranding of a steamer which carried no heavier or more dangerous burden than Mr. Rhodes. War with any great maritime Power would make it necessary for military as well as for commercial purposes to revert to the ocean route by the Cape.

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, NEW SWINDON.

Nor is it necessary or desirable for England to hold Egypt as a help to maintain her naval superiority in the Mediterranean. It is indeed the power to hold Egypt which depends on naval power in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and not her naval power which depends on the occupation of Egypt. The doubt, and more than doubt, whether under present circumstances, when so many great naval Powers have forces in the Mediterranean, England could maintain the position there which she held in Nelson's time, is one of the chief of the considerations which render her position in Egypt precarious and even prejudicial. The fact that the occupation of Egypt ties England to the eastern end of the Mediterranean is one of the principal reasons against that occupation. So much for any supposed advantages to England.

On the other hand, the occupation of Egypt by England raises a constant sore with France. France has a past connection with Egypt which gives her some real claim on that country, and which leads her to claim more. The conquest of Napoleon; the work of Champollion and other savants; the support given to Mehemet Ali; French enterprise in Egypt; and the French character given to Cairo under that prince and his successors; the construction of the Suez Canal; the introduction of French Jurisprudence; these are all circumstances which make Frenchmen take a natural pride in Egypt. My old friend Lord Lyons, whose experience of France was very great, used to say that you might with comparative immunity irritate France in other quarters of the world, but that you must not irritate her in Egypt if you did not want to quarrel with her. I have heard it said, and believe it to be true, that during the Franco-German quarrel Bismarck constantly tempted England with the offer of Egypt, knowing that an English occupation of Egypt would be a sure bone of contention between France and England—a circumstance which if true should be borne in mind when we think of the

present disposition of Germany. Nor is the wound to French pride the less because the present English occupation is in a large measure due to the French themselves. It is impossible not to feel that the English occupation of Egypt, and the influence which England exercises in the Government of Egypt, may at any time form the ground of a quarrel with France, and is in this sense a real danger to England.

These are, independently of our own professions of intention to leave Egypt, strong reasons for doing so; and had we not occupied Egypt, they would be irresistible reasons for refusing to occupy it. But rightly or wrongly we have occupied Egypt, and are still in occupation. We have undertaken the re-establishment of good government in Egypt, and, so far, we have succeeded beyond all expectation. It is the conviction of the writer—opposed as he was to the original occupation, firmly as he realises the political dangers of that occupation, that we must, for an indefinite time, continue to occupy Egypt. What have we done there? Let me answer in the emphatic words of Mr. Chamberlain :—

"I do not think there is anything in our recent history to which we can look back with greater pride and satisfaction than the peaceful revolution accomplished in Egypt by a handful of British civil administrators and a handful of British officers, supported no doubt in the last resort by the strength of the British Empire. What was the state of the case when we went to Egypt? The country appeared to be in the last state of decay. Her finances were bankrupt, her army had been annihilated, her administration was corrupt, justice was an empty name, extortion and torture were practised, the administration of every department was feeble and inefficient, the great system of irrigation upon which the prosperity of Egypt depended had almost been allowed to fall into desuetude and had ceased to be capable of providing for the necessities of the country. Commerce and agriculture were almost ruined. We have been in Egypt 15 years, and I say that every traveller to whom I have spoken who has been in Egypt with an impartial mind, whether Englishman or American, or even in some cases a foreigner—because I have seen some remarkable articles by a distinguished Frenchman on the subject—admits that the change amounts, as I have said, to a revolution. To those who have not travelled in Egypt I point to Lord Cromer's most interesting report. A deficit of nearly a million sterling has been transformed into a surplus of over a million. At the same time there has been an enormous reduction of taxation which presses on the people. I do not speak of the regularization of that taxation or its just collection, instead of being extorted by persons making their fortunes out of the collection. Corvée has been abolished, judicial institutions have been reformed, large grants have been made for education, and the irrigation system, under the care of British engineers, has been restored to a position which I can hardly say it occupied even in the country's most prosperous days."*

To this should be added that it is not even what has been done, important as this is, but the difficulties in the face of which it has been done, which constitutes the chief merit of the Anglo-Egyptian officials. They have had to deal with Princes and Ministers brought up in a system of tyranny and corruption. They have

* *The Times*, 21st March, 1896.

been fettered in their financial dealings by rules made to restrain the action of an extravagant, corrupt, and insolvent Government—rules totally unsuited to the present situation. They have been hindered in reforms of all kinds by Capitulations which exempt the multitude of persons claiming foreign nationality who inhabit Egypt from the jurisdiction of Egyptian law and of Egyptian Courts, so that where a foreigner is concerned, it is difficult, if not impossible, either to make or enforce just laws without the consent of all the Foreign Powers. Add to this that the evil of all these restrictions has been and is intensified by the international jealousy of France and other Powers, who will rarely consent to any useful reform without levying blackmail on unfortunate Egypt. A logical administrator would be driven wild by such a class. But the Anglo-Egyptian officials, content with what they have found to be possible, have managed with as much patience as courage to effect the objects so well described by Mr. Chamberlain. And how have they been effected? Let me answer in the words of Lord Cromer's report:—

"The main principle upon which the work of reform in Egypt has been based from the beginning, may be summed up in a single phrase: European head and Egyptian hands. Our task there is not to rule the Egyptians, but as far as possible to teach the Egyptians to rule themselves. . . . European initiation suggests the measures to be executed by Egyptian agency, while European supervision controls the manner in which they are executed."* In other words, it is not by putting Englishmen into the ostensible position of Ministers, or by filling the public offices with English officials—still less by waving the Union Jack over the Crescent and the Star—that England's influence has been felt in Egypt. It has been by placing in positions where they could give effectual advice a few Englishmen of character, of courage, and of experience, who, guided and supported by such a chief as Lord Cromer, and backed by the power of England, have been able to bring to the aid of the Egyptian Government those qualities of truthfulness, courage, and independence in which Orientals are so much wanting.

And now what is needed to maintain and complete this good work? Many changes are no doubt desirable which require international sanction, such as the reform of the arrangements with respect to the debt, and the adaptation of the Capitulations to the present state of Egypt. But the first essential is confidence in the maintenance of the present system. No doubt should exist about our intention of maintaining that system until the time when the Egyptians shall have acquired the moral strength and courage necessary for independence and self-government. Meanwhile the

* Parly. Papers, C. 7978 /96, p. 16.

language which has been too often used concerning our intention of quitting Egypt is one of the greatest impediments to the completion of our work there. Give an Egyptian to understand that we are going in six months or six years, or in any other short period, and he will say, "How can I attach myself to you? When you go you will leave me to the mercy of those who succeed you, and I shall suffer for my attachment to you." Or take the English capitalist—and capital is much wanted in Egypt. He will say, "I am safe as long as the present *régime* is maintained; but if it is to be abandoned, how am I to know what will become of my capital?" The first and most essential requisite for the continued improvement of Egypt is confidence that Lord Cromer, or, if possible, some equally able successor, and his small band of Englishmen, will continue to hold the position and exercise the influence which has hitherto proved so beneficial.

Under these circumstances it seems to me that, great as are the dangers and inconveniences to England of the English occupation, we are bound to stay there, and not only so, but to leave no doubt about our intention. If those who think otherwise can point out any alternative policy which is consistent with the welfare of Egypt and the honour of England, no one will be better pleased than the present writer. At present no such alternative has been suggested. Upon this part of the subject I believe that all parties will practically be at one with the declared intention of the present Government; and it may be put to the credit of their move upon the Soudan that it has given occasion for declaring this intention. But it has done so with an amount of noisy challenge to France and to the world which is of all things to be avoided, and which will go far to outweigh the value of the declaration.

Under present circumstances I might well end here, for *inter arma silent leges*, and there is, I fear, little hope of getting attention paid to schemes of peaceful improvement amid the clash of arms. But there is one work so vital to the welfare of Egypt, so important for the development of her resources, so urgent at the present moment, that I am unwilling to be silent about it. At the time I left Egypt it seemed to me far the most important of the many important questions then and still pressing for solution.

In Egypt water is wealth; and waste of water or want of water is comparative poverty. Among the many good works which Englishmen have done in Egypt the most important is the work which has been done by English irrigation officers. By utilizing to the utmost all existing supplies, by just distribution, and by combining drainage with supply, they have immensely increased the productive powers of the country, the public revenues, and the well-doing of the Fellaheen. It is unnecessary to give the figures,

which will be found in Sir Alfred Milner's book and elsewhere. The restoration and the utilization of the barrage below Cairo is one only of their works. It is the best known, and for present purposes it is, perhaps, the most important, because it is in some respects a precedent for the further measures now required.

But with the means at present at their disposal the irrigation officers can do little more; it is even doubtful whether, in case of a succession of "lean years" of low Nile, what has been already done can be maintained. Additional sources of supply to be used during the summer season when the Nile is low are most urgently required. Several schemes have been proposed for this purpose, and have during the last few years been carefully examined and weighed; and there is now a general agreement among experts in favour of a reservoir above Assouan, at the first cataract, with a dam or barrage at Assiout, and various subsidiary works in the form of canals and drains. It is not proposed to store the Nile water at full flood; since to do this would be to arrest the useful flow of fertilizing mud to which the present irrigation owes so much of its value, and at the same time to silt up the reservoirs with it. What is proposed is to store water when the Nile, no longer charged with mud, begins to fall in the late autumn and winter, and to let it out during the summer; thus maintaining a fairly average level of water in the Nile and in the irrigating canals during the summer as well as the winter months. This would give an ample supply during the summer in lower Egypt; and will in other parts of the country introduce perennial in place of annual irrigation. It will then be possible to grow several successive crops in one year: and to substitute for the present single crop of corn, beans, or clover, the much more profitable crops of sugar and cotton.

One objectionable feature which for a long time delayed the scheme, viz., the submersion of the temples of Philæ, has been modified, and the archæologists are now assenting parties to the modified scheme.

The one difficulty which remains is to raise the requisite money. The whole cost is estimated at £5,000,000. Possibly it might be done for a million less, and subsidiary works might be executed out of revenues. But it is as well to contemplate the larger sum.

If Egypt were an ordinary country there would not be the least difficulty in raising the money. The Egyptian Government estimate that the annual increase in the produce of the country which would arise from the proposed work would be from £7,000,000 to £8,000,000, and that the increase in the actual Public Revenue, arising largely as it does from land tax, would amount to £850,000.* These are large figures, but they are made by careful Englishmen,

* See Report of October, 1894.

who have now a sufficient experience of the effect of former works to make their estimates trustworthy.

As the interest on £5,000,000 at 3 per cent. with 2 per cent. sinking fund to repay off the principal would not exceed £250,000, it is obvious that the Egyptian Government might, if unfettered, easily borrow the £5,000,000 they require on the credit of the work itself.

But this is not all. The Egyptian Government had last year, 1895, after paying interest on their whole debt and more than £50,000 to the sinking fund on the guaranteed debt, a surplus of about £1,100,000. Nor is there any reason to suppose some such surplus to be exceptional. It has existed now for some years ; and about £5,000,000 has been accumulated, of which £4,500,000 are invested by the Caisse towards repayment of the debt. A serious fall in the price of sugar and cotton, or above all a succession of "lean" years of low Nile, might reduce this surplus. But these are uncertain and remote contingencies ; * and as regards the "lean" years of low Nile, that is a contingency against which the proposed reservoirs would guard. The whole of the above surplus would in the case of any other country be available as security for a loan. But Egypt is not like any other country. Under international engagements made in order to protect the country and its creditors from extravagance such as Ismail's had been, the present honest Government is bound hand and foot. Out of its surplus of £1,100,000, only £330,000 is at its own disposal, the remainder being impropriated in the hands of the Caisse of the Public Debt for the purpose of reducing the principal of that debt, towards which object they have already accumulated between £4,000,000 and £5,000,000. Even the surplus of £330,000 which is at the disposal of the Government cannot be made directly available for the Reservoir Loan. A small part of it is already pledged ; and as regards the remainder, Egypt is bound by international agreement not to contract a loan without the consent of the Powers, which consent it has hitherto, on account of international jealousies, not been found possible to obtain.

It has been suggested that the money might be found by paying the contractor for the new works in the form of terminable annuities, charged on the Egyptian revenues, instead of by a capital sum raised by direct loan ; and there are precedents for this mode of procuring money for new works. To ordinary common-sense it would seem that a capital sum repayable with interest in the form of a terminable annuity differs in no essential respect from a loan with a sinking fund, and that any engagement which prohibits an obligation in the one form must equally prohibit it in the other.

* I had originally, writing on the 10th March, added "a war in the Soudan" as one of these remote contingencies !

But Egyptian finance is not a matter of ordinary common-sense; and it may be possible and desirable, under the peculiar conditions of Egypt, to evade, by an artificial subterfuge, restrictions which are, in the present condition of the country, themselves artificial and absurd.

But however this may be, the position is a most remarkable one. and would be ludicrous if it had not its tragical side. Here is a country, which is now thoroughly well administered, which is absolutely solvent, which has a large surplus, but which is not allowed to raise one penny of loan for most necessary and most profitable works without the consent of half-a-dozen foreign Powers, jealous of one another, and comparatively careless about the welfare of Egypt.

I understood, when in Egypt, that the consent of France to the proposed loan, which would, no doubt, be followed by the consent of the other Powers, always excepting Turkey, was already being asked for by our Foreign Office, but that France had, as usual, delayed her answer, so that a year is already lost. To judge by former cases, it would seem probable that she may either refuse her consent or clog it with impossible conditions; and I fear that the present military move of our Government will not make it the easier to obtain this consent.

Under these circumstances can nothing be done? The facts above stated show how important this work is to Egypt. She wants many things; she wants, for instance, modification of the Capitulations and simplification of administration. But her pressing and essential want is the maintenance and extension of her natural resources; and this depends on her supply of water. Cannot England help in this matter? And if she can—ought she not to do so?

If France and the Powers consent, all will be well. But if they do not, cannot England put pressure upon them by herself expressing her readiness either to advance the necessary funds, or, which would come to the same thing, to guarantee the loan? If England were but to express her intention of seeing the money paid, whether raised in the form of a loan or of terminable annuities, it is probable that there would be no difficulty in finding responsible contractors to undertake the work.

Would England run any risk by making such an advance or guarantee? I think not. So long as her occupation continues she has the matter very much in her own hands. Should it cease, this repayment of the loan would be a condition of the cessation. But possibly no actual loan or advance might be necessary. The mere intimation by England that she was ready to make it would probably induce the Powers to agree to its being raised by Egypt

herself. France, or any other Power, would place themselves in a very absurd and invidious position if, in the supposed interest of Egyptian solvency, they refused their assent to a loan which England is willing to guarantee.

In suggesting the use of English credit for the proposed loan, I do not attempt to say what the exact mode of interposing it should be. This would be matter of consideration for the able men who manage the financial affairs of England and of Egypt. The point I wish to make is that with the immense benefit to Egypt at stake, the undoubted real security for the loan, and the obligations of England to Egypt, it ought to be possible, and is desirable, that England should by advance, by guarantee, or otherwise, enable Egypt to procure this loan. It will, indeed, be a satire on England's management if an advance can be procured for a war in the Soudan, and no advance can be obtained for such a work as the Assouan Reservoir.

The past record of England in Egypt is not altogether a pleasant retrospect for Englishmen.

Our old policy of maintaining the "Independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire," which culminated in the Crimean war, and which has come to an ignominious end with the "Peace with honour" of Berlin and the recent Armenian massacres, is a policy of which we are now heartily ashamed, but it should not be forgotten that it led us to support Mehemet Ali against the Porte, and that if that "barbarbian of genius" had had his way, his successors would not have been obliged to charge upon Egypt as the price of its independence the £600,000 a year which it is still obliged to pay, not to the Porte, which would have little power to enforce it, but to the creditors of the Porte, whose bailiffs are the armies of Europe. In later years, when European speculators had traded on the folly of Mehemet's successors, our interference, in conjunction with France and other nations, in order to prevent National Bankruptcy, was no doubt honest enough, but Egyptians may be forgiven if they think that it was as much in favour of the creditor as of the debtor. And when a military revolt threatened the country with anarchy, Englishmen may justly regret that instead of attempting to control and guide the only movement in Egypt which ever had any national character in it, they suppressed it by such means as the bombardment of Alexandria and the battle of Tel el Kebir. Still more may they regret the refusal of England to accept the responsibility of governing Egypt which she had thus incurred; a refusal which led to the disasters of the Soudan, and which for long delayed and impeded the reform of Egyptian administration. Nor is the story of the Suez Canal one of which England can claim credit with Egypt. As long as it was possible she opposed the

undertaking. When the Canal became a fact, and a success, three-fourths of its use fell to the share of England; and finally, her Government, when the Egyptian Government was at its wit's end for money, purchased the interest of that Government in the Canal at a fraction of its real subsequent value. The sum paid by the English Government for their shares was about £4,000,000. Upon this they received £200,000 interest, or nearly 5 per cent., until 1894: they are now receiving £670,000 as dividend, or nearly 18 per cent., and their shares are now worth twenty-three millions in the market. The bargain was no doubt a fair one; and if England had not bought the shares they would have fallen into less friendly hands. But not the less did England play the part of "Mosè in Egitto," and not the less has Egypt lost the revenues she might have expected to receive from this undertaking.

I willingly admit that England has since, by giving to Egypt the help of Lord Cromer and his able band of civil and military administrators, done much to make Egypt her debtor. But the above facts show at any rate that there are two sides to this account, and that as a matter not of generosity, but of justice, England is bound to do all she can for the country towards which she has in earlier years played so vacillating and equivocal a part. She is bound, as I have said above, to remain in Egypt, and to continue and complete the good work she has began there. She is bound to do all in her power to promote a work so essential to Egypt as the reservoir scheme, and to prevent that all-important undertaking from being wrecked by international jealousies. Above all she is bound to use her power in Egypt for the benefit of Egyptians and not for the aggrandisement of England: and she will terribly neglect her duty if she does not satisfy herself that the war in the Soudan which she is now carrying on at the expense of Egypt is carried on solely for the advantage of Egypt and not for the purpose of promoting British interests in Africa.

FARRER.

SLATIN PASHA AND THE SUDAN.*

It is related that, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, two brothers from Tunis settled in Darfur, and that their tribesmen and descendants soon replaced the Tago dynasty, and brought in that of the Tungurs from Bornu and Wadai. Early in the seventeenth century, the Kings of Darfur had conquered all Kordofan, crossed the Nile, and extended their power to the Atbara, though the Fungs succeeded before long in driving them back to the Nile. At the beginning of the present century, Abderrahman founded El Fasher, the capital of Darfur, while Mohamed el Fadl subdued the Rizighat Arabs, an off-shoot of the Baggaras from the far west, who had established themselves on the southern frontier for three or four centuries. Not all the reckless bravery of the Furs, however, could enable them to hold Kordofan against the rifles of the Turks, and Mohammed Bey Dafterdar annexed it in 1822. By the middle of the century a great trade had sprung up with Egypt and Turkey, with whom slaves were exchanged for fine cloths and other imports. Merchants took up their residence in the Sudan, and one amongst them, Zubeir, was soon to create for himself a name "famous infamous in every land." Beginning as a small trader, Zubeir purchased arms and drilled levies, until his iron will, his courage and intellect, had won for him the whole of the Bahr el Ghazal province. Having killed Bilali, Zubeir was appointed Governor of the Bahr el Ghazal by the Egyptian Government, and under the sanction and patronage of the Khedive he marched against Darfur in 1873. The Rizighal Arabs, who had been well-nigh exterminated by the Furs, had again grown powerful. These people occupied the wild country which lay between the south frontiers of Darfur and the northern Bahr el Ghazal, and they played an important part in the history of the Sudan.

The bulk of the tribe stood aloof when Zubeir marched on Darfur, but by the aid of some of their chiefs he reached Shakka; and after the battle which proved so disastrous to the Sultan of Darfur,

* *Fire and Sword in the Soudan. A Personal Narrative of Fighting and Serving the Dervishes*, 1879-1895. By Rudolph C. Slatin Pasha, C.B. Translated by Major F. R. Wingate, C.B., &c. Edward Arnold, London, 1896, one vol., price 21s. net.

they joined him in the pursuit. Zubeir was soon master of the country—a result hastened by the folly of Ibrahim, the last of the Kings of Darfur, who, in a passion, fired on his own forces—while the Bahr el Ghazal already owned his influence. To be a merchant in those times was to be a slave-dealer, and Zubeir, of course, was the type of his class. He was now at the height of his power; but a quarrel with Ismail Pasha, Governor of the Sudan, resulted in their both being sent for and detained in Cairo, and Suleiman, Zubeir's son, reigned in his stead.

Discontent at the extortion and the oppression of Egyptian officials soon drove the Furs into rebellion, and Suleiman, exasperated at his father's unfair detention in Egypt, and at the restrictions placed on the slave-trade, sympathized with them. Their arms were attended by some temporary success, and they captured several towns and besieged others, but were in the end defeated by the Government troops. Suleiman, however, still commanded large forces in Darfur, as well as in the Bahr el Ghazal, and he fought long and desperately against Gessi Pasha in the latter province.

It was at this time (June, 1878) that Gordon, having succeeded Ismail Pasha as Governor of the Sudan, arrived in Darfur, and by prompt and fearless action managed to suppress the rebellion. Gessi undertook a fresh campaign against Suleiman in the Bahr el Ghazal, which, after many desperate battles, resulted in the complete overthrow and surrender of the latter. Suleiman and all his officers were shot, with the exception of Rabeh, who, collecting the remnants of Zubeir's army, marched westwards beyond the confines of the Egyptian Sudan.

Gordon appointed Slatin as Mudir of southern Darfur. This young Austrian officer had first gained an acquaintance with the Sudan by exploring Kordofan in 1874. Returning to Austria, he was engaged in the Bosnian campaign, on the completion of which he accepted an offer from Gordon of employment in Africa; and in January, 1879, took up the duties of Financial Inspector in the Sudan, which consisted in examining into the complaints of natives regarding taxes, &c. He reported the existence of wholesale bribery and extortion; and after a few months resigned his post in disgust, and was transferred as Mudir to Darfur in July. Gessi's final defeat of Suleiman was simultaneous with Slatin's arrival in Darfur. The new Mudir found a fresh rebellion in his province under Harun, the representative of the old Kings of Darfur, against whom he conducted a campaign. During the course of these operations Slatin introduced the innovation of paying for the supplies furnished by villagers to his forces, and of releasing the women and children captured. Harun was eventually defeated and killed in 1880, while Slatin himself had a narrow escape of his life. He

had now time to devote himself to the rectification of the gross abuses under which the people had groaned. Having procured a list of the villages in his Mudirate, with an estimate of their population, he reassessed the taxation on a fair basis, and effected a salutary reform by carrying out Gordon's orders with respect to the Gellalas and merchants. These people, whose nefarious dealing had made them a curse to the country, had been treated in a somewhat drastic manner by Gordon, and had preferred lying complaints to Rauf Pasha, who had succeeded him as Governor of the Sudan. The adjustment of the case as between them and the people of the province involved an exhaustive enquiry and redress. Early in 1881 Slatin left for Khartoum, where he met the heroic Gessi, Governor of the Bahr el Ghazal, who had been for a year blocked in the Nile "Suds," and reduced to the verge of starvation. Poor Gessi died soon after, while Slatin, in April, 1881, returned to Darfur as Governor of the province. During the rest of the year he was busied in effecting reforms in his province. Nur Angara and other officials, who were convicted of gross malpractices, were discharged. The system of receiving presents from chiefs was discontinued. A tour through the northern districts of the province was undertaken with most useful results, and finally a threatened conflict with the Bedeyat Arabs was averted, their grievances redressed, and the tribe converted to loyal supporters of the Government. On the return of the Governor to his southern capital at Dara, the rumours he had already heard, when on his way north, of a religious rising under a so-called "Mahdi," were confirmed, and he found himself confronted by a conflagration, which daily gathered in force and intensity.

The outlines of the early history of "the Mahdist rising" have long been known from the accounts of Giegler Pasha and many others, but no such detailed information as is given by Slatin has hitherto been available regarding both the history of the Mahdi himself, and the steps by which his influence permeated the Sudan. A man of deeply religious tendencies, the son of a fiki, educated under the most notable religious teachers of his time, Mohammed Ahmed led the life of a recluse at Abba as a professed follower of the great sheikh, Mohammed Sherif. Having offended his superior by his outspoken condemnation of hypocrisy, and again and again abjectly implored his pardon, unsuccessfully, he withdrew from his leadership and joined his rival Koreishi, refusing the proffered pardon which came too late. The audacity of this action, and his previous renown as a religious ascetic, at once made his name famous, and he was joined by many adherents, among the earliest of whom was Abdullahi, the present Khalifa. It was in

August, 1881, that Rauf Pasha, the Governor-General, becoming alarmed at the reports which reached him, and at the refusal of the "Mahdi" to come to Khartoum, despatched an expedition under Abu Saud to bring him by force. The force, already divided by internal dissensions and rivalries, fell a prey to the fanatical followers of Ahmed—armed though they were with nothing but sticks—and was annihilated in the river marshes. Proclaiming himself the Mahdi, Mohammed Ahmed now preached a *Jehad* or religious war, announcing that he had been sent by God to reform the faith, and preach renunciation of the world and its pleasures. He appointed three Khalifas, offering the fourth Caliphate to the great sheikh of the western Sudan, Senusi. This man's father had, since 1833, attained a very great celebrity, and the son was held by vast numbers of the fanatics of the west to be the real Mahdi. He, however, had never publicly claimed the title, nor exerted for the purposes of conquest the vast power he had gained. He refused the offer made to him, and the fourth Khalifa was never appointed.

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

Many opportunities occurred of crushing the new movement in its very inception, and Mohammed Guma even had a chance of capturing the Mahdi when with a mere handful of followers, but feared to act without orders from Khartoum. With a vast unarmed rabble the Mahdi moved to Jebel Gedir, and defeated and annihilated a force of some 1,400 men sent against him by the Governor of Fashoda. The prestige of these successes brought thousands to his standard, who, rendered fearless by fanaticism, and possessed by the frenzy of their cause, fell upon the large and well-equipped Government expedition under Yusef Pasha, and in June, 1882, his army of 6,000 men was utterly annihilated. Southern Kordofan was now in the Mahdi's hands, and the tribes, regarding his victories as supernatural, rose and joined him. The Arab sheikhs were proud to enrol themselves as his followers, and they massacred the villagers with horrible atrocities, and defeated detachments of troops. Before even he had begun the *Jehad* he had made a tour through Kordofan, and had gauged only too correctly the discontent due to oppression and extortion—the animosity caused by Gordon's ill-advised appointment of a wealthy Sudanese merchant, Elias Pasha, as Governor of the province, and the resentment engendered by the measures taken for the suppression of the slave trade. Acting on this knowledge, he was aware that all Kordofan was ready to rise in his favour, and after the defeat of Yusef there was nothing to oppose his march on the capital at El Obeid, to which the traitor, Elias Pasha himself, had invited him. The town was defended by the brave Said Pasha, and the Mahdi's first attack was repulsed with terrible loss to

the Dervishes, who, being unarmed with rifles, fell in thousands before the bullets of the garrison. But no single reverse could now check the wave of fanaticism kindled by the preaching of the Mahdi. The bulk of the population joined him, the mission-station at Delen and other outlying stations fell into his hands, and El Obeid itself, after an heroic defence of five months, succumbed to the horrors of starvation and surrendered. A relieving force was also annihilated, and the fall of Bara preceded that of El Obeid. Regardless of the tenets of renunciation which formed the nominal creed of the Mahdi, the most horrible and revolting atrocities were committed upon the brave garrisons in the search for loot, while the Mahdi continued to preach day and night, and by issuing ordinances relating to religious and social matters, endeavoured to follow the example of the Prophet. The fall of El Obeid placed all Kordofan in the hands of the Dervishes.

Meanwhile, throughout Darfur, the Arab tribes had risen in revolt. The arms and ammunition expected by Slatin never arrived, and the discipline he had enforced, and the reforms he had instituted, had not added to his popularity among certain sections of the people. The southern tribes were the first to take up arms under Madibbo, who defeated Mansur, the Governor of Shakka, and attacked Slatin, who was at Deain with a mere handful of men. Joined by the chivalrous Affi and his Habbania Arabs, who, "preferring death to dishonour," elected to face what seemed certain annihilation rather than desert him in his extremity, Slatin fought with the heroism of despair, and beat off for the moment the first attack of the enemy. Then, in the dead of night, advancing with but seventy men upon Madibbo's army, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the panic-stricken host, and made good his retreat to Dara. Here, however, he was to learn of the shameful cowardice of Mansur, who had evacuated Shakka, and, leaving his soldiers behind, had precipitately fled to Dara. The devotion, however, of Ali Agha and his soldiers, who had remained with the women, ammunition, and baggage, and the skill with which their retreat was effected, had secured the safe arrival of the whole column, leaving Shakka in the hands of Madibbo. On the whole the condition of Darfur afforded as yet no grounds for despair. Slatin succeeded in raising over 2,000 rifles, and marched back to Deain. With a force increased to 9,500 men he advanced towards Shakka, but while himself suffering from heavy fever, his army was surprised when on the march owing to the negligence of the officer in charge of the rear-guard, and so desperate was the onslaught that the square was broken before the Bazingers (who were armed only with muzzleloaders) had time to re-load. The force was only saved from total annihilation by Slatin's presence of

mind and personal valour. Sounding the "lie down," which was obeyed by the greater number of the regulars, he opened fire on the square itself and drove out the enemy. Hastily collecting the remnants—900 out of 9,500—while the Rizighat were engaged in pursuit of the fugitives, he rapidly entrenched himself, and beat off their renewed attack. Entrusting Salama with the desperate duty of carrying letters to Dara to assure them that the disaster of Om Waragat had not resulted in the total extinction of the force, and having also sent letters to Lupton, the Governor of the Bahr el Ghazal province, asking him to effect a diversion from the south, Slatin's brave remnant defended themselves in their zeriba for seven days, though attacked once or twice daily. Reduced to starvation, the force determined to march for Dara, and at least to sell their lives dearly in the open. Attacked in overwhelming force, they defeated the Dervishes, and continued their march, fighting daily, and suffering from the pangs of hunger and thirst. The lucky capture of a flock of sheep with an Arab who showed them a pool of water, saved them from death, and Dara was reached at last. Slatin himself had been wounded three times, and bad news awaited him at Dara. El Obeid had fallen, and rumours of Arabi's rebellion in lower Egypt had spread through the Sudan. He was said to have ousted all Christians and deposed the Khedive, and, in consequence, Slatin's officers became disaffected towards him, while the Mima and Khawabir Arabs were in revolt between Dara and the capital, El Fasher. Advancing rapidly against them, Slatin defeated them utterly in a very hard fought battle, and returned to find a serious mutiny among his own troops. By the exercise of great shrewdness he discovered the details of the plot, and succeeded in suppressing it, executing the ringleaders after trial. Recognizing that these intrigues were due to the fact that he was a Christian, and that his troops were convinced that to this fact was due the reverses they had suffered, Slatin boldly declared himself a Mohammedan. After getting rid of Zogal, the Mudir of Dara, of whose loyalty he had grave doubts, by sending him on a mission to Kordofan, he now advanced against the Helba Arabs and completely crushed their revolt. In spite of the fact that the Mahdi had emissaries throughout the province inciting the people to revolt, Slatin had, by his masterly action, up to now defied the attempts of his enemies, both in the field and by intrigue, and from the capital to Dara all was fairly quiet, whilst all eyes were turned towards the expedition which was rumoured to be advancing against the Mahdi from Khartoum. Slatin himself, however, was prostrated by the excruciating pain of the guinea-worm disease.

Meanwhile Giegler Pasha, in November, 1882, had defeated the Dervishes at Duem, 100 miles south of Khartoum, and Abdel Kader

had gained an even greater success at Maatuk in January, 1883, while General Hicks had won a battle at Marabia in April, 1883. But all Kordofan was in the Mahdi's hands, and his adherents continued to increase in number. He himself, dreading the great expedition which was being organized in Egypt against him, continued to preach vehemently, and to stir up his followers to fresh enthusiasm. Outwardly an ascetic, preaching renunciation, in private he had become a gross libertine and debauchee. His treasury was filled by tithes and percentages on loot, the punishment of death was inflicted for doubting his divine mission, and this and other new laws being opposed to the teachings of the Koran, the Mahdi took the bold step of suppressing its public discussion, and destroying all books on religion and law.

At last, in September, 1883, the ill-fated expedition under General Hicks started. Its object was the immediate reconquest of the Sudan, instead of the establishment of strong posts along the Nile, and a gradual reassertion of the authority of the Government. "Ten thousand men in square formation, with six thousand camels in their midst, were to march through districts overgrown with vegetation and grass higher than a man's head." Discarding the northern road, where the country was open, water available, and the tribes friendly, they pitted themselves, with every possible disadvantage, against an enemy braver, unmercifully superior, and better armed. To make disaster doubly certain dissensions were rife between the European officers and the Egyptian officials. The doomed force marched on, maddened by thirst, disappointed of its expected reinforcements, a vast moving target for the constant hail of bullets, till, on November 4th, what remained of the 10,000 were utterly annihilated and killed almost to a man by some 100,000 wild Dervishes. This victory placed the entire Sudan at the Mahdi's feet, and his prestige and power were now supreme.

In Darfur the situation was growing hourly more desperate. In spite of letters, composed by himself, announcing victories by the Government troops, which Slatin publicly read, defection spread on all sides. Madibbo again advanced on Dara, but was utterly defeated by Slatin, a victory which was, however, more than counterbalanced by the defeat of Wad Darho by the Mima Arabs, and the annihilation of Kuku Agha. Dara was besieged, and Slatin's ammunition having almost completely run out, he was compelled to parley. Promising to surrender to the Mahdi, but not to the Arab tribes, he gained an armistice and sent in his submission by letter to El Obeid, at the same time priming his messenger with arguments which should prompt the Mahdi to defer its acceptance, for his object was to gain delay till the result of Hicks' pending battle should be known. After Hicks' defeat no possible

chance remained—the troops decided to surrender, and many deserted, and poor Slatin had to yield to the inevitable. El Fasher, the capital, however, declined to capitulate, until reduced by thirst. Lupton, the Governor of the Bahr el Ghazal, deserted by all his officers, was compelled to submit, and the Mahdi now became supreme throughout the western provinces.

Slatin himself was sent for by the Mahdi, and, on arrival at El Obeid, was kindly treated by the Khalifa Abdullahi, who gave him an office about his person.

In February, 1884, Gordon arrived in the Sudan. He had a reputation for personal bravery, and among the lower classes in Darfur for charity and benevolence. On the other hand, his eviction of the Gellabas from the southern districts had made his name detested in the Gezira. "Almost his first step was to issue a proclamation appointing the Mahdi Sultan of Kordofan, permitting the slave trade, and proposing to enter into relations with him; in his letter he also asked for the release of the prisoners." The Mahdi, in reply, advised Gordon to surrender and save his life. Then followed that fatal error, the reading at Metemmeh of the proclamation that the Government intended to abandon the Sudan. At the entreaty of Hussein Pasha he had not done so at Berber, and now by this public announcement he alienated all the still loyal tribes, and Berber fell. "Gordon's idea was to obtain the assistance of these tribes in order to facilitate the withdrawal of the garrisons, and he would have come to terms with them to effect this object, but how could he expect them to help him when in the words of that fatal proclamation it was decreed they were to be abandoned to their fate? And what in this eventuality would have been their fate? . . . Assistance given to Gordon to retreat meant the annihilation of themselves and the enslavement of their families. . . . . It did not require a person of any special military capacity to remove the garrisons and war material by the steamers to Berber under pretext of relieving that town, and thus the whole or a considerable portion of the Sudan garrisons might have been withdrawn, though this would have needed to be done without delay, and could not have been feasible after the fall of Berber; but Berber, it must be remembered, did not fall till 19th of May—three months after Gordon's arrival in Khartoum. How could Gordon's qualities of personal bravery and energy, great as they undoubtedly were, arrest the progress of events after that most grave political error?" Such were Slatin's reflections, and poor Valentine Baker, frankly told by the loyal tribes on whom he had relied that after this pronouncement they could no longer assist him, echoed the same thoughts.* Gordon, presumably,

* Vide *Memoirs of Sir Samuel Baker.*

acted in the belief that it was the more straightforward course to announce at once the orders he had from Mr. Gladstone's Ministry in England without inculpating the tribes by obtaining their assistance when he must leave them eventually to their fate.

Khartoum was now besieged, as also was Sennar. Berber had fallen, but the garrisons of Dongol still held out, and had defeated the Dervishes. Gordon had scored a victory over Abu Girga, and the Mahdi determined to now proceed himself to the vicinity of Khartoum. His vast host, comprising the greater part of the population of the Sudan, set out in August by three separate roads. At this juncture there arrived in the Mahdi's camp a Frenchman named Olivier Pain, who stated that he had come "to offer his assistance and that of his nation with arms and money in order to embarrass the English, with whom his nation was at feud." "Is that what you call politics," remarked Hussein Pasha, Slatin's fellow prisoner, "to offer money and arms to people whose only object is to kill others and rob them of their property and enslave their wives and daughters?" "Malaish!" replied Slatin, "he who lives long sees much!" The Mahdi treated the offer with contempt, Pain became a prisoner and died soon after in spite of Slatin's tender care. Shortly before the Mahdi's arrival at Khartoum a strong force sent out by Gordon was annihilated, and Slatin was now directed to write to him, and call upon him to submit. Instead of doing so, he wrote in German, asking Gordon to connive at his escape, in order that he might join him in the defence of the town, and assist him by his knowledge of the Mahdi's plans, provided that a surrender had not been already decided upon. Gordon received this letter, but vouchsafed no reply to it or to subsequent letters from Slatin conveying the news of the capture of the steamer and the massacre of Colonel Stewart's party, but Consul Hansal replied asking for an interview. To this the Mahdi agreed, but instead of being allowed to go, Slatin was made a close prisoner and heavily ironed. In this captivity Lupton was sent to join him, but was shortly after released to work a gun, to which he consented on the understanding that it would ameliorate the condition of his wife and child, but Slatin refused, and was loaded with still heavier chains, and half starved. Gordon had said in a note which fell into the Mahdi's hands that he could hold Khartoum till the end of January. On the 15th Omdurman fort fell, and shortly afterwards the news which made Slatin's heart "thump with joy" was received of the English victory at Abu Klea, and the almost total annihilation of the Dervish force, followed by reports of other victories at Abu Kru and Gubat. The Mahdi resolved to storm the town before the English force could arrive, and on the night of the 25th it was carried by a breach in the walls

made by the rising Nile, and which had remained unrepaired. The delay of the English force at Metemmeh had been fatal, Gubat had been reached on the 20th, and Gordon's four steamers had arrived on the 21st. "Then why did they not send some Englishmen on board, no matter how few, and despatch them instantly to Khartoum? If they could only have been seen in the town, the garrison would have taken fresh hope, and would have fought tooth and nail against the enemy, whilst the inhabitants who had lost all confidence in Gordon's promises would have joined heartily in resisting the Dervish attack, knowing that the relief expected was now certain to reach them." Gordon was butchered and met his death like a hero,—his head was taken to Slatin, and then to the Mahdi. The Greek and Austrian Consuls were butchered, and the most awful massacre and unspeakable atrocities were committed, whilst the English steamers under Sir Charles Wilson arrived two days too late. His retreat after verifying the fall of Khartoum was the precursor of the return to Egypt of the English expedition.

For eight long months Slatin lay in chains so heavy that he could not rise, and raw dhurra was often his only food. His equable disposition enabled him to bear this intolerable strain, but poor Lupton chafed to such an extent that his hair turned white, and Slatin at times feared for his reason. At last, in response to an appeal, they were liberated by the Khalifa, and Slatin was appointed one of his household and presented with various wives, whom he had much difficulty in evading. After the fall of Khartoum the Mahdi fell ill and died, and the Khalifa Abdullahi succeeded him, and received the oath of allegiance from all. As a religious reformer the Mahdi had united the four distinct sects of Islam, had introduced improvements in the ritual, had facilitated the ceremony of marriage by rendering it less costly, had forbidden drinking bouts, dancing, playing, smoking, &c. He had prohibited the prescribed pilgrimages to Mecca, and made the doubting of his divine mission punishable by death or mutilation, and since many of his dispositions and ordinances were at variance with the law of the Koran, he had ordered that all books on religious subjects should be destroyed.

He had broken down the social and official ranks, and made rich and poor alike in the universal garb which was the uniform of his following. In private, however, both he and his Khalifas were libertines and drunkards, and indulged in every kind of excess.

At the time of Khalifa Abdullahi's succession, with the exception of a few small mountain tribes, the whole of the western Sudan acknowledged the Mahdi. Not only Darfur and the Bahr el Ghazal, but the powerful outlying Arab tribes as far as Wadai,—and even the Sultan of that powerful kingdom himself,—declared them-

selves his adherents. In the east, Kassala and Sennar made a heroic defence, but the latter fell in August, 1885, and the former at a still later date; some other of the garrisons had meantime been relieved by King John of Abyssinia. Osman Digna ruled the Suakim province, but had been defeated in 1884 and 1885 by the English in his attempts to reach the coast. The Khalifa Abdullahi now disarmed the other two Khalifas, and divested them of all symbols of authority in order to establish his own unquestioned authority, and Khaled, the Mahdi's cousin, Governor of Darfur, was defeated by force and chained. At El Obeid the oppression led to a successful mutiny of the soldiers, who inflicted several crushing defeats on the Dervish forces, and established themselves in the mountains till crushed by the overwhelming army of Abu Anga.

The Kadis' Courts now instituted were nominally supreme, but were so corrupt and so terrorised by the Khalifa that the name of justice was a farce. Tyranny and oppression were rife throughout the land: a universal poll-tax and other dues called zeka, together with monopolies of soap manufacture and ferries, a new coinage, and the sale of slaves, enriched the Khalifa's treasury for the support of the western Arabs, whom the Nile tribes now saw growing daily in power under the ægis of their compatriot. The Taaisha, the Khalifa's own tribe, consisting of 24,000 fighting men, migrated to the capital from Darfur. Through the length and breadth of the land there was perpetual bloodshed. A revolt in Darfur was followed by continual fighting between Karamalla, Yusef, and Madibbo in the west. On the north the Kababish Arabs were annihilated and given up to loot, as was also the Gehéna tribe. In the east, the Abyssinians invaded Gellabat and exterminated Arbab's army, but were in turn invaded, and their country laid waste in January, 1888, by Abu Anga's large army. Slatin and Lupton lived in misery at the capital, the former as a slave to the Khalifa, the latter as a workman in the dockyards, and now a young German merchant who had endeavoured to open trade, and bring assistance to the Kababish, had been taken prisoner, and sent to join them; in May, 1888, poor Lupton died. Having crushed all opposition, and gained much applause by erecting a great tomb to the Mahdi, his successor's despotism and cruelty knew no restraint, and in both east and west his armies were successful, while the most renowned of his Emirs, Wad Nejumi, waited with a powerful force on the frontiers of Egypt. No sooner, however, had the fighting, both in east and west, been brought apparently to a successful conclusion, than it broke out again with greater fury than ever. King John, with a vast army, attacked Gellabat, and would have utterly

crushed the Dervish forces had not he himself been killed at the moment of victory, which turned it into defeat. In Darfur the tribes rose once more under Abu Gemmaiza, and won victory after victory over the Mahdists, till, marching on El Fasher, their leader died of small-pox, and they were defeated and dispersed. The land, says Slatin, "seemed covered with dead bodies," for the carnage was awful. But the Khalifa's cruelty still claimed its victims, and the cold-blooded massacre and mutilation of sixty-seven Batahin in the public market-place stands out, even amid these holocausts of victims, as a crime written in capital letters of blood. The Taaisha tribe were encouraged by their master to rob and loot, till neither property nor life was safe at the capital, and the food supplies were daily diminishing. Reckless of the atmosphere of butchery and carnage in which he ruled, the despot now gave orders to the brave Wad Nejumi to advance against Egypt with his Nile Valley tribes, whom the Khalifa feared and mistrusted. Ill-supported and ill-equipped, he met the Egyptian army under General Grenfell at Toski in May, 1889, where he himself fell, and his force was annihilated with a loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners of 16,000 men.

And now the unhappy Sudan was to suffer a fate even more awful than any which had yet befallen. Throughout all the districts owning the Mahdi's rule a famine broke out, so that people died by thousands, and thousands of the living could not cope with the work of burying the dead. Cannibalism, and the most awful and ghastly tragedies were of daily occurrence, till one wonders how there were left any people alive in this misruled famine-stricken land. No sooner had the cruel strain of famine relaxed than flights of locusts, hitherto unknown, came to complete the destruction of the people. Yet they met it—as the Batahin met their fate—with a marvellous heroism. The "proud and moral" Jaalin bricked up their houses when their food was done, and whole villages thus calmly and silently awaited death. It is a harrowing, heart-rending tale, this story of a nation of heroes mowed down in battle, starved by famine, murdered in cold blood by a despot's orders, yet never falling short of their standard of invincible courage. And through it all poor Slatin lived, a silent spectator, now trusted and allowed to receive, in ecstasies of joy, letters from his Austrian home, and newspapers whose very advertisements he learnt by heart, now suspected causelessly, his life from hour to hour hanging on a mere thread and a tyrant's mood—anon once more "forgiven" and presented with wives whom he did not want, as a mark of royal favour.

In July, 1890, an expedition was sent to the Equatorial province, which, under Emin, had hitherto been left almost entirely undisturbed. Reggaf was taken, and a garrison formed there, to which

all suspects and warriors from the Nile Valley tribes, whom the Khalifa mistrusted, were despatched. Still the brave Dinkas and Shilluks, the most warlike tribes of the Sudan, remained free, until Zeki conquered and almost exterminated them, sending to Omdurman vast numbers of slaves, and immense quantities of loot. Meanwhile, Osman Digna in the east had pursued the same policy, and the brave Hadendoa, Shaigia, and Kassala tribes were almost annihilated, and their country depopulated. This marked the zenith of the Mahdist power. Oppression, extortion, massacre, slave-raiding on a gigantic scale, and every form of misrule was rampant. In every province the rulers endeavoured to enrich themselves at the expense of the miserable population. The first intimation that the arms and prestige of the Dervishes was on the wane was conveyed by the defeat of Digna at Tokar, and this great disaster was closely followed by the ill-success of Wad Adam in the west, who, while holding eastern Darfur, had been compelled to retire from his efforts to re-subdue the western tribes. Quarrels arose in Dongola between Yunes and Khaled, and the Ashraf (relations of the Mahdi) revolted at the capital itself. These troubles near headquarters were suppressed by the iron hand of despotism. The Douagla were secretly disarmed, and numbers of them sent to Reggaf, while Khaled was removed and treacherously killed, and the Ashraf revolt crushed. The soldiers' escape again caused suspicion to be directed against Slatin, who narrowly escaped with his life, but poor Zeki, the brave and victorious general of the Mahdist army in Gedaref, did not fare so well. His success and popularity had raised the jealousy of the Khalifa, and he was, as so many before him had been, treacherously seized for no fault, thrown into prison and starved to death, while his relations were killed, his wives distributed, his sister flogged to death, and his wealth became the loot of the Khalifa and his satellites. His successor, Wad Ali, with a very large army, attacked the Italian position at Agordat and was severely defeated, and this reverse was followed by the fall of Kassala. The Khalifa, now thoroughly alarmed, concentrated all his forces along the Atbara, to dispute the advance of the Italians, for Omdurman itself lay at their mercy. The fanatical spirit had died—the Dervishes themselves longed for the defeat of their tyrant, and had made but little stand at Kassala. In the south the army at Reggaf had scored a success by the defeat of Fadl El Maula, who after Emin's departure with Stanley had joined the Congo State troops. The latter had overrun the Bahr el Ghazal, the most important province in the Sudan, "whose ruler," says Slatin, "holds the Sudan in his hands." It is at once the granary of the Sudan and the recruiting ground for the bravest and most war-

like of the tribes. "In four or five years the rulers of the Bahr el Ghazal could recruit from 15,000 to 20,000 troops who could conquer the whole country." The Belgians had in August, 1894, entered into treaty with Faroghé (as far north as Lat. 9°), and though this treaty, with other papers, flags, &c., had fallen into the Khalifa's hands during his recent successes, news now reached him of advancing forces from Uganda, and from the south-west. In every direction his power was tottering to its fall. Orders were given to retreat from all positions in the south except Reggaf, while the Khalifa prepared to fight for his very existence against England and Egypt in the north, and the Italians in the east. The fuller news now given to the world in Slatin's absorbing account verifies *au pied de la lettre* the conclusions drawn by me in this Review last July.

Meanwhile Slatin, after various elaborate plans for escape, several of which during 1892, 1893, and 1894, had been carried almost to the point of completion, eventually started on February 20, 1895, on his hazardous adventure, which, after all kinds of unforeseen delays and unsuspected dangers, was safely accomplished by a month of almost superhuman exertion, danger, and difficulty. The intensely thrilling story of this flight must be read in detail to be appreciated. In the Musalmania quarter at Omdurman there still remain some forty-five Christians of various nationalities, engaged in simple trades to eke out a bare existence, subject to the tyranny and cruelty of the Khalifa, longing for the day when civilization shall intervene to substitute law and order once more for chaos and anarchy in the distracted Sudan.

Such are some of the chief points to be noted in Slatin's amazing and unique book. From its perusal two impressions remain prominent on the memory. First, the chivalry, heroic courage, and high honour of these Arab warriors, who, again and again, preferring death to dishonour, fearlessly face the horrors of starvation, famine, indescribable tortures, and death, rather than forego their resolve, or submit to disgrace or defeat. Secondly, the astounding powers of memory of the writer, who recalls, at an interval of nearly twenty years, the minor details of nearly every event, and is never at a loss for the names of the actors even in the most trivial affairs, or in the lesser councils of war or peace. Above and apart from this, it is hardly necessary to remark on the courage, patience, and indomitable fortitude of the Pasha himself, whose manly qualities endeared him to all with whom he was brought into contact in these eventful years of exile and captivity. To these firm friendships, with men to whom loyalty and honour mattered more than life itself, he owed much that made life possible, and even to some extent, his ultimate escape.

The Khalifa who forms the centre figure of this other world story is painted in graphic colours. A native of south-west Darfur, the strong individuality and resoluteness of his character developed with the exercise of unlimited power into the worst traits of the despot. Pride degenerated into a blind belief in his own infallibility, and he did not scruple to adopt the successes of others —whether it were the architecture of the Mahdi's tomb or the victories of Zeki—as the results of inspirations given to himself from heaven. An innate cruelty grew to proportions unrivalled even by the late Emperors of Rome. He gloated over the massacre of whole tribes, in the death, by lingering tortures or starvation, of his most able and most deserving generals and advisers. His degeneration of character was, of course, accompanied by an inordinate sensuality and love of luxury, display, and flattery. His harem consisted of 400 women, his body-guard of 12,000 warriors clad in armour, with horses decked in quilted caparisons. His policy was, in brief, to exterminate the Nile Valley tribes, and to introduce the western tribes in their place, so that the Gezira and other formerly populous districts became depopulated, while he crushed the Ashraf (Mahdi's relatives) and took all power from his brother Khalifs. The coinage was debased by successive stages till it became a fifth its normal value. Mock justice was administered by the Kadis, who were his creatures, whose duty it became to carry out his decisions, however grossly unjust, and to make them appear, so far as possible, to accord with the Moslem law and the Mahdi's "Instructions." Religion became a mockery, and his wretched subjects ceased to believe in its travesty. Pilgrimages to Mecca were forbidden and replaced by visits to the Mahdi's tomb; commentaries on the Koran were suppressed, and the religion of Islam was made the vehicle of all that was evil. Education ceased, and trade—except the trade in slaves, which assumed vast proportions, and was conducted with unspeakable cruelties and incalculable loss of life—became practically non-existent. A veto was placed on trade in feathers, that in gums was taxed prohibitively, tobacco was contraband, and ivory coming only from the south dwindled as those provinces lapsed from the Khalifa's control. A small and desultory trade continued with Egypt, but a rigid prohibition of the export of slaves left but little for merchants to convey out of the country. Industry suffered in like proportion, and became limited to a little weaving of common cloths, and some leather work, while the immorality bred of chaos, of the wholesale depopulation of vast districts by the slave trade, and by the rupture of all social organization, became fearful in its extent, and was accompanied by the increase of the diseases which usually accompany it. Added to

these were yearly epidemics of typhoid fever, &c., arising from the unspeakably insanitary state of the town. The picture drawn of this chaos, oppression, licence, and cruelty—more especially of the horrors of the public prison, where the ghastly tragedy of the black hole of Calcutta was repeated nightly,—leaves nothing to the imagination, for the uttermost depths of human depravity and human misery have been reached in the Sudan of to-day. "Seventy-five per cent. at least," says Slatin, "of the total population has succumbed to war, famine, and disease, while of the remainder, the majority are little better than slaves." Let us leave this dark and blood-stained picture, and consider for a moment how those evils wrought by the policy of abandonment—advised by England—may be dealt with.

"The helping hand" (says Slatin emphatically) "must come from without," for unless the crushed and miserable people can be sure that the Khalifa's power is certainly doomed by the intervention of a force that cannot be withstood, they will not dare to rise and lend their aid. And what does this power consist of? Slatin states it with absolute knowledge, telling us to a man what are the garrisons of each post throughout the Sudan. In round numbers the Dervish forces consist of 40,000 rifles, 64,000 spear men, "and seventy-five guns. Of the rifles, he says, "there are not more than 22,000 Remingtons in good condition." Of the 64,000 spear men, at least 25 per cent. are either too old or two young to be considered effective, while the guns are for the most part either practically useless, or lack ammunition. This is the power which still continues to defy civilization! Slatin, in cautious and well chosen words emphasizes two points in his final remarks as to the future of the Sudan. The first is the immense importance of the Bahr el Ghazal, the key to the Sudan, the second is that unless the power which eventually recovers the Sudan from the grasp of the Khalifa is identical with that which holds the lower Nile the danger to Egypt of a diversion of the water supply on which she depends will be very great. On these two points, especially the last, I have myself dwelt continuously for the last two or three years. In view of the advance of France from the south-west—we have lately had news that Zemio has been occupied by her—and of Italy from the East there is no longer room for delay.* Atrocities worse than those in Armenia have been perpetrated without ceasing for twelve years in a country for which we are far more directly responsible than we are for Armenia. For apart from the fact that it was on our advice that Egypt abandoned those provinces, the far more urgent fact remains that it is owing to our veto that no other European Power

* This article was written prior to the battle of Adowa, and as the writer is beyond the reach of proofs it has not been brought up to date.—[EDITOR, *N. R.*]

has been able to intervene to put a stop to this awful chaos, oppression, and cruelty. At the time that Germany wished to gain an access to the Nile regions we concluded a treaty by which we secured her absolute withdrawal from any interference in that direction. In a similar manner we prevented Italy from approaching the Nile Valley, and this was the more marked since Italy has been engaged in hostilities with the Dervishes, yet was prohibited by treaty with us from pursuing her advantage. After the capture of Kassala—as Slatin relates—Omdurman and the Sudan lay in her power, but her hands were tied. France approached from the south-west, but a British Minister, speaking for the Government of this country, announced that England would regard it as an "unfriendly act" if she entered the Nile Valley. The Congo State sent troops into the Bahr el Ghazal, and Great Britain protested against the violation of her rights till such time as it suited our convenience to leave those territories to King Leopold. All this we have done—in effect to announce to Europe that if any Power interferes in the Sudan we shall regard it as a *casus belli*—and, as the protecting Power in Egypt and the holders of Uganda, we have done rightly. But can anyone read this account of the state of the Sudan, and say that our duty ends there? Rather have we accepted a great and a terrible responsibility for the Sudan—a responsibility which as a nation we have deliberately incurred through successive governments. If those whose moral sense is so deeply outraged by the atrocities committed in Armenia, would for one moment contrast dispassionately the twelve years of horrors and atrocities perpetrated in the Sudan, they would find on a perusal of Slatin's pages how infinitely beyond comparison they have exceeded in barbarity of details, in length of continuance, and in number of victims the atrocities committed by Turks or Khurds. Let them further contrast the measure of responsibility incurred by Great Britain in the one country and in the other—the efforts made on behalf of Armenia, and the absolute apathy as regards the Sudan—and say whether it does not devolve upon this nation to make some effort to place a limit to the awful evils which are rampant in a country from which it has excluded all other European influences, rather than to kindle the flames of an European conflagration by precipitate action in Armenia, where our responsibilities are by no means so direct. As I have urged consistently since 1892, the one way in which this effort should be made is by simultaneous action from north and south. Had action been taken at that date by sending agents into the Bahr el Ghazal to secure that "Key of the Sudan," already the army of fifteen to twenty thousand, which Slatin says could easily be raised in three

or four years, might have been at our disposal. The disposition is to allow matters to rest *in statu quo* pending the construction of the Uganda Railway, but in my own opinion there is no need to await that event, distant at least five years from the present date; and if we do so wait we shall assuredly be "too late" once more. Nor have we the moral right to restrain France and Italy, and to perpetuate the massacres, slave raids, and oppression of the Sudan for a further period of years. It needs no transport of troops or a vast bulk of war material. The mere guns and ammunition are all that are required. Men, transport, and food are all to be obtained on the spot. An advance from Egypt—for which everything is ready—simultaneously with a diversion from the south by a local levy in the Bahr el Ghazal under English officers, and supplied with munitions from Uganda, would upset the tottering dynasty of the Khalifa.

Recent news points to rapid developments in the central and Egyptian Sudan. In the January number of the *Mouvement Antiesclavagiste Belge* an article is published entitled "La fin du mahdisme," which contains some striking news. Previous articles in the same paper had dwelt on the prophecy current in the Sudan that the Mahdi's power would fall in March, 1895, a belief which had such power among the Dervishes that the Khalifa refused to attempt to retake Kassala. As this prophecy was not fulfilled he took heart of grace, and summoned the Sultan Yusef of Wadai to assist him to expel the Italians from Kassala. His message was conveyed by the Emir of Kordofan, but Sultan Yusef threw the envoys into prison, called to his aid the Sheikhs of Senusi, and accepted the battle offered to him. The Dervishes were completely routed, and great quantities of loot was captured by the Wadai forces. Rabeh, who had long since established himself in Bornu, is related to have come to the assistance of the Dervishes against his ancient foe, but, arriving too late, he in turn was defeated, and his head carried on a lance to Wadai. Sultan Yusef, continues the writer, then marched on Kuka, the capital of Bornu, on Lake Chad, captured the town and placed Rabeh's son on the throne after securing his submission as his vassal. This news, if true, is all important, indicating as it does the first great conflict between the Khalifa and the enormously powerful faction of the Senusi, and it is hardly necessary to point out how imperative it is that the crumbling power of Mahdism should not be replaced by a power whose ramifications extend from Morocco, around Lake Chad, throughout the Sahara to Algeria, Tripoli, and Egypt. It is above all important that England should anticipate the Senusi in the Nile Valley, or we may find a power there which would be far

harder to deal with than that of the effete Khalifate. On the other hand, the Senusi sect has proved itself a singularly peaceful neighbour, unless attacked, and its leader has announced that its mission is one of peace, not war, so that we have cause to hope that in replacing the Mahdist power in the Nile Valley we should still be able to avoid conflict with either Yusef of Wadai or his religious leaders the Sheikhs of the Senusi.

F. D. Lugard.

NATIONAL GRANARIES.

Events of very serious significance which have recently occurred have brought it home to the people of the United Kingdom that it is not altogether improbable that they may again be engaged in war with one or more of the leading Powers of the world. That this has been the result is, I cannot but think, a matter for sincere congratulation.

It is true that the policy of a navy strong enough to meet a possible combination of any two Powers adopted by Lord Salisbury's Second Administration was, to his lasting credit, pursued by Lord Spencer, but among a larger number of the electorate there existed an undoubted, if latent and indefinite, opposition to a material increase of the navy, while few persons could be found who placed it above all other considerations.

Happily this is no longer the case. The scales have dropped from their eyes, and, as Mr. Goschen has said, "the British people require that our fleet should represent the self-reliance of the British nation."

In the opinion of some competent authorities, and notably of Sir Charles Dilke, the Government have not gone far enough, but by their patriotic attitude they have beyond doubt given a most satisfactory answer to the question raised by Captain Mahan as to "whether a democratic Government will have the foresight, the keen sensitiveness to national position and credit, the willingness to insure its prosperity by adequate out-pouring of money in times of peace, all which are necessary for military preparation"; and they have further saved themselves from the reproach levelled against the Dutch that "never in time of peace, and from fear of a rupture, will they take resolutions strong enough to lead them to pecuniary sacrifices beforehand."

While the navy is recognized as the "first line" of our forces, and it is admitted that its proper position in time of war is not in home waters tied to our own coasts, but on the high seas and in the enemy's waters, it is also a matter of deep satisfaction to know that the claims of the army, our "second line," are receiving their proper share of public attention.

It has been said by a responsible writer that if the fleet is lost all is lost. That opinion I cannot hold.

While it is not altogether impossible that through the chances of naval warfare, which, owing to the imperfect knowledge we at present possess as to the operations of steam navies, cannot be accurately calculated, a series of disasters might deprive us of the protection of the fleet, yet with an army sufficiently numerous, well equipped, and well disciplined, the crowning disaster of the occupation of this country by an enemy might be averted. Time would be gained—time, with all the advantages it offers: the opportunity of seeking alliances, of treating for favourable terms, of utilizing our vast reserve of strength. The observations of Captain Mahan upon this point are of the greatest value. "In the case of a collision," he asks, "can there be assumed such a difference of personnel, or of preparation, as to make it probable that a decisive inequality will result from one battle or one campaign? If not, the reserve strength will begin to tell: organized reserve first, then reserve of seafaring population, reserve of mechanical skill, reserve of wealth." As this country is so fortunate as to possess the last three of these reserves, and we trust is prepared to make proper provision for the first, she would indeed be guilty of inconceivable folly if she did not so strengthen her "second line" as to enable her, in case of necessity, to make every possible use of them all.

If the United Kingdom were, as regards her food supplies, in the position of the United States or of Russia; if, like these two countries, she grew such large quantities of corn as to be able to export many millions of quarters to other countries; or if, like France and Germany, she had to import only a small proportion of her yearly consumption, then I think we might consider that the Government had fully discharged their obligations by providing a "first and second line" powerful enough in the opinion of their responsible advisers for all the duties they might respectively be called upon to undertake.

But unhappily for this country its position as regards its food supply is very different from that of any of the countries just named. So far from being able to export wheat, the United Kingdom has to import it in enormous and increasing quantities, for our population is growing, and our acreage under wheat cultivation is shrinking. While Germany, deducting exports, imported in the year ending 31st of July, 1895, 5,640,000 quarters of wheat and flour; and France imported, deducting exports, only some 3,572,000 quarters; the United Kingdom, on the other hand, during the same time, imported, less exports, 24,694,000 quarters, the home crop being only 4,650,000 quarters. It will be seen then at a glance that as regards our bread stuffs we are in a position of dependence upon

sea-borne supplies, which would in time of war place us at a serious disadvantage and expose us to the gravest risk.

If there are any who doubt this a little reflection will show them that it must be the case. Under present conditions our navy in time of war will have a double duty to perform : its first duty being to make its power felt wherever its ships can reach, to prevent the junction of the enemy's fleets, to blockade them and to attack any fleet that may succeed in getting out, its second will be to convey our food supplies. These I distinguish from the rest of our commerce, which would seek the safety conferred by a neutral flag.

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

It is obvious that the latter duty is of the greatest importance, since these food supplies are absolutely necessary for the support of our home population and of our army. Deprived of them, the first collision would be fatal, for the reserve forces, to which Captain Mahan attaches such weight, could never be brought into play. This being the case, it is obvious that in place of our navy being able to concentrate the whole of its forces upon offensive action it would be compelled to sacrifice a portion to the purposes of convoy, and thus its offensive power, which constitutes its primary strength, would at the outset be weakened more or less seriously.

From 1861 to 1865 Lancashire, owing to the partial stoppage of cotton imports, experienced the terrors of famine. There are many still living who witnessed the sufferings she went through. If such terrible privations can result from the stoppage of some 50 per cent. of the raw material required for one of our home industries it does not require a powerful imagination to picture the horrors that would result if the supplies of food for the whole population were cut off.

While those who have studied the subject admit that our position as regards our food supplies is such as I have described, yet it has been said that the apprehended danger of their importation being stopped is a mere "bogey," and those who take the opposite view have been labelled as "hysterical alarmists."

Let us then consider the various combinations that might be formed against us with the effect that they would have upon our bread supplies. Of the 98,327,000* quarters of wheat, wheaten flour, barley, maize, rye, and oats which was the total quantity exported in the year ending 31st July, 1895, by all the exporting countries of the world, Russia alone exported 47,500,000 quarters, while we imported 44,500,000 quarters. Thus Russia exported more than we imported. Russia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Roumelia, and Turkey together exported 61,600,000 quarters. It is plain then from these figures that Russia, acting in concert with Turkey, and closing the

* *Corn Trade Year Book*, 1895. Variations in Bonded Stocks not noticed.

Black Sea, could have withdrawn over 60 per cent. of the above food stuffs that we and other countries depended upon.

But this is not all. As, besides ourselves, other countries imported 54,200,000 quarters, it follows that in such a case the necessities of their populations would have immediately increased the price of these articles of food to an enormous extent. I would remind those who doubt whether such action as that contemplated would ever be taken, that in 1891 Russia prohibited the export of wheat from her own territory.

We will next take a combination of Russia and Turkey and the United States. The two former countries during the same period exported 68,500,000 quarters of the above-named food-stuffs. Therefore, this combination could have withdrawn 82,600,000 quarters out of the 98,700,000 required on the above figures by the importing countries, leaving them only 16,100,000 quarters. How high the price of bread would have risen under these circumstances it is impossible to say.

I will now suppose, as a third combination, that Russia was allied with France. In this case our position would be even worse. While Russia could prohibit exports, France could, so I am assured by an expert authority, within three weeks purchase in America "futures" in wheat to the extent of from ten to twelve million quarters, the whole of the exportable surplus from that country for the current season being calculated at about 14,000,000 quarters. Further, exercising the right she claimed in her war with China, France would doubtless declare wheat "contraband of war" on the ground that it was required for the feeding of the population of this country as well as for our army.

It has been urged by Mr. W. E. Bear in the March *National Review* that our Ministers should be given the power of purchasing wheat for the requirements of the nation whenever in their opinion war might be imminent. It is obvious that if we were at war with either Russia or America, the market from which we could purchase would be a very limited one, and further, that, assuming that we could obtain sufficient quantities of wheat, there would be the probability of our Government finding themselves with huge purchases upon their hands for which no proper storage had been provided. For instance, it is but some few weeks ago that, in view of threatened complications, the Flying Squadron was commissioned. It is possible that if the above suggestion had been adopted, large quantities of wheat might have been purchased by the Government at the same time. Farmers, no doubt, would have had reason to be thankful, but what would have been the feelings of the unfortunate taxpayer? Apart from the invidious position in which the Government of the day would have been placed if called

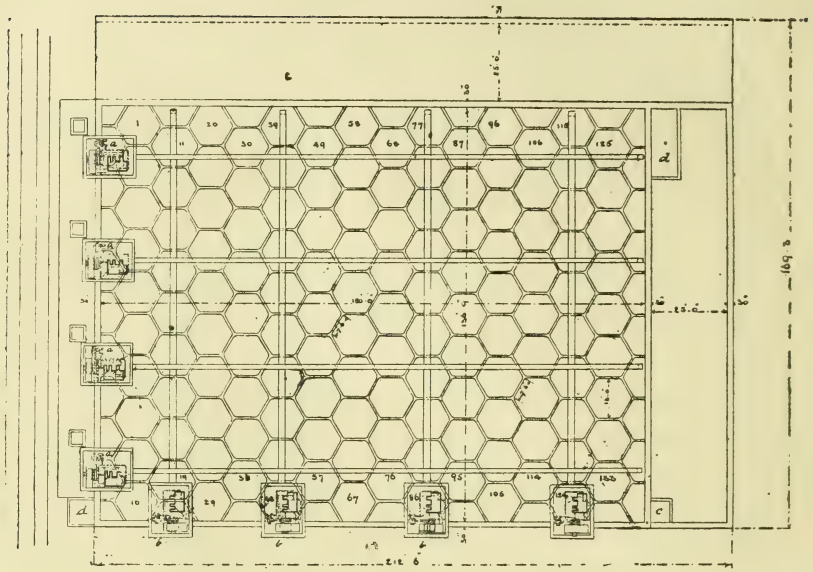
upon to exercise such a power as that proposed, I would point out that war conducted under modern conditions is not a matter that is arranged in formal terms some months, or even weeks beforehand, as the writer who proposes this plan appears to think. The Power that decides upon war makes all its preparations in advance, and does not proclaim its intention "upon the house-tops." The weak point in our armour, dependence upon foreign countries for our breadstuffs, is well known in every war office on the Continent. Is it probable, then, that even if the Government had the power of purchasing food when they considered war to be imminent, they would be given the opportunity of exercising it? When the war of the future comes upon us we may be sure that it will be "as a thief in the night."

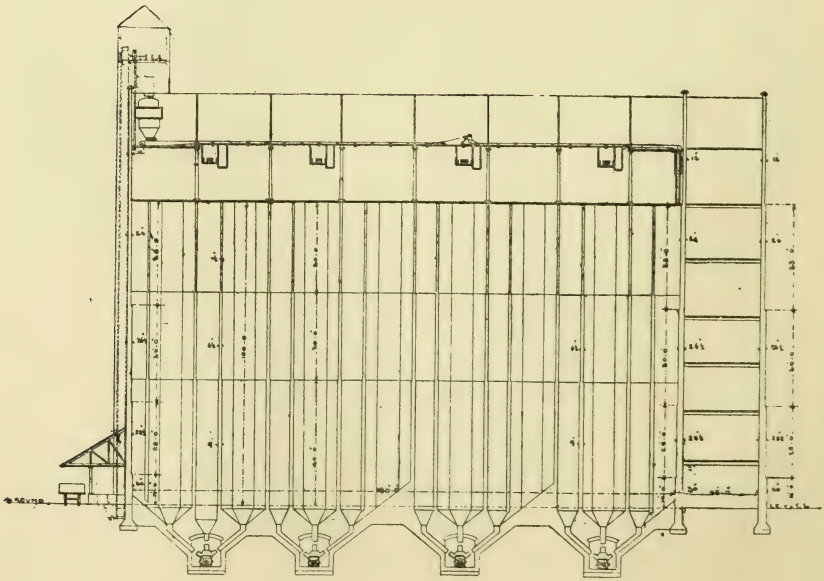
The plan that, in conjunction with Mr. Walbran Chapman, who has devoted much time and study to the question, I suggest for dealing with the difficulty is altogether a different one. We can claim for it, whatever other view may be taken of it, one merit, that of completeness. We propose that the Government should build granaries of the aggregate storage capacity of 10,000,000 quarters, which is about one-third of the present annual consumption of the United Kingdom, and should then proceed to purchase during a period extending over three years, 10,000,000 quarters of wheat and form therewith a wheat reserve for four months' requirements.

In granaries of modern construction, such as are described further on, wheat can be kept, and, speaking generally, improved in condition during three years. The Government would be able to sell one-third of the reserve every year without loss, replacing the matured wheat disposed of by new wheat of an equal amount. Articles advocating granaries have recently appeared from the pens of Mr. Marston and Major-General Rice. While we welcome the advocacy of these gentlemen, and have read with special pleasure the views of the latter as a wholesome antidote to those expressed by Lord Wolseley, we cannot agree with the methods they suggest. I will, therefore, as briefly as possible, sketch the plan that we propose. That we do not speak without some warranty in the matter will, I think, be admitted when I mention that since July of last year we have been engaged upon its consideration, and that in November Mr. Chapman paid a visit to Galatz, where, by the courtesy of the Roumanian Government, he was enabled to make a thorough inspection of the State granaries erected there in 1892. These granaries are of special interest, as the silos are built on what is known as the Monier system, and have stood during the three years they have been in existence the severe test of the extremes of heat and cold which are experienced in that climate.

SILO GRANARY.

CAPACITY 50,000 TONS.





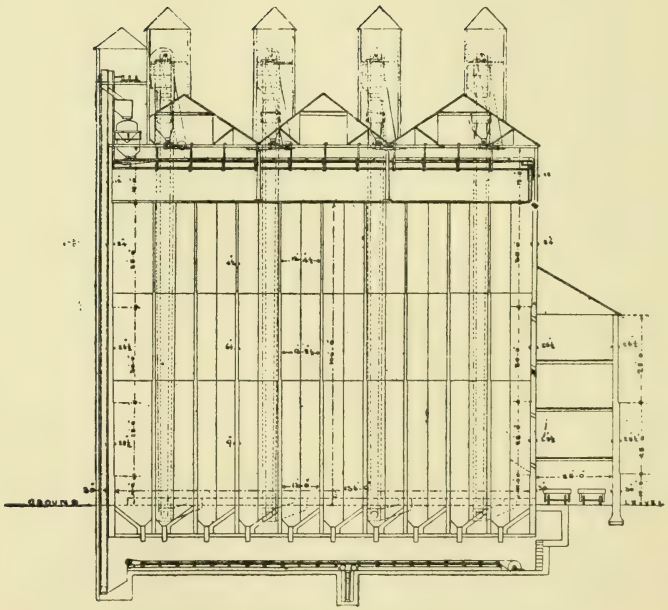
For those of my readers to whom the construction and use of a silo granary may not be familiar, an illustration is appended showing a design for one which has been prepared under Mr. Chapman's instructions. Its capacity is 50,000 tons of wheat, equal to 233,333 quarters. It will be seen that it consists of a block of vertical cells or bins, technically called silos, for storing the grain, and of a number of floors for the weighing, sacking, delivering, &c.

Elevators are provided for raising the grain from the bottom of the building to the top at the rate of 680 tons an hour. Carrying bands running about eight miles an hour receive the grain from the elevators, and by means of moveable throwing-off machines, which can be placed in such positions as may be required, conduct it into spouts whence it falls into the bins, where it can be stored for any desirable period, free from damp, foul air, insects, and vermin. For emptying the bins when required, moveable funnels or hoppers are used, which take the grain from suitable valves or doors at the bottom of the bins to sets of carrying bands underneath them for conveyance to delivery elevators.

Manual labour for handling the grain is entirely dispensed with, and the total contents of the granary can be turned over, *i.e.*, run out at the bottom of the bins and along the bands, and up again through the elevators and back into the bins, in a week. The grain is thus at one and the same time thoroughly aired, rubbed, and polished. There is no better means known for keeping grain in good condition than this, and, as it will be presently seen, none which can approach it in cheapness.

The general arrangement of the machinery shown in the design presents no novelty, but the party-walls of the silos, *i.e.*, the walls separating them from each other, are of a construction quite lately used for the first time in a building of this kind. It is satisfactory to add that it has given admirable results. The material used by the engineers of the Roumanian State granary at Galatz is concrete of a high quality, in which are embedded webs of iron wire, whereby the low resistance of the concrete to tensile stresses is made equal to its high resistance to compressive stresses. The result is that the party-walls can be constructed of less than half the thickness required to ensure the stability of brick walls, and the material is in all other respects excellent, and probably superior to any other for the treatment and preservation of wheat. This latter point is a matter of very special importance, because there is no doubt that British wheat which, on account of its large excess of moisture as compared with dry foreign wheat, it has been held could not be stored without injury in silo granaries, can be kept in sound condition for any reasonable time in these improved bins, provided it be first run through efficient drying and condition-

a a a a *Receiving elevators* 30 *tons per hour each, with weighing machines at top.*
b b b b *Delivery elevators* 1,120 *tons per hour each, with weighing machines at top. The delivery elevators can also be used for changing the grain from one silo to the other.*
c *Hydraulic lift.*
d d *Staircases.*



Scale of 20 *feet to* 1 *inch.*

ing plant which will reduce the percentage of moisture to that of fairly dry foreign grain.

After prolonged investigation the following estimates have been prepared:—

No. 1.—Capital Expenditure.

Cost of 43 silo granaries each of the capacity of 50,000 tons or 233,333 quarters of wheat, fully equipped with machinery for receiving 200 tons of grain per hour, and delivering 480 tons of grain per hour, which can be used as required for turning over the whole of the contents of the granary in one week; and all necessary machinery and buildings for the preliminary cleaning of foreign wheat, and for the preliminary cleaning and drying and conditioning of British wheat; inclusive of the cost of sites	£4,060,000
Cost of 10,000,000 quarters of wheat at, say, 35s. per quarter, delivered at the granaries	17,500,000
	£21,560,000

Note.—It is believed that if the purchase of the wheat is spread over a period of three years, special contracts can be made for the cultivation and delivery of wheat at this price or less.

No. 2.—Annual Charge for Interest, Working Expenses, and Maintenance.

Interest on capital expenditure, estimated as that on 2 per cent. Consols issued at par	£431,200
Working expenses, including wages, superintendence, inspection, central administration, coal, materials, printing, stationery, office rent, and travelling expenses	208,525
Depreciation, including repairs of building and machinery, and insurance	195,487
Brokerage	43,750
	£878,962
	Say £880,000

It is not to be supposed that any scheme for national granaries can escape criticism. Among the objections which have been taken to it three appear to me specially deserving of notice. The first of them is that the cost would be prohibitive.

In support of this objection an estimate has been put forward that the annual cost entailed by purchasing and storing 25,000,000 quarters would be £8,000,000.

The annual cost, therefore, of storing and purchasing 10,000,000 quarters would, in this calculation, be £3,200,000. It will be seen, however, from the estimate we give that the cost will be only £800,000, and I may further add that the estimates for the buildings and machinery have been submitted to contractors and manufacturing engineers of the first standing, who would be willing to execute the works at the prices given, and that the calculations of working expenses and depreciation and repairs have been verified and the amounts have been found to be sufficient by persons of thorough experience in the trade.

The second objection taken is that such a scheme would involve a Government monopoly of the entire wheat and flour trade. In reply to this I would point out that our proposal has the support of leading members of the corn trade, and that so far from involving such a monopoly the 3,333,000 quarters put on the market and the like amount bought to replace it every year would be dealt with in the usual way of business. Corn-brokers would act as intermediaries, and the seller in each case would pay the brokerage.

The third objection is that the scheme would annihilate wheat-growing in this country. I might say upon this point that one of our leading agricultural authorities, Mr. W. J. Harris, of Halwill Manor, Beaworthy, North Devon, who was some time ago Member for Poole, and who has been and still is a strong Protectionist, is of opinion that the result would undoubtedly be, in the first instance, to raise the price of wheat, or, to use his own words, "to lift it out of the rut." As the result of discussion upon the matter with persons of extended experience as to the farmers' present method of dealing with their wheat, I think it very probable that they would follow the example of their class in other countries, and derive substantial profit from the facilities afforded them for obtaining really good storage, hitherto completely unknown in this country.

Apart, however, from this point, it must, I think, be admitted by all who have any knowledge of this question, that wheat-growing with us can no longer, under existing conditions, be regarded as a paying industry. We stand to-day where the Danes stood twenty years ago. They then recognized that wheat growing must be abandoned for some more profitable branch of farming. Turning their attention to dairying and other kindred industries, they have, by the adoption of co-operative methods, so improved the position of their country that to-day it stands next to ourselves in wealth per head of the population. Our farmers, I am happy to say, are now following the example thus set them. The farming of the future, if it is to be a profitable industry, will, in my opinion, be the production by co-operation of articles of consumption, the sale of which will largely depend upon the prosperity of the country. The prosperity of the country itself, it will not be denied, will largely depend upon the preservation of peace. A war might benefit the few farmers who continue to grow wheat, but those who have turned their attention to dairying and other kindred industries would undoubtedly suffer serious loss in the general disturbance it would cause to trade. For my part, I can conceive of no better method of securing and assuring this prosperity than by acting upon the doctrine of George Washington, that "to be pre-

pared for war is one of the most effective means of preserving peace."

Are we then, I would ask, at the present time prepared for war? To this question I am compelled to answer "No." For let our navy be equal, if need be, to those of any three Powers combined, let our army be quadrupled, yet, if we have to depend in time of war upon sea-borne supplies of food, we are not, I submit, in the state of preparation that would have satisfied Washington. But with such a wheat reserve as is here proposed, we should make good the vulnerable point in our armour, and while prepared for any eventuality, we should be giving the best of all guarantees for the preservation of international peace, and carrying out the true policy of this country, "Defence, not defiance."

It is not, of course, to be expected that any Government could take up the large measure advocated without first ascertaining by the most careful and searching enquiry whether the proposal is practicable. What I would urge, then, is that the Government should appoint a commission of naval and military experts, associating with them gentlemen having special knowledge of our commerce and our corn trade, to consider this and any other plan that may be suggested for making us independent in time of war of foreign food supplies.

R. A. Yerburgh.

JOHN BYROM.

Who was John Byrom? That is a question to which, if it were set in an examination for students of English literature, an answer might reasonably be expected; but which, if put to less omniscient persons, might not improbably receive a rather vague reply. And yet an answer might be given which would awake some familiar associations. John Byrom was the author of two or three epigrams which for some reason have retained their vitality well into a second century of existence. The unmusical are still happy to recall the comparison between Handel and Buononcini, and to wonder that there should be such a difference between "tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee," though they are apt to assign to Swift instead of Byrom the credit of being the first worm to turn against the contempt of more happily endowed natures. There is the still more familiar verse, ending:

> "But who Pretender is, and who is King,
> God bless us all, that's quite another thing."

And there is a certain assault upon "Bone and Skin, two millers thin," which—though the real names of the millers and the circumstances which induced the declaration that flesh and blood could not bear them have long vanished out of all but antiquarian memories—have somehow continued to go on jingling in men's ears ever since 17th December, 1728. I have said enough to suggest more than one problem. What is the salt which has kept these fragments of rhyme so long alive? Is it due to the sound or the sense? Survival for a century has been given as the test which entitles a man to be called a classic. Does the survival of these little impromptus entitle Byrom to be a classic? May we call them pearls five lines long, that are to sparkle on the stretched forefinger of all time? That seems to be too lofty a claim. The thought is not by itself very subtle or very keen. And yet when we think how few are the writers who can blow even the frailest of word-bubbles which shall go floating down five or six generations, we must admit the fact to be remarkable. What is the quality which it indicates in the author? And here I might affect to take up the psychological method, show what are the peculiarities

necessarily implied by success in these little achievements; deduce from them what must have been the characteristics of Byrom's mind and temperament; and finally, by appealing to facts, show how strikingly the *à priori* reasoning would be confirmed by experience. I think that a little ingenuity might enable an ambitious critic to give plausibility to such a procedure; but I prefer to take a humbler method, for which sufficient materials have been lately provided. Byrom, I may remark, in the first place, is hardly thought, even by his warm admirers, to be other than a second-rate poet: now, need I appeal to the Latin grammar to prove that second-rate poetry is not generally worth reading? The reason is, I suppose, that a second-rate poet only does badly what has been done well, whereas even a tenth-rate historian or philosopher may be giving something new. That reason, at least, will do sufficiently well to suggest why an exception may be made in favour of some second-rate poetry. There are cases in which poetry not of the highest class reveals a peculiar charm of character. We cannot help loving the writer, though we admit that he was not a Dante, or a Shakespeare, nor even—in this case the comparison is more to the purpose—a Pope. The first condition of this kind of charm is, of course, perfect simplicity. The poet must be really showing us his heart, not getting upon stilts and trying to pour out epic poems and Pindaric odes, after the fashion of some of Byrom's contemporaries. Glover's *Leonidas* and Mason's odes have long been swept into the limbo where such things go; but the excellent Byrom, who is content to be himself, and whose self happened to be a very attractive one, may be still read with pleasure. Indeed, and this is what prompts me to speak of him just now, he has found an editor who reads him with enthusiasm as well as pleasure. Four handsome volumes* have recently been published by the Chetham Society under the care of Dr. Ward, principal of the Owen's College. Dr. Ward has done his work in the most loving spirit; he has pointed out with affectionate solicitude everything that strikes him as admirable in Byrom's poetry; he has not been so blinded by zeal as to try and force upon us admiration for the weaker pieces at the point of the critical bayonet; and he has given with over-flowing learning everything that a reader can possibly require for the due appreciation of incidental circumstances. I fear that I am not quite a worthy follower; my admiration of Byrom's poetry stops a little further this side of idolatry; and, therefore, I frankly admit that Dr. Ward is likely to be a better guide than I to those who are accessible to Byrom's charm. In such cases excess of zeal is far less blamable than defect. Still, I hope that in a liking for Byrom himself I am not altogether unworthy to follow in his admirer's steps;

* Two volumes, each in two parts, properly.

and it is of the man himself that I propose chiefly to speak. Byrom, as I think, is a very attractive example of a charming type of humanity; and shows qualities really characteristic of the period, though too often overlooked in our popular summaries. He flourished during the literary reigns of Addison and Pope; and the splendour of their fame is too often allowed to blind us to the peculiarities of some of the secondary luminaries.

Byrom has already been made known to us by his "remains," published for the Chetham Society some forty years ago. Of this, Dr. Ward says that, were it more widely known, it would be "one of the most popular works of English biographical literature." It is, I think, only fair to warn anyone who is tempted to rush at once to a library to procure this fascinating work, that it will not yield up its charm—a charm there certainly is—without a certain amount of perseverance. A good deal of it is a skeleton diary—mere statements of small facts, which, if interesting at all, are interesting only when you have enabled yourself to clothe the dry bones with the flesh and blood of reflection—and, moreover, Byrom is apt to be tantalizing, and to confine himself to brief notes just where we should be glad of a little more expansion. He meets Laurence Sterne, for example, and repeats not a word of his talk. After making this reservation, I can fully agree with Dr. Ward, that it is impossible to read through the book without deriving a charming impression of Byrom himself, and of the circle in which he especially delighted.

And now I will try to answer briefly the question from which I started. Who was Byrom? Byrom was the descendant of an old family long settled near Manchester. The Byroms of Byrom had dwindled down till they were represented by one Beau Byrom, who, in the time of his cousin, was consuming the last payments of the ancestral estates, was subsiding into a debtor's prison, and was not above accepting a half-crown from his more prosperous relative. The Byroms of Manchester were meanwhile prospering in business. Manchester was then a country town of some 30,000 inhabitants, beginning to take a certain interest in a Bill permitting a freer use of cotton; but not, as yet, feeling itself aggrieved by exclusion from a Parliamentary representation. The upper classes had a strong tincture of the Jacobitism prevalent in the Lancashire of those days; and John, born in 1692, was clearly brought up in this faith. He was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, then under the rule of the great Bentley, who was at the time beginning the famous legal warfare which was to display his boundless pugnacity and fertility of resource in litigation. Nobody was less inclined to sympathize with excessive quarrelsomeness than Byrom; but the young man, who became scholar and fellow of his college, was always on most friendly terms with the master. Bentley could be

good company when his antipathies were not aroused; and Byrom was welcomed to the great man's domestic circle. Incidentally this led to the performance which made him in a modest way famous for years to come. *The Spectator* had been revived in 1714, when Byrom was about to gain his fellowship. The young man sent a couple of papers which were published in the famous journal—a success sufficient to give him a kind of patent of authorship. He followed it up by the more successful "pastoral," addressed to Phebe. Phebe was Joanna or "Jug" Bentley, the master's youngest daughter. She was destined to be the mother of the Cumberland, described by Goldsmith as "*The Terence of England, the mender of hearts;*" but perhaps better known as Sheridan's *Sir Fretful Plagiary*. She was, as her son intimates, a witty young lady, sometimes coy and silent, and sometimes a little too smart in her satire. More than one of the college fellows were fascinated by her in later days, and even brought to take her father's side in his disputes. One of the superseded laments* her

> "haughtiness of mien,
> And all the father in the daughter seen."

At this period, though she was only eleven, she probably showed symptoms enough of these characteristics to suggest the tone of Byrom's famous verses. Famous they certainly were in his day, for his friends constantly ask him for copies; but perhaps they are not so famous now as to forbid a specimen. Colin is terribly put out by Phebe's absence.

> "My dog I was ever well pleaséd to see
> Come wagging his tail to my fair one and me:
> And Phebe was pleased too, and to my dog said,
> 'Come hither, poor fellow,' and patted his head.
> But now, when he's fawning, I with a sour look
> Cry 'Sirrah,' and give him a blow with my crook;
> And I'll give him another; for why should not Tray
> Be as dull as his master when Phebe's away?"

"I'll give him another," is a phrase for which I have often been grateful to the excellent Byrom. It gives a pleasant sanction to one's own humours. Though the metre limps a little in this stanza, it is often very dexterously used by Byrom; and the poem is worthy of a high place in the age of Mat Prior. Probably, though an absurd construction has been put upon the facts, the master was not the less friendly towards the young fellow for this compliment to his bright little daughter. "Mr. Spectator" judged rightly that it would divert his readers; and a Mr. Mills, years afterwards, "kissed the book" when he read it.

Byrom had some difficulty at the time in taking the oaths to the

* See his poem in *Nichol's Literary Anecdotes*, i., 244.

new family; and he made a rather mysterious journey soon afterwards to Montpelier. He professed to be studying medicine, and was afterwards often called "doctor." It was, however, strongly suspected that his journey had a political purpose. He certainly kissed the Pretender's hand at Avignon. He returned after a time to Manchester, where, in 1721, he married his cousin Elizabeth Byrom. His father was dead; and the family property had gone to his elder brother. Byrom was therefore in want of money, and the measure which he took for obtaining supplies was characteristic and led him into a peculiar career. Byrom would not have been the man he was without a hobby. In fact, he so far shared the spirit of the Shandy family that he had a whole stable of hobbies. He belongs on one side to the species which has been celebrated by so many of the eighteenth century humorists. He would have appreciated Sir Roger de Coverley, or Parson Adams, or Uncle Toby, or the Vicar of Wakefield. The kindly simplicity which takes a different colouring in each of those friends of our imagination was fully realized in Byrom. He was evidently overflowing with the milk of human kindness; attaching himself to every variety of person, from the great Bentley to the burlesque Sam Johnson, author of *Hurlothrumbo;* appreciating them as cordially as Boswell, and alienated by nothing but censorious harshness. But, through all, he has a quaint turn of mind which shows alternately the two aspects of genuine humour; a perception of the absurd side of other people's crotchets, or an addiction to some pet crotchet of his own. Now the great discovery upon which he prided himself was a system of shorthand. He had, it seems, invented a system in combination with a friend at college; and he now bethought himself of turning this invention to account. Shorthand was by no means a novelty; and we all remember how Pepys had turned it to account; but Byrom's was, so he believed, the very perfection of shorthand—"Beauty, Brevity, and Perspicuity" were, he says, its characteristics. He set about propagating the true faith with infinite zeal. In London he found a rival, one Weston, who was making a living by giving lessons in the art. Weston challenged him to display his skill, and put bragging advertisements in the papers to claim superiority. Byrom felt that his dignity might be compromised by a contest with a commonplace teacher. His own shorthand was founded on scientific principles and was a mystery to be imparted to the nobility and gentry, whereas Weston was a mere empiric, and moreover, a vulgar person who talked broad Scotch. Byrom, therefore, retorted only by some humorous remarks, and apparently made peace with his humble rival. He served as umpire at a contest between Weston and another pretender to the art, and laid down

the law with the lofty superiority of a fellow of the Royal Society. When invited to take notes at a famous law case in those days he doubts his own ability and even recommends a trial of Weston. His own shorthand was too good, he seems to imply, to be exposed to the vulgar test of mere speed of writing. Experts, in fact, say that its defects in this respect led to its being superseded in the next generation. Meanwhile, however, Byrom not only believed himself, but collected a body of believers. They formed a shorthand society; they had periodical meetings, and addressed each other as "brothers in shorthand." Byrom was greeted as Grand-Master, and pronounced a solemn oration at their first gathering. Its preparation during two or three previous weeks is noted in his journals. He takes the highest possible tone. He humorously traces back his art to the remotest antiquity; he intimates that Plato probably used shorthand to take down the conversation of Socrates, and finds shorthand even in Egyptian hieroglyphics. The divine Tully, however, is his great model, and he shows by an ingenious emendation (notare for natare) that the Emperor Augustus taught his nephews not to swim, but to take notes. He points out that amidst all the vices of Caligula, one which was thought to deserve notice was his ignorance of shorthand. Making a rapid bound over the intervening period, with one brief touch at the Abbot Trithemius, he appeals to the patriotism of his hearers to support what was at this time held to be a specially English art. A formal paper is drawn up, beginning, *Quod felix faustum que sit* and declaring that the signers will form a society, *ad tachygraphiam nostram ediscendam promovendam et perpetuandam in secula seculaorum, Amen.*

The meetings of the shorthanders naturally took place at taverns, and they formed a kind of club after the fashion of the day. Byrom took five guineas from each aspirant to the art, and a promise not to divulge the secret. They had apparently very pleasant meetings, and diverged from shorthand into discussions of politics, theology, free-will, and things in general. On one occasion, for example, when Byrom observes that he was in "a talking humour," which was certainly not rare, he discusses the Babylonian and Coptic letters, the probabilities of the devil being saved, and "Dr. Dens' drawer of daggers." Unluckily, the remarks which threw light upon these topics are not reported. The society seems to have done its duty in loyally spreading its president's fame. Great men became his pupils. The most famous in early years was Lord Chesterfield; Horace Walpole afterwards took some lessons. His warmest friend was the amiable philosopher, David Hartley, who cordially supported him in efforts to raise a subscription for a publication of his method once for all. Although

this came to nothing, Byrom, in 1742, obtained an Act of Parliament which gave him the right of publishing and teaching for twenty-one years.

It was while he was engaged upon this propaganda that most of the diary was written. Manchester, of course, did not afford aspirants enough to maintain a teacher. Byrom had, therefore, to leave his family and pass months together in London and at Cambridge, where he had kept up many friendships. Travelling, of course, was a serious business. He generally makes two days of the fifty miles from London to Cambridge, though he once does it without an upset in less than nine hours. Now and then there is mention of a coach, but he is generally on horseback. Sometimes he rides post on "little hobbling horses," which leave him with aching arms after forty or fifty miles. Oftener it seems that he buys a horse at Manchester for five pounds or so, and sells it when he gets from London, and his horses are apt to turn out blind or lame. Once he collects a party of half-a-dozen friends and makes a walking tour from London, through Oxford, Worcester, and Shrewsbury to Manchester. It is to be regretted that he scarcely gives more than glimpses of these little tours. They suggest dimly the days when the wanderer had to plunge through labyrinths of muddy lanes; when he had to take a guide from one halting-place to another, and make enquiries of knowing persons as to the proper turning where you should leave the great northern road to diverge to Manchester. I see no indications, either here or in the poems, that the excellent Byrom cared for "nature" in the shape of scenery. He had none of the love for field sports—which in those days might serve as an excuse for enjoying the country. "Nay," he observes, when someone sends him a hare,

> "Nay, should one reflect upon cruelty's source,
> In the gentlemen butchers, the Hunt, and the Course,
> 'Twere enough to prevent either pudding or jelly
> From storing such carcase within a man's belly!"

Here and there he has an adventure. He has a gift for falling in with the most deserving beggars, poor soldiers who have been "in slavery" somewhere, and the like; and gives them money and letters to his friends. Once, in Epping Forest, on the way to Cambridge, he has the proper meeting with a highwayman. Of course, he takes it good-humouredly, as an excellent pretext for a copy of verses. The highwayman's bad language runs spontaneously into rhyme; and in proper epical style the ruffian is put to flight by the mock-heroic vision of the "Goddess Shorthand, bright celestial maid!" In sober prose, the highwayman goes off with a guinea of Byrom's, and Byrom expects to see him again in the neighbour-

hood of Tyburn. Byrom, however, is really happy when he is in the full stream of society. One of his friends describes a typical London day from imagination, which, as the diary shows, is very nearly correct. He generally gets up late, we are sorry to observe, but he has often been sitting up at a club, or sometimes studying Hebrew till two or three in the morning. He has a meagre dish of tea, reads the equally meagre papers, and groans over his absence from Mrs. Byrom and his family. Then he turns out to give a lesson in shorthand. He is tempted to "a hedge-booksellers in some bye-lane." He is in the habit of denouncing the love of book-buying as a vanity, but he cannot resist it. He buys some queer old volume—mystical divinity if possible—and, to do him justice, seldom gets to a pound and often descends to fourpence. Afterwards he drops in upon friendly Dr. Hartley and his charming wife, and discusses the chances of a subscription for his book. He fills up time by an interview with a member of some eccentric sect; and, finally, meets a knot of friends at a tavern. Byrom, of course, was strictly temperate, though he seems to have tried his digestion by some rather odd mixtures (such as cream and ale), and equally, of course, he is, though not quite systematically, a vegetarian. He would have been an anti-vaccinationist, and already denounces inoculation. His friends dearly like to pay him little compliments by asking for a copy of "My time, O ye Muses," or his epigram on Handel and Buononcini. Now and then he extemporizes a copy of verses on the appearance of the president of a club, for example, in "a black bob-wig." What can be the cause?

> "A phrenzy? or a periwigmanee
> That overruns his pericranie?"

That he could enjoy some amusements which seem scarcely in character is proved by the verses on Figg and Sutton—done into prose in Thackeray's *Virginians*, and Dr. Ward has to remind us that this was "not a brutal prize-fight," but an ultra vigorous "assault-at-arms." The line seems rather hard to draw. Byrom at least sympathizes with the familiar sentiment about the "British Grenadier."

> "Were Hector himself, with Apollo to back him,
> To encounter with Sutton,—zooks! How he would thwack him!
> Or Achilles, though old Mother Thetis had dipt him,
> With Figg—odds my life! how he would have unript him!"

Another of Byrom's characteristic performances was prompted by his interest in his fellow townsman, Samuel Johnson, a fiddler and dancing master, who produced a strange medley called *Hurlothrumbo*. Dr. Ward, who has read it, as in duty bound, says that it is sheer burlesque, though some critics seem to be haunted by an

uncomfortable suspicion that its apparent madness conceals some sparks of genius. Anyhow, Byrom took it as farce, and partly for the fun of the thing, and partly from a good-natured wish to be of use to the author, contributed an amusing epilogue and attended the first performance in London. There were seven or eight "garters" in the pit; Byrom led the *claque*. The audience took the joke. The play ran for thirty nights; the name got a place in popular slang, and Johnson appears to have been grateful, whether he quite perceived or not that Byrom was laughing in his sleeve. "For my part," says Byrom to his wife, "who think all stage entertainments stuff and nonsense, I consider this as a joke upon 'em all."

This, indeed, marks Byrom's peculiar vein. Hitherto, I have spoken of him as an admirably good-natured humorist and lover of harmless fun. He can go to a tavern or Figg's "amphitheatre" and, to all appearance, throw himself into the spirit of the performances as heartily as any of his companions. Yet, at the same time, he was a man of very deep and peculiar religious sentiments. In this matter of the play, he gradually came, it seems, to take a stricter view. The denunciation of the stage by the nonjuror, Jeremy Collier, had become famous. Arthur Bedford, an orthodox clergyman, had (in 1719) collected 7,000 "immoral sentiments from British dramatists" to prove the same point, and William Law, Byrom's great teacher, had demonstrated in a treatise the absolute unlawfulness of stage entertainments (1726), and had elsewhere declared that "the play-house was as certainly the house of the devil as the church was the house of God." Byrom was, perhaps, one of those people who could not be too hard even upon the "puir de'il." He was, at least, willing to try the effect of good-humoured raillery on the evil one before proceeding to stronger measures. When one of his friends complained of Law's severity, Byrom is evidently puzzled. His reverence for Law struggles with a sense that in this case the oracle was rather harsh. But in other matters Byrom's loyalty was boundless. Byrom's interest in various representatives of the religious speculations of the time is shown constantly in his diaries. He meets William Whiston, the successor to Newton's professorship, who had been deprived of his place as a heretic, and went about in all societies (he appears in the well-known picture of Tunbridge Wells with Richardson, Chesterfield, and the rest) trying to propagate what he took to be primitive Christianity. Dr. Primrose, as we know, was unlucky enough to be converted to his doctrine of monogamy. In simplicity and honesty he was worthy to make friends with Byrom; but, to say the truth, he appears in the diary rather in the character of a conceited bore. He had not Byrom's saving sense of humour. Then there was

Edward Elwall, who was tried for blasphemy because he taught the "perpetual obligation" of the Jewish law, and consequently wore a beard and a Turkish habit (the last out of respect, we are told, for the Mahommedans), and shut his shop on Saturdays. King George, he said, according to Dr. Johnson, if he were afraid to dispute with a poor old man, might bring a thousand of his blackguards with him; and, if that would not do, a thousand of his red guards. He seems, however, to have got out of his troubles, and was duly interviewed by Byrom. Byrom met more remarkable personages. He knew something of the Wesleys, and he had one of the few recorded interviews with Bishop Butler. They had a long discussion as to the claims of reason and authority. The bishop, one may guess, got rather the best of it, as Byrom admits that he was himself too warm, while the bishop was conspicuously mild and candid. Unluckily, Byrom was an inadequate Boswell, and is so anxious to record his own argument on behalf of authority that he does not quite let us know what Butler had to say for reason. Law, however, is by far the most conspicuous figure. Law, when Byrom first went to see him (4th March, 1729), was living in the house of old Mr. Gibbon at Putney, and acting as tutor to the younger Gibbon, afterwards father of the historian. He had been at Cambridge in Byrom's time, had got into difficulties for his Jacobite proclivities, and, by refusing to take the oaths, had cut himself off from an active clerical career. Byrom would sympathize with him upon this ground; but it was the recently published *Serious Call* which led to the new connexion. Byrom bought the book in February, 1729, and at once felt the influence, which made its perusal a turning-point in the lives of many eminent men of the day. To him it was especially congenial. Law afterwards became a disciple of Jacob Böhme, and Byrom, though he accepted the later utterances with reverence, confessed that they were above his comprehension. Of such matters, I may say that at a later period Law might probably have been, like Coleridge, a follower of Schelling, and have clothed his thought in the language of transcendental metaphysics rather than of the old theosophy. He was no mere dreamer or word-maker. If to his contemporaries he seemed to be talking mere jargon, later critics have thought that his position showed a real insight into the intellectual deficiencies of the time. But, in any case, he was, as Gibbon declares, "a wit and a scholar"; had not his mind been "clouded with enthusiasm" he would have been one of the most agreeable authors of the day; and his portraits in the *Serious Call* are "not unworthy of the pen of La Bruyère." These compliments from Gibbon are significant. Neither Law nor Byrom were contemporaries of Addison and Pope for nothing. However far they were from the

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

ordinary tone of religion and philosophy, they could both mix in the society of the day; and write as brightly and observe as keenly as the ordinary frequenter of clubs and coffee-houses. Their mysticism was not mere muddle. They show that a man may have the sparkle and clearness of the wits of Queen Anne allied with a steady flow of sweet and tender sentiment.

Byrom had already shown his fitness to be a disciple of Law. One of his pleasantest copies of verses tells how, in 1727, he bought a picture of Malebranche, a philosopher naturally revered by both. Byrom describes his eagerness in going to the auction, his palpitations when the portrait of the great teacher was brought out, the haste with which he advanced his biddings, and how he gets the picture for three pounds five shillings. His ecstasy is indescribable! Let your duchesses throw away ten times as many guineas on pictures of nobodies by famous artists. Byrom has got his Malebranche, "the greatest divine that e'er lived upon earth," whips into a coach, calls to the driver to go as fast as he can spin; deposits the treasure at his chambers, and summons his friend to come and rejoice; let him bring a friend or two to "mix metaphysics, and shorthand, and port." What, he exclaims, can "be more clever?"

"Huzza! Father Malebranche, and Shorthand for ever!"

The *Serious Call* inspired another poem. When Byrom, a few days after reading it, made his first call upon the author, he had in his pocket a versification of a quaint parable which it contains. Law compares the man whose heart is set upon the world to a person with a monomania about a pond. He passes his life in trying to keep the pond full, and is finally drowned in it. This struck Byron's fancy. He expands it into a fable in verse, and ventures to show his performance to Law himself. Law laughed and begged him not to turn the whole book into verse, "for then it would not sell in prose—so the good man can joke." This was before the rise of the Authors' Society. In later days Law encouraged Byrom to versify other works, and seems to have thought that the effect would be to advertize the prose. He calls Byrom his laureate.

Byrom, I suspect, did not contribute much to Law's popularity. The poems had not a large circulation. Some of his other religious poems have great merits. Of an early paraphrase of the 23rd Psalm I will only say that Dr. Ward endorses the statement of a Mr. Hedges, that he "would give all the world to have been able to have done them." It is in the same metre as the pastoral, and like that poem owes its charm to the entire simplicity which enables Byrom as a reverential interpreter to catch the charm of that masterpiece of Hebrew poetry. Another poem,

"Christians awake! salute the happy morn,
Whereon the Saviour of the world was born,"

has been often reprinted, and is given in Hymns Ancient and Modern. I may infer that it is quite as familiar to my readers as to myself. It probably marks Byrom's highest level, though some other of his religious poems, especially those in which he celebrates his favourite virtue, contentment, have the same charm. They breathe, at least, the sweetness and simplicity of the writer's own character. I will quote one little fragment as at once brief and characteristic :—

"O happy Resignation!
That rises by its fall!
That seeks no exaltation,
But wins by losing all;
That conquers by complying,
Triumphing in its lot;
That lives when it's a-dying,
And is when it is not!"

The longer pieces, in which Byrom versified Law's works with more or less closeness, come nearer to the conventional style of the period, and drop pretty frequently into the flat of mere rhymed prose. One of the longer, upon "Enthusiasm," may be mentioned as symptomatic of Byrom's position. Our ancestors understood by "enthusiasm" the state of mind of the fanatical sects of the Commonwealth, or of the "French Prophets" of the eighteenth century. An enthusiast meant a believer in a sham inspiration. The gradual change of the word to a complimentary meaning marks the familiar change, which was also shown by the development of sentimentalism in literature. Byrom, following Law pretty closely, takes "enthusiasm" to mean devotion to some end, and is good or bad, according to the goodness or badness of the end. Everybody must have some aim. The enthusiasm which he shared with Law meant a serious belief in Christianity, and the worldly only scoffed because they were equally enthusiastic about some really inferior aim. A few verses will show how far Byrom could follow in the steps of Pope. Expanding a sentence of Law's, he compares the classical enthusiast with the Christian. The scholar is grieved when he sees,

"Time, an old Goth, advancing to consume
Immortal Gods and once eternal Rome;
When the plain Gospel spread its artless ray
And rude uncultured Fishermen had sway;
Who spared no Idol, tho' divinely carved,
Tho' Art and Muse and Shrine-engraver starved;
Who saved *poor wretches* and destroyed, *alas!*
The vital marble and the breathing brass.
Where does all Sense to him and Reason shine?
Behold, in Tully's rhetoric divine!

'Tully'! Enough; high o'er the Alps he's gone,
To tread the ground that Tully trod upon;
Haply, to find his statue or his bust,
Or medal green'd with Ciceronian rust;
Perchance, the Rostrum—yea, the very wood
Whereon this elevated genius stood.
When forth on Catiline, as erst he spoke,
The thunder of '*Quousque tandem*' broke."

Byrom is beginning to forget even Tully's merits as a shorthand writer. He follows Law towards the condemnation, not only of the stage, but of classical scholarship and art in general.

It does not appear, however, that Byrom ever got quite so far. Law retired to his curious hermitage at King's Cliffe, where he could abandon himself to pious meditation and the demoralization of the neighbourhood by profuse charity. Byrom was held fast by his domestic ties; and took an interest in the local politics of Manchester. His talent for versification gave him frequent employment. He contributed a number of verses, in the nature of election squibs, to a newspaper of the period, and whenever he had an argument with a friend, he twists his logic into verse. Some of the results are quaint enough. Tempted, apparently, by Bentley's example, he had made a variety of conjectural emendations of Horace, obviously rash if not altogether absurd. But it could have entered into no less whimsical head to put the arguments for them into rhyme. He suggests *unum* for *nonum* in the familiar passage,

"I take the correction, *unumque prematur*
'Let it lie for one twelvemonth'—Ah, that may hold water!"

and argues the point through twelve eight-lined stanzas. Another "poem" is an antiquarian discussion, showing that St. Gregory and not St. George was the patron saint of England; he proves in another that the locusts eaten by the Baptist were fruit, not insects; in a third, that the miracle at the Pentecost was worked upon the hearers, not the speakers.

"'Are not these,' said the men, the devout of each land,
'Galileans that speak, whom we all understand?'
As much as to say, 'By what wonderful powers
Does the tongue Galilean become to us ours?'"

With equal readiness he enters into an elaborate exegetical discussion, defending Sherlock against Conyers Middleton; expounds the orthodox doctrine of the fall of man and justification by faith; condemns Jonathan Edwards' arguments upon free-will, or versifies some prayer or letter that has struck him in reading memoirs or treatises of mystical divinity. The worthy Byrom, it must be added, did not take his own performances in

this line too seriously. They were an amusement—a quaint whim characteristic of an oddly constituted brain; and one fancies that when he forces even Hebrew and Greek into the fetters of his "cantering rhymes," and twists dry grammatical discussion into comic metres, he feels that the process takes the bitterness out of controversy and enables him to treat thorny subjects in a vein of pleasantry. It is characteristic that he came into collision with the colossal Warburton, who had treated Law with his usual brutality, and that even Warburton found it desirable for once to be civil to so amiable an antagonist.

Byrom's activity in the shorthand business declined after the death of his brother in 1740 gave him the family estates. In 1745 he was presented to the Chevalier in Manchester; but luckily did not commit himself in any dangerous way to answering his own question, Which was King and which was Pretender? Byrom was very near the Quakers in such matters. In a poem on the occasion his hero, representing Lancashire in dialect and common-sense, decides, in spite of patriotic taunts, to look after his own carcase and leave Highlanders and redcoats to fight it out. Byrom obviously approves. Nobody, as other poems prove, could be less given to the worship of Jingo. He tried vainly to save some young friends, less prudent than himself, convicted of joining the rebels—and, of course, wrote his petition in verse. He protested, too, in verse, and with equal want of success, against the denunciators of Admiral Byng. He died a few years later (1763). He was not buried as the law directed, in woollen. His executors had to pay £5 as a fine. As Byrom does not appear to have left any verses to justify the failure we may perhaps assume that the omission was not due to any final whim of his own. He would hardly have missed such a chance for a poem. Few kindlier men have been buried either in woollen or linen.

LESLIE STEPHEN.

THE HUMOROUS ASPECT OF CHILDHOOD.

One fears that if one could obtain by ballot the honest opinion of parents respecting their progeny, the preponderant vote would be in favour of the view that they were a plague rather than an amusement. And if, as we know, this very "plaguiness" becomes a prominent element in vulgar comedy, it seems plain that the object of the laughter is not the "little brat" itself, but rather the afflicted parent who has to endure its torments, being bound to the tormentor by the strongest of bonds, parental instinct.*

To a happy minority, however, it is known that, mischievous worrying imp as he can be, the child is infinitely entertaining, and that his wanton mischief itself loses much of its serious aspect when it is regarded from the point of view of the enlightened and all-tolerant humorist. It is to illustrate this point of view, to show how much of the delight of laughter may come to us by way of child-observation, that this paper is penned.

It is easy to see that childhood lends itself to very different levels of merriment. The rude impulse of the savage and the schoolboy to laugh at what shows want of knowledge and skill, will if it cares to look for it find much to its liking in the misunderstandings and other bunglings of the infant.

The spectacle of the uninstructed mite as he makes his first wild shots at the explanation of things, or at the lines of behaviour fitting a new situation in life, is eminently flattering to that sense of superiority in us which, according to some philosophers, lies at the fountain-head of all our mirth. Yet it is to be noticed that this primitive laughter when directed towards childhood loses something of its pungency. Even the confident school-boy when at his glorious height he consents to be amused by the first essays in philosophy of the "little kid" laughs with a good-natured tolerance. None of us, not even the youngest of us, really entertains a true contempt for these small irresponsible people; and

* A good example of this kind of comedy is Hood's well known poem, *A Parental Ode to my Son*, where the effect of impish mischief is heightened by the situation of the poet-father bent on singing the child's praises. A more subtle appreciation of this "plaguiness," side by side with the charm of infancy, is to be found in Mr. W. Canton's poem, *A Philosopher*.

perhaps the school-boy's good-natured smile at the little kid's "bosh" is the first manifestation of that mellow blend of sentiment which we call humour.

One of the things we shall see as we go along is that in laughing at childhood and its ways we are often enjoying a gentle side-blow at something else. This meets us very low down in the scale. As already hinted the laughter which is unerringly provoked from the gallery by a good emphatic "Drat the baby" may be really aimed at the discomfited parental authority. A good half at least of the laughableness of children's sayings and doings, as appreciated by the crowd, is due to the circumstance that they daringly set aside the solemn restraints which weigh heavily on us older folk, and are apt to round on the authorities in a most inconvenient way. Childish irreverences are, as we know, a staple article among popular jokes. Nothing in "the little kid" calls forth quite as hearty a laughter from the big schoolboy brother as a rather shocking poke at some weighty dignity, as when the younster naïvely talks about the clergyman's surplice as his "night-gown," and not satisfied with this goes on to pronounce it less pretty than his own. Even with people higher in the scale of culture, these unconscious profanities of privileged infancy appear to constitute a favourite dish. A glance at *Pictures from Punch* will suffice to show that the *enfant terrible* who ignores our conventions and makes us look uncommonly foolish by letting out the naked truth to visitors and others, is an unfailing entertainment to the British mind—perhaps because this mind is dimly aware of the unusually large load of hypocrisies which it habitually carries. Another thing which strikes one here is that this British mind especially enjoys infantile mimicries of its native insolences and its rather brutal manners. A people that can laugh at the smartness of the little miss who pretends to frighten a very thin old gentleman by telling him that her big dog likes bones, would seem pretty plainly to betray its deep-seated love of rudeness, a fact which was possibly present to the talented artist who contributed the sketch, and whose foreign detachment helps perhaps to give him so true an aim in satirizing our ways.

Much of what I should call the humorous side of childhood, however, is invisible to those who enjoy this kind of obvious joke. To see this side readily and unerringly one must have much more of an interest in children than is implied in making them our occasional playthings. What we especially mean by humorous observation includes a measure of love. No man sees all the delicious quaintness of childhood till he falls in love with it: and our humorous observation of it is only one side of our love.

To illustrate the difference let us go back to Mr. Punch's Effie,

the maiden of three, or thereabonts, who would terrify the thin bony gentleman with her huge St. Bernard. A humorist who can think as well as laugh, and has an ear for all the voices of things, would find something to enjoy here too, though it would not be wholly, if at all, in the caricature of British rudeness, for the humorist is a gentle creature. He might feel a certain quaint charm in the implied childish reasoning that because small people are frightened at small dogs, grown-ups ought to be frightened at big ones. He might appreciate a comic pathos in the situation of the tiny maiden eager to exchange for a brief delicious moment by the aid of her trusty St. Bernard the habitual position of terrified mite for that of terrifying giant. He might even go further, and reflect how much of older human nature there is in this tiny girl's wish to turn the tables on her masters. In such ways by swift and half-conscious movements of thought the kind of humorist I am thinking of might get his fill of a new complex sentiment, in which all the harshness of primitive laughter is subdued by the presence of kindliness.

When the love and thoughtfulness thus add themselves to our laughter, almost any part of children's ways and wiles may become amusing. If a child is only left perfectly free to develop his own ideas and tastes, the humorous glance may nearly always detect something sweetly entertaining.

One domain of children's activity which is highly entertaining to the humorous eye is their imitation of older folk. In their serious doings, in their manners, in their speech, yea, even in the private sphere of their play, they are always imitating us. Now, there is nothing in mere imitation which need be comical. A good deal of childish imitation is passed over by us as something quite natural and right; a good deal more pleases us by flattering us without particularly amusing us. When it does amuse us it must be because of its circumstances and surroundings. In copying our ways these small people are carrying them over into a new and in many respects unlike world. Just as some piece of human reproof becomes comical when echoed by the talkative and least moral looking bird, so our doings and sayings are very apt to take on something of a delightful quaintness when transported into the new circumstances of child-life.

Such quaintness may be obvious, meeting the eye in some charming assumption of old-fashioned gesture, tone of voice, or other outer characteristic of the grown-up.* A little girl donning the grand airs of her mamma or grandmamma, or scolding her

* The humorous effect of donning grown-up garments belongs to a lower level of fun. An example may be found in William Miller's poem. *The Wonderfu' Wean* (*The Children of the Poets*, p. 146).

dog, her doll, or possibly herself in a perfect reproduction of the severely corrective tones of her adult rulers can hardly fail to be amusing. Childish mimicry grows quainter where the trait mimicked is far-removed from the conditions and circumstances of child-life. To watch children unobserved at their old-fashioned play is the surest way to secure this kind of humorous presentation. Heine gives us a delightful example of this comic side of child's play :

"Wir sassen auch oft und sprachen
Vernünftig wie alte Leut',
Und klagten, wie Alles besser
Gewesen zu unserer Zeit ;

"Wie Lieb' und Treu' und Glauben
Verschwunden aus der Welt,
Und wie so theuer der Kaffee,
Und wie so rar das Geld !"

The imitation of our cumbrous speech by the tiny lips gives occasion to much that is wholly entertaining. The earnestness of the desire to reproduce our exact words, coupled with the insufficiency of the means at hand, makes the realm of infantile language particularly valuable to a lively humour. To hear, for example, one of these small people confidently laying down the law to another by such a bold misquotation as the following, "Children should be sawed and not spoke," or reproducing a text, half heard perhaps in a drowsy moment, as "Many are cold but few are frozen," could hardly fail, one supposes, to raise a smile from the most inveterate of misopædists. There is a subtler humour perhaps in some of children's carefully prepared syntax, as when a little girl of five, on hearing that some one had had a good time in a boat, remarked, "I *wish* I was there to have been !"

A special quality of humour belongs to those imitations in which the small person, in perfect *naïveté*, ignores what we call the appropriateness of the action or form of speech. In reproducing our doings a child is apt to set aside, in his lordly fashion, our awkward restrictions. We are under the impression that reproof is only appropriate when issuing from a superior in years or standing—not so the little philosopher. He takes our forms of condemnation and commendation and generalizes them, applying them with an excellent impartiality to his seniors. The little boy of two who, when told sharply by his papa to go to sleep, retorted, "Arsum (Arthur, the father's name), you s'ould speak nicely," must, one is inclined to say, have had an unusually clear perception of what older philosophers call the impartiality of the moral law.

Prettier and more amiable examples of this childish impartiality in reproducing our forms of language meet us in their first essays at sociability, condolence, helpfulness, and the like. A little boy

was left alone with an elderly lady. She made an advance by asking him how old he was. Whereupon, wishing not to be outdone, and following her cue, he replied, "Five, and how old are you?" Here surely it is the perfect straightforwardness of the child-mind which charms us, and transforms the drollness of the mere conventional unsuitability, or "bad form," as we call it, into something lovable. A like charming imitation of our behaviour meets us in the remark of a little girl, who being told by her mother (or was it her nurse?) that she had forgotten to give her the promised sweetmeat last night, answered, "I forgive you." The notion of the wee thing's forgiving her painstaking, much-tried guardian, strikes us, no doubt, at our highly conventional level, as grotesque enough, yet close scrutiny may possibly discover something to love and even to revere in this larger interpretation of our current forms. Here is an example of an early attempt at childish apology in difficult circumstances, where the effect of the sweet *naïveté* is heightened by the oddity of the language. A little girl of five or so, coming downstairs one morning at an unusually early hour, apologizes for her presence by saying, "I didn't hear you call me, so I came down on my own opinion." Hardly less droll is the attempt at consolation of a boy of three and a half years. Being reproached by his nurse for putting a big piece in his mouth, he observed with what looks an admirable forgetfulness of any risk to himself and consideration for his over-anxious guardian, "Never mind, Nana, it is dettin ittoo" (getting little).

As I have said the humorous trait of these performances never resides wholly in the imitation itself. A child, though apishly mimetic, is more than apishly inventive, and his inventiveness is apt to take grotesque forms. This quaint originality shows itself in some of the examples just given. In many of the amusing stories of child-life it becomes the chief recognizable source of our humorous gratification.

This delightful freshness comes in part from the very simplicity and openness of child-nature. These small folk are eminently unconventional in the sense that they have not learned to disguise their feelings and wishes. They have a way of describing their impressions of persons which is apt to seem shocking to the exacting formalist, but is highly agreeable to a humorous onlooker. A child cannot understand why he is allowed to give full expression to his likes but not to his dislikes: and there is something undoubtedly entertaining in the freshness of his point of view. His wishes are revealed with the same unstinting candour. An American boy of three, exclaimed to his little companion, who had just donned a new suit of clothes, "I wish you'd die!" and on being naturally enough asked for his reason by the person in-

terested, replied, "Why, if you died I could have your new clothes." Such brutally frank egoism ought perhaps to shock us; yet when we remember that this homicidal imprecation emanated from a mite of three, we permit ourselves to smile. Perhaps, too, we reflect that shocking as it is, it has at least the virtue of candour and contrasts not unfavourably in this respect with many naughty wishes of older folk.

The instinctive veracity of children (when not corrupted) may become a fertile source of what strikes us adults, addicted to compromise, as whimsicalities. Our laughter springs, no doubt, out of a perception of the odd incongruity. Yet our love of truth tempers the laughter, sweetening it with something of a tender admiration. The spectacle takes on a pathetico-comic aspect when a silly attempt is made to force the little clear-eyed truth-lover to adopt our sophisticated view of things. These small people love to say the thing which pleases, but they love yet more to say what they think; and foolish mothers and others must not be surprised if now and again their children refuse to utter the agreeable words expected of them. So it may happen in trying to force their acceptance of miracles and other apparent contradictions to what they know. Mr. Punch skilfully touched on this feature of childhood in describing the attempt of a well-intentioned clerical inspector to compel a small lad to accept the miracle of the sun appearing in the middle of the night. With irritating firmness the little fellow, whose country life had no doubt made him as familiar with the nocturnal as with the diurnal sky, said first that what was seen was the moon; then that if the statement were pressed he should call it a lie; and, finally, that if it were affirmed by no less an authority than the clerical speaker himself, he would be prepared to say "yer wasn't sober."

This native openness grows more amusing when it peeps through a thin veneer of our culture. Here the sharp contrast which is of the life of humour quickens the sense of incongruity. Very charming in this way are the naif disclosures of the natural egoism in the first attempt at politeness and kindness. A wee maiden who was enjoying a swing cast a half pitiful glance at her unlucky comrade who was standing and looking on with big admiring eyes, and observed, "I wish I wasn't so fond of swinging, then I would get out and let you swing." With this may be compared the following *mal apropos*. A little girl on taking her toy from another child who was playing with it said, by way of explanation, "You know we can't both enjoy it." The child had apparently reached the stage of moral development at which sharing things becomes impossible; but when it came to giving up to another the native egoism was too strong. It is a slightly different but not

less amusing case when the small person whose soul is created transparent makes the first awkward tentatives in deception. An American boy of five was visiting his aunt in a lower flat of the house. His mother called from the top of the stairs. "A., you must come home now." To which A. shouted back, "I don't hear, mamma. Do I, Aunt L.?" The story I suspect is not complete. Possibly the aunt heard first and called his attention to the home-call. But any way it is a delicious example of the child's harmless type of fib.

Perhaps, however, the fullest entertainment of the kind we are dealing with comes from the whimsicalities of childish thought. Here we see in full play all the amusing and lovable simplicities of child-nature. And the child's way of taking us, if we are worthy of it, into his confidence, and of telling us as well as our defective language allows all that is passing in his mind, makes the observation of the workings of his mind an inexhaustible entertainment.

There is something in the little observer's way of looking at objects and describing them, which by its remoteness from our customary modes of classifying things, gives a pull to the risible muscles. A little boy in describing a fat lady said she was just like a seal. Here, of course, the look of rudeness counts for something in the provocation of laughter. A more adequate attention might show that there was singular appropriateness in the simile. The human figure bereft by its obesity of the neck and waist divisions does grow seal-like. So that to one who examines with the care which they deserve these first attempts to describe the look of things the effect of the merely odd and whimsical may become mellowed by the presence of a feeling akin to that with which we greet the fresh penetrating observations of genius.

These refreshing departures from our painfully rigid modes of looking at things may meet us in the simplest observations. We are so stupidly set, for example, on describing decapitation as a cutting off of the head from the body, that when a small boy speaks of Charles the First's body having been cut off from his head, we cannot forbear laughing at what we regard as the solecism. Yet the young speaker was surely just as near the truth of things as our correct selves, and an appreciation of this essential rightness of the child's perceptions, and as a consequence of the purely arbitrary character of many of our language-forms, adds sensibly to the humorous value of such sayings.

In many cases no doubt this recognition of childish penetration is wanting, and then our humorous contemplation takes on another shade having in it a just discoverable trace of pity. I allude to those odd childish thoughts which are begotten of ignorance. To us adults it seems so obvious that people grow bald

through the disappearance of the hair that it sounds delightfully whimsical when a certain little fellow talks of the head having grown through the hair. Here is a slightly different example of the same thing. A boy of four asked to be taken with his elders to a ball. He was told that he must first learn to dance. Upon this he delivered himself as follows: "But I tan dance, and my way is more difficult than your way. I tan dance alone, but you have to be holded up." This was not smartness, perverted ingenuity as some might suppose: it was a bit of perfectly natural child-thought. To the little philosopher there seemed nothing in the nature of things to make dancers dance in "pairs" and hold one another in so tight a grip unless it were to keep one another from falling.

In many of these naif misinterpretations of what is seen the point of the humour involves of course a side hit at grown-up weaknesses which lie hid from the child. A good example of the charm of this childish innocence is given by Mr. Punch when he makes little Jessie ask her mamma in a railway carriage, "Why do all the tunnels smell so strong of brandy?" to the disgust of a puritanic looking lady-traveller sitting close by. Here, indeed, I suppose, everybody recognizes that the butt of the joke is this hypocritical looking lady with her carefully hidden bottle.

In this refreshingly simple child-thought we find that things are apt to be sorted with strange bedfellows. A child's direct and often minute inspection of things, backed by his ignorance of our ways of looking at them, leads him to throw them into queer categories. A boy of three was overheard asking a gentleman visitor: "Does you belong to Salvation Army?" What, one wonders, were the particular glories the little fellow ascribed to this popular corporation? Perhaps if we knew more of what was passing in the small questioner's mind, we might discover the remark to be yet richer in humorous significance. Another example of this childish tendency to re-arrange our familiar classifications is supplied by the remark of a boy of five who being asked whether the baby was christened, answered with alacrity, "No, she isn't christened but she's vaccinated." This queer juxtaposition of things, with what seems to be the implied thought that the vaccination was a solemn ceremony which, like christening, somehow added to the dignity of baby, is one of those choice morsels which make the humorist smack his lips from supreme satisfaction.

Even when things are not thus taken out of their customary categories, the juxtaposition of them by the active young mind may be droll through its manifest ignorance of important differences. The child that in repeating the story of the Good

Samaritan said that the kind gentleman came and poured some paraffin over the poor man, made a natural enough verbal substitution, yet one which by its glorious sweep of misapprehension should, one supposes, tickle the most inert of humorous muscles. A less obvious illustration may be taken from *Punch*. "This is the Suez Canal, isn't it, mother?" says a tiny lady standing on a bridge and looking down to the water below. Being told that it was the Regent's Canal she replied, "Oh, of course. How stupid of me! I'm *always* confusing those two canals." This charming incident owes something, no doubt, to the old-fashioned address with which the diminutive lady corrects her childish error. But to the discerning eye the tasty kernel lies in this error itself. We seem to follow the wee maiden as she hears about the glories of the Suez Canal, dreaming of its brave ships and its Arabs, and, child-like, always expecting to see her vision, whereas the irony of circumstances confronts her only with this dirty shipless water, in which she is not interested enough to learn its name. What wonder if she forgets now and then and tries to hide the dull looking thing from her sight under the splendours of her wonder-world! We laugh before we think all this: yet he who thinks it laughs the longer, and has the sweeter mirth.

As the story of the paraffin shows, this amusing re-arrangement of things by a child's wits is often prompted by a misapprehension of our language. Very funny are some of the meanings unsuspected by us which his quick little mind puts into our words. A little girl of five or so was much puzzled on hearing the lines of the old hymn:

> "And Satan trembles when he sees
> The weakest saint upon his knees."

"Whatever," she asked, "did they want to sit on Satan's knees for? I'm sure I should not like to sit on Satan's knees at all, and why should he tremble if they were so little?" This is a delightful bit of childish misunderstanding, and is half pathetic in its suggestion of how far astray the nimble mind is apt to wander when searching for the meanings of our hieroglyphics.

It is entertaining, too, to watch the effort of the young brain to put some meaning into a wholly strange word. His *modus operandi* here is to make what we should call a pun, assimilating the sound, or at least a part of it, to some familiar word-sound. A little boy between three and four had apparently thought about the sound "A-men" at the end of prayers, and had decided that it had to do with men. So having occasion to put a family of white China rabbits through their prayers, he made them end up by saying instead of "A-men," "A-rabbits."

One curious feature of a child's thought is its naif intro-

duction of its own standards of experience. How quaint and yet daintily pretty is the way in which a child who takes to you will assume that you share in his experience. A little girl of seven in talking to a lady about waking up at night, said, "When, you know, one thinks about princes and fairies." This tendency of the child to rejuvenate his older friends, endowing them with his own ideas and feelings, shows itself in a good deal of his amusing reasonings. Because the little chatterbox is only silent before others, spontaneously at least, when he feels shy, he naturally enough concludes that older people when silent are shy also. "Mamma," said a little girl of four and a half years to her mother at table, "you seem as if you were shy now you're at dinner; you don't talk." This feeling of shyness, of *gêne*, is a massive experience in childhood, and is apt to be put to wonderful uses in early logic. A teacher was once talking to her class about the miracle of the loaves and fishes, and asked how it could be that so much remained after the multitude had been fed. A small German girl eagerly stretched out her hand, and on being invited to speak said, "Sie haben sich genirt," *i.e.*, "They (the guests) did not feel quite at home." This explanation would not, perhaps, be obvious to the dull man's brain unfamiliar with childish logic. But to those who know this is clear enough. To the little lady properly instructed in good manners it was rather expected that guests, especially guests entertained by a great personage, should leave a part of the repast, if only not to seem greedy. Perhaps memories of her own unsatisfied appetites resolutely repressed by a reminder of the injunction, "You must behave nicely and not be greedy," came back to the little student, and supplied her with what she no doubt thought an excellent answer to the teacher's question. The humorous point lies in the tacit assumption of this childish logic that a table cannot be too bountifully spread if only appetite is allowed to have its full swing.

A like amusing extension of early experience is observable in the common inference that grown people share in the child's timidity. I was once the spectator of a charming bit of out-of-door play. A tot of a child ran on in front of the rest of her party, consisting of two nurses and another child, and turning to them called in a tone of real compassion, "Now I'm leaving you *all* behind." It was half make-believe perhaps, yet the suggestion that the two stalwart-looking young women would feel desolated by this speck of a child moving a few yards away from them was irresistibly comical. Here is another example of this naif ascription of fear. A mother was sitting on the top of a tramcar between her two boys. An arm stole half-involuntarily round each of them; whereupon one of them aged six and a half, said to her with the privilege of his

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

years, "Don't be a coward, you have the safest place between us." The boy's logic was identical with that of the mite already alluded to, who supposed that the claspings of the dancing couples were wholly a matter of mutual support.

One amusing direction of this childish logic is the severe enforcement of the proprieties of childhood on grown-up circumstances. The first view of the white surplice is apt to be shocking rather than simply "funny" to a well-bred child. A little girl of four on being taken to church for the first time and seeing the clergyman enter, said to her nurse in a highly offended tone, "Oh, nurse, what a yude (rude) man to tum (come) here with his night-down on."

Something of this same projection of the child's own experience peeps out in his first attempts to understand the things about him. Pussy's likes and dislikes are naïvely supposed to be similar to his own, and this rule is often applied with alarming results to that good-natured and long-suffering playmate. Very droll and pretty at once was the little girl's fancy that the pebbles on the road looked as if they were tired of lying in one place and that it would be a kindness to carry them elsewhere for a change.

In this assumption, so natural to the child though so odd to us, that other persons and things feel as he feels, we have the germ of all anthropomorphism. And a part of the droll fascination of these early reasonings for the person who thinks resides in their exaggeration of older folks' illogicalities. The child is anthropomorphist, too, in the fuller sense that he judges of natural objects after the standard of human experience and life, and this tendency is apt to take unexpected and comical directions. A little fellow of three was standing with his father near a railway watching a goods train pass in its provokingly slow manner, when he came out with the original observation, "'At be an awful old train, Pa." The notion that the train shares in our life-changes of youth and age may strike one as merely absurd, yet closer scrutiny suggests that to the child the wonderful self-moving thing with its visible breath and its snorting sounds, is naturally something very much alive. A little scratching of the surface of a childish saying, while it may remove something of the appearance of utter absurdity, by no means robs it of its delightful drollery. The humorist who thus looking below the surface half understands the comical ways of childhood may in the end derive a richer enjoyment from scanning them.

In close companionship with this impulse of the child to think of things generally as fashioned like himself, we find another which is no less entertaining. He has the amiable, unconscious egoism of supposing that things about him have some mysterious relation

to himself, being especially meant for his good, or having unpleasant designs on his comfort. A child I find is apt to dislike greatly the appearance of the moon as seen through a window, supposing somehow that she is there for the express purpose of watching himself. One American child of five quaintly remarked to an older child that seemed frightened on hearing about earthquakes, "Why, no, D., they don't have earthquakes in little towns like this." The words suggest that the little comforter conceived of the earthquake as something which was specially designed for human spectators, to throw them into cold shudders, or possibly to electrify them with the delicious excitement of danger, according to their temperaments, and which would not therefore be brought on the scene where there was not a full house, so to speak. The saying seems to me full of the characteristic quaintness of child-thought. It is so deliciously comical to us who know, or fancy we know, what these alarming oscillations of the earth's surface really are, to have them thus turned by the naif conceit of the child-mind into a kind of show. Yet may we not here too detect an exaggeration of something in older people's thought about the universe, and in smiling at the crudity of the child's whimsical fancy be half-quizzing our own occasional lapses from the perfectly detached and unimpassioned point of view of science?

To judge by the frequency with which they are repeated it would seem as if children's sayings about God and other solemn subjects are apt to be especially amusing to their elders. Nor is this to be wondered at. If we persist in talking to these little people about such remote and abstract matters we must expect them to go on translating our meanings in surprising ways into their own homely ideas. It is so easy to laugh at the familiarities which the licence of child-speech takes with these grave mysteries, just because most of us have enough of profanity in us to derive a momentary gratification from the observation of an unintended irreverence. Yet to laugh at the child's daring naturalisms merely as a specially privileged kind of jesting at matters usually regarded as sacred is very far from appreciating the humorous side of this department of child-thought. To laugh at irreverence merely as such is, in the case of children as of older folk, to encourage a *conscious* irreverence; and perhaps there is no manifestation of young "smartness" more truly offensive than such a conscious taking of liberties with subjects which others profess to revere though they show themselves ready enough to laugh at the liberties taken with them.

Humorous appreciation begins when reflection robs the audacious-looking saying of its impiety, when we begin to perceive the delightfully naif child-thought which prompts it, when we half spy the perfect naturalness of this thought; and, one may add, when

something of pity steals into our amusement at the spectacle of the little thinker compelled by our foolish modes of instruction to grapple with insoluble problems.

When this point of view is taken even reverent persons may find a legitimate entertainment in children's attempts to tell us how they think about God. Very quaint, for example, are the ways in which a child tries to fix God's habitation. Told, perhaps, that He lives far above us, the little reasoner, who has a thoroughly human weakness for bringing his divinity as near as possible, sets Him on a hill hard by, or it may be in an old apple-tree, where He may conveniently be visited.

God's abode is apt to be thought out with an amusing childish logic, in which we may now and again see the attempt to bring together somewhat conflicting ideas. For example, God's house is of course imagined as a beautiful palace with all sorts of wonderful things in and about it. Yet the child is wont to put thoroughly homely touches into this picture of a far-away magnificent mansion. Thus he may think that it has draughty doors like a badly-built London house, and in his prayer ask God kindly to mind and shut the doors, as his grandpa who has just died can't stand the draughts. Here the quaint realization of the heavenly palace in terms of modest terrestrial dwellings is motived by solicitude for a member of the family. In other cases the motive may be the explanation of some known natural phenomenon which in a vague way is assigned a divine origin. Thus, an American child excogitated the funny idea that the noise of thunder came from shooting coals into the cellar of God's house. Possibly to this child the adjunct of a coal-cellar was one of the impressive marks of a grand house.

The quaint charm of all this anthropomorphism in children's reasoning lies in its perfect *naïveté*. We may find something of this same amusing and lovable simplicity in other directions of child-thought. Indeed, what is most characteristic in the logic of the nursery is the tendency to ignore the complexities of things, to reduce the realm of nature and of human action alike to a beautiful simplicity; and though looking on this naif thought with our older, wiser eyes we smile, our smile is a most good-natured one, for we are half-conscious of loving the very simplicity of mind which provokes it.

Hardly anything is more engagingly droll in this way than a child's first attempts to get at the law of things. He finds, for example, that people's knowledge appears to vary with their size —to this extent, at least, that the boy of four knows a lot more than the baby in arms, and that about some things the grown-up knows even more than the boy of four. On this basis he proceeds to reason that giants must have an awful lot of knowledge. One

little fellow supposed that Goliath was the cleverest arithmetician in the world. The logic of childhood knows nothing of exceptions.

A like impulse to simplify things shows itself in thought about human institutions. Marriage, from the child's point of view, is a kind of contradiction. The law of love, according to his experience, is rooted in intimacy. It is right for brothers and sisters who live in the same house and have the mutual knowledge of daily companionship to love one another; but how can two strangers love one another so much as to want to live together? A boy of seven once said to his mother, "I don't see why husbands and wives must be so fond of each other. They are no relations at all. A husband is just a man you pick up anywhere." This boy, a smart one as his language suggests, probably expressed a widespread childish perplexity. The thought is amusing because of its ignorance of the meaning of marriage; but even as we smile do we not half feel that the child's way of looking at human relationships is in a sense the right one, and that marriage, however necessary, is in a manner eminently unnatural?

A child carries his delightful love of simplification into the domain of rules of conduct. He accepts them with a terrible literalness, refuses to recognize an exception, and is the born foe of the sophistries of the casuist. Girls, who are apt to take rules of behaviour more seriously than boys, furnish choice examples of this exacting literalness. It was a girl who, seeing her elder sister point at a chestnut-tree decked with its new bloom, reminded her in a shocked tone that it is rude to point. It was a girl, too, who in Mr. Punch's amusing story declined to take her change from the toy shopkeeper on the ground that "we're not allowed to take money from anybody but grandpapa!" In these cases the droll simplicity of the thought seems to grow more entertaining from a certain comical appearance of elderly straight-lacedness.

I have tried to take my reader into a world which many of us think we know, but which is probably but half known to the most enlightened of us. My aim has been to show by a few sample stories what a quaintly lovable world it is; how much there is in it to enliven the dull hours, and even to brighten the sad ones.

Like most things that are worth having the full enjoyment of the humours of childhood comes only to him who takes pains to reach it. Most people know in a vague way that children are "amusing little creatures." Even ladies much in society, who are far too busy to trouble in general about the doings of the nursery, are not unwilling now and again to get a piquant story from that *terra incognita*, if it seem fit to be served up in some halting dinner conversation. Yet much more is needed before we can enjoy

the humorous banquet which nature has provided for us in child-talk. For first of all we must "make friends" with children, and be willing to cast aside now and again our grave affairs and our stiff manners in order to pass a companionable hour with some child-mite, lending the attentive ear which is all that he asks as the price of his store of entertainment. And in the second place, and this is the harder condition, we must bring with us not only something of the child's own love of fun, but a trained faculty of humorous observation.

It is to be feared that many worthy persons miss one of the choice refreshments of life because they do not combine these two conditions. I suspect that there are estimable young women who are thrown much with children, who in a manner are sympathetic with them, and who yet, alas! are almost completely blind to their delectable drolleries. On the other hand, there have been men who though they possessed the requisite faculty of humour, appear never to have cared to know and love the little ones who would have been charmed to entertain them. What one asks, in that futile chase of "might-have-beens" that it is so hard to abandon, would the tart satirist Jonathan Swift, and the caustic humorist Thomas Carlyle, have been if they had learned to love and to associate with these little people who, as a seventeenth century bishop has it, are best company when they "can but prattle?" For here they had met with ignorances and follies which could never have excited their contempt, and with paradoxes and other absurdities which would have left them perfectly good-tempered.*

J. Sully.

* I have ventured in this paper to repeat stories which were made use of in my *Studies of Childhood* for a somewhat different purpose. I have also quoted one or two child-anecdotes recently contributed to *Truth*. Some of these seem to me not only genuine child-observations, warm out of the nursery so to speak, but particularly apt examples of childish thought.

THE MILITIA.

THE Militia is the one armed force in the service of the Crown of which the average taxpayer knows little or nothing. The Navy, the Army, and the Volunteers are perpetually before the eyes of the public, and their doings are chronicled from day to day in all the papers; on the other hand, little or nothing is ever heard of the militia, and the ordinary citizen may easily go through life without ever seeing a militia regiment. I propose, in this article, to give as full a description of the present state of the militia as the scattered condition of the various units and the great local differences will permit. Before proceeding I will explain certain terms as they are used in this article.

The Officers are the militia officers who only receive pay when called out for training, or, in certain cases, for instruction.

The Officers of the Permanent Staff belong to the army, and receive pay all the year. They are the adjutant and quartermaster.

The Permanent Staff consists of sergeants, and buglers or drummers. They are serving, as a rule, on army engagements, and receive pay, clothing, lodging, and rations, all the year.

The Militiamen are the sergeants, corporals, and privates who are only called out for the annual training, and receive no pay at other times.

Preliminary Drill takes place immediately before the training in those regiments whose headquarters are nor at depôts, when all recruits are taught their drill and musketry.

Drill on Enlistment takes place in those regiments whose headquarters are at the depôts of the territorial regiments or artillery depôts. A recruit in this case drills as soon as he enlists, and can do so all the year round. Generally he goes through his course of musketry immediately before the annual training.

The Annual Training is the period when the whole regiment is called out for drill; it varies in length with different arms.

Embodiment is when the militia, or a part of it, is called out for permanent duty.

The militia, on its present basis, dates from 1852, when an Act was passed to raise 80,000 militiamen by voluntary enlistment, but

if sufficient volunteers should not come forward, the counties would be called upon to complete their quota by ballot. The annual training was not to be more than fifty-six and not less than three days. The Lords Lieutenant were to have (as previously) the control of the force, and the counties were to provide for the storage and custody of arms, clothing, and accoutrements. When the Crimean War broke out, the country was able to embody 80,000 men, who were for the short time they had served, well trained and disciplined. During the war, 32,186 men enlisted into the army, and fifty corps, representing 48,000 rank and file, volunteered for foreign service. Ten battalions were sent in 1854 to the various Mediterranean stations, where they did duty till the end of the war. During the Indian Mutiny many regiments were again embodied, and 14,000 men volunteered for foreign service by corps. In 1867 the "Militia Reserve" was instituted. In 1871 the militia definitely became an Imperial, instead of a local force. The command was withdrawn from the Lords Lieutenant (who had held it since 1549), the Crown assumed direct command, and the force was placed for all purposes under the General Officers of districts. Commissions were to be signed by the Sovereign and not by the Lords Lieutenant, and the counties were no longer to be liable for the custody of arms and stores. At the same time the infantry regiments were grouped, generally by pairs, with two line battalions, and depôts were built at the head-quarters of each so-called brigade to form a centre. In 1877 all commissioned officers were placed under the Mutiny Act during the non-training period, instead of, as formerly, only when called up for training or embodiment, which is still the case with non-commissioned officers and men. In 1881, territorial regiments were established, which possess, as a rule, four battalions, Nos. 1 and 2 being regulars, Nos. 3 and 4 militia. The same uniform was worn by all battalions except that militiamen wore the letter "M" on the shoulder-strap. The "M" was subsequently abolished, except for officers, and the number of the battalion substituted in the infantry. The artillery and engineers wear the county title. In 1882, and in 1885, in consequence of the war in Egypt, several corps were embodied: in the latter year two brigades of artillery and five battalions of infantry for seven months.

Under present conditions the militia is liable to be called out "in case of imminent national danger or great emergency." Any part of the militia is liable to serve in any part of the United Kingdom, but no part of the militia shall be carried or ordered to go out of the United Kingdom. The Act goes on to state that the Sovereign may direct a commanding officer to propose to his men to volunteer for service in the Channel Islands or the

Mediterranean garrisons, but he must certify that he has explained to every man that the offer is purely voluntary on his part. The number of militiamen who enlist in the army averages over 14,000 per annum.

General State.—In 1895, 104,064 of all ranks were present at training, 5,464 were absent with leave, and 7,283 without leave.

The Militia Reserve numbered on January 1st, 1895, 30,259—consisting of 5,159 artillery, 389 engineers, 24,658 infantry, and 53 medical staff corps.

The physique of the men varies very greatly in different regiments, but is satisfactory on the whole, and the appearance of some corps is magnificent. The published statistics of height and chest measurement are misleading, as nearly all the younger men grow very considerably after enlistment, both in stature and bulk, and they are seldom or never remeasured.

Some corps consist of very young men—especially those recruited in agricultural districts—but in many units which draw their recruits from the industrial or fishing population, the average of age is much higher.

According to the returns for January 1st, 1895, the nationalities of the non-commissioned officers (including the permanent staff) and men were:—English, 70,557; Scotch, 12,735; and Irish, 29,218—34 others complete the total of 112,544. The trades were—artizans, 13,153; mechanical labourers, 25,182; agricultural labourers, 33,499; miners, 12,054; fishermen, 3,060; and all others, 25,450. The religious denominations were—Church of England, 58,525; Presbyterians, 9,338; Wesleyans, 4,192; other Protestants, 1,193; Roman Catholics, 39,278; Jews, 18. It is curious to note the enormous proportion of Roman Catholics, who are 345 per 1,000 in the militia, as compared with 176 in the regular army; and while in the latter the proportion tends to decrease, in the militia it tends to rise.

Discipline.—Formerly, as was the case in the regular army, both officers and men did not take soldiering so seriously as they do now; but no one who has any knowledge of the state of the militia can fail to observe the immense strides that have been made of late years. Regiments of 700 to 800 men are now clothed, armed, and equipped in a few hours on the day of assembly; and many regiments which train away from their headquarters, march down to the station on the same afternoon for conveyance to the camp of instruction. From the moment the men put on their uniforms, discipline is enforced as strictly in the militia as in the regular army. The entire machinery of a regiment starts at once into smooth working order. The men, who always come up in

their oldest clothes, and who certainly do not look their best, are transformed in a few hours into smart, clean-shaved soldiers, whom, in many cases, it would be almost impossible to distinguish from regulars. Guards and piquets are mounted ; officers and non-commissioned officers take up their various duties ; and it is difficult to imagine that the whole organization has only come into existence since the morning (after being for eleven months in abeyance), and will again be dispersed in less than four weeks.

During the training there is little or no insubordination or serious crime, and the general behaviour is very good.

The arrangements made for paying off the men at the end of the training leave little to be desired. Accounts are made up the day before, and the money for each man placed in a separate envelope and sealed. The men are marched to the station or pier in proper formation, under their officers, and their money handed to them when they are in the train or boat. Men, if they prefer it, can have their money remitted by postal order to their homes at the expense of the country.

Drill.—The general level of proficiency in drill is high when the small amount of time to be devoted to it is taken into consideration. The infantry trainings consist of twenty-seven days only. When the days of assembly and dismissal, and three Sundays are deducted, only twenty-two days remain, of these the three Saturdays and the Friday before dismissal are only half-days. This leaves eighteen full days and four half-days in which to teach the men the whole duty of a soldier, including the musketry practice which occupies six days. In places where half a battalion can shoot at a time, the Commanding Officer, if he is lucky in the weather, may get nine or ten days in which to get his whole battalion on parade, and when the first two or three days (which are necessarily devoted to squad and company drill) are deducted the number of times he can see his whole battalion on parade could be counted on the fingers of one hand. In cases where the want of range accommodation makes it impossible for a half battalion to shoot at a time, the whole regiment may never be on parade for more than one or two drills. The small number of non-commissioned officers make it difficult to teach them their drill when the necessary sergeants and corporals for guards, &c., are deducted.

Musketry.—Proper instruction in musketry is rendered almost impossible by the shortness of the time devoted to it. This makes it obligatory to shoot on the days appointed whatever the weather. The militia suffers in common with the regular army from the want of sufficient ranges, and this question has been rendered acute by the issue of the magazine rifle. At many headquarters there

is no safe range, and when the militiamen are sent to large shooting stations or camps of instruction, they are often compelled to shoot in the intervals of the regular soldiers' practice. The shooting is, however, improving as more care is bestowed on instruction, but it will always be difficult to get men to shoot really well whose arms are unaccustomed to the weight of a rifle, and who only fire twenty-eight rounds a year in individual practice.

The militiaman enlists for six years for the regiment belonging to the county in which he is raised. He must be over eighteen years of age and under thirty-five. In the case of an old soldier he may enlist up to the age of forty-five. Growing lads may also be taken under eighteen. The standard is 5 ft. 3 in. in the infantry; 5 ft. 5 in. in the artillery and engineers, but good boatmen or tradesmen may be enlisted for the latter at 5 ft. 4 in. Medical Staff Corps from 5 ft. 3 in. to 5 ft. 5 in., but skilled men, apothecaries, &c., may be enlisted above that height. Recruits are liable to be assembled for preliminary drill for any period not exceeding six months as may be directed by the Secretary of State, but, as a rule, such drill only lasts two months. Regiments that have their headquarters at regimental depôts, as a rule drill their recruits when they enlist, *i.e.*, all the year round. Regiments whose headquarters are at out stations, *i.e.*, not at depôts, drill all their recruits at preliminary drill. The recruit can in the artillery, infantry, or medical staff corps, attend at the depôt for forty-nine days' drill, and subsequently for fourteen days' musketry immediately previous to the training, or attend for seventy-six days' drill, and perform his musketry just before the training the following year; or attend the preliminary drill, musketry, and training of his corps. If he enlists during the preliminary drill or training, he has during the following year to make good what he has missed. Fortress engineer regiments have preliminary drill, and do not drill on enlistment. Their preliminary drill lasts fifty-six days. In the submarine miners, preliminary drill lasts seventy-seven days, but they may, if they wish, drill on enlistment on much the same lines as the infantry.

The annual training is twenty-seven days in the artillery, infantry, and medical staff corps, forty-one days in the fortress engineers, and fifty-five days in the submarine miners.

A man may re-engage for a further period of four years previous to the expiration of his period of enlistment, and may re-enlist within three years of his discharge for four years, if under forty-five years of age. Men who have not re-enlisted within four years of discharge are classed as recruits. Boys may be enlisted at the age of fourteen or in special cases thirteen, for the purpose of being trained as drummers or buglers.

Annual bounty at the completion of the training is paid at the following rates :—

All Arms. Recruits. £1 10s., £2 if they do seventy-six days' drill, less various deductions if they do not serve the full period, but they can make up the period, and receive the rest of their bounty, the following year.

All ranks serving on first engagement, £1.

All ranks re-enlisted or re-engaged, £1 10s.

Sergeants who have been discharged from the army as non-commissioned officers, £3.

A man who re-enlists or re-engages receives £1 10s. bounty down in addition to the annual bounty.

Militiamen receive the following rates of pay daily :—

	Artillery.		Engineers.		Infantry.		Med. S.C.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Sergeant	2	7	2	7	1	9	1	9
Sergeant, if discharged as N.C.O.'s from the Regular Army ...	3	2	3	3	2	4	2	8
Corporal and Second Corporal ...	1	5	1	5	1	3	1	3
Bombardier	1	3			—		—	
Gunner, Sapper, or Private ...	1	2	1	1	1	0	1	0
Boy under 16	0	8	0	8	0	8	—	

Certain extra duty pay is also allowed, and working pay at the rate of fourpence per diem to engineers, when engaged under instruction in military engineering.

Militia Reserve.—The so-called militia reserve consists of men who volunteer, in consideration of an annual bounty of £1, to join the regular army when required for general service.

They must have served two trainings, must have a good chracter, and be over nineteen and under thirty-four years of age; preference is given to good shots. The standard of height is, in the artillery 5 ft. 6 in., in the engineers 5 ft. 5 in. (but good boatmen or tradesmen may be an inch shorter), in the infantry 5 ft. 4 in., and the medical staff corps 5 ft. 3 in. Chest measurements 33 inches for all. The number allowed to enlist is one-third the establishment of gunners in the artillery, one-fourth of sappers and privates in the engineers and infantry, and one-half the privates in the medical staff corps. Candidates for the militia reserve are always greatly in excess of the number of vacancies, and the pick being extensive, it is a magnificent body of men, and includes the greater part of the non-commissioned officers. They undergo a searching medical examination, and are physically far above the minimum standard. Men can purchase their discharge: a recruit who purchases before attending a training, and who has received a £2 bounty pays £2; any other recruit or militia-

man on his first engagement £1; a re-engaged or re-enlisted man £1 10s.; a militia reserve man in addition £1. A reserve man can purchase out of the reserve, still continuing in the militia. All militia men receive a free kit, and are allowed to take away at the end of the training one pair of boots, one shirt, two pairs of socks, and their small kit when time expired, *i.e.*, when it has been in use for six trainings. They receive free rations during the training on the army scale, travelling fare, within their county, both on joining and on dismissal, and 10d. for a hot meal the day they join. They are put under the same stoppages for groceries and washing as are the men of the regular army, and the usual hospital stoppages when sick. Lately, in common with the army, much care has been expended in the messing, with the result that the food is excellent in cooking and variety, and that in most corps the men are supplied with something for breakfast in addition to dry bread, and often for tea or supper as well. In many London corps the recruits and old hands who attend preliminary drill receive all allowances in money. The men come into barracks in the morning, do their four or five hours' drill, and receive 1s. 10d., viz., 1s. pay, 6d. in lieu of rations, and 4d. lodging allowance, and make their own arrangements for food and shelter. The disadvantage in this case is, that as the men are obliged to live in common lodging-houses in the neighbourhood of the barracks, they are liable to have their clothing and necessaries stolen, and, when the theft is extensive, the man probably deserts rather than be put under stoppages for the rest of the preliminary and training.

Officers receive pay at the same rate as the corresponding ranks of the regular infantry: they receive daily four shillings messing allowance, and furniture allowance, travelling allowance to and from the headquarters of their regiment within the regimental county or counties, and marching money at half the rate of the regular army.

The Private Militiaman.—The militiamen may be divided into three classes:—

1. Men who go on to the army.
2. Old soldiers.
3. Men who do not go to the army.

Class One consists of two descriptions of men: (*a*) those who have a fancy for soldiering and join the militia to see how it suits them, with the intention, if they like it, of joining the regular army; and (*b*) men who are slightly under standard for the regular army, and who join the militia with the view of feeding up to standard.

Class Two.—The old soldiers are most valuable. They provide

most of the non-commissioned officers, and, by their example and bearing, add greatly to the efficiency of their civilian comrades. In 1894 the number of old soldiers and re-engaged or re-enlisted militiamen was 47,482, being 44 per cent. of the enrolled strength. This proportion was rather less than in the previous year. The re-engaged militiaman properly belongs to the *third class*, the real militiaman, who is, I much regret to say, a disappearing quantity. He was the man who filled the ranks from 1852 till well into the end of the sixties, and his loss is much to be regretted. He had never been a regular soldier, nor ever intended to be, though willing enough to volunteer in the event of war, and he joined the militia merely from a love of soldiering.

The Militia Non-Commissioned Officer.—The establishment of militia non-commissioned officers is small, there being only two sergeants and four corporals per company in the infantry. In the engineers there is a good establishment of sergeants and corporals, and in the artillery the addition of bombardiers is an assistance. These non-commissioned officers do their duty undoubtedly well, especially when it is taken into consideration that in a few days, to use the men's expression, "they will all have the same clothes on." The fact that a sergeant or corporal will do his duty, and put a man into the guard-room with whom he may perhaps be working the following week on a perfect footing of equality, speaks for the sense of duty on the one side, and for the respect for authority on the other. It is remarkable that men can be found, for a trifling addition of pay, to do the extra hard work demanded of a non-commissioned officer, and at the same time possibly incur the dislike of their comrades in civil life. The extra pay of a corporal in the infantry is only 3d. per diem, which for twenty-seven days amounts to the small sum of 6s. 9d. for the training. Lately, extra pay and bounty on a liberal scale have been granted to ex-non-commissioned officers of the army who re-enlist in the militia with a view to their appointment to the rank of sergeant, and in large towns this regulation has produced excellent effects, as the greater part of the sergeants are now old soldiers, but, in many rural districts, it is still very difficult to fill the vacancies with men of the requisite intelligence and capacity.

The Permanent Staff (Sergeants and Drummers).—The sergeants of the permanent staff are transferred from the regular army and are the backbone of the militia. Human nature must always incline commanding officers of the regular regiments to retain their best men, if possible, in their own battalions. There is also among the sergeants of the army a tendency to prefer the volunteers where they have lighter work, less supervision, and more opportunities of earning money. The sergeants sent to the

militia permanent staff are, therefore, not always the pick of the army, but as responsibility must of necessity be thrust upon them, many a man who has been sent to the militia with the reputation of being an indifferent non-commissioned officer has developed into an excellent sergeant. The establishment of permanent sergeants is only one colour-sergeant (or company or battery sergeant-major), and one sergeant per company or battery, in addition to the staff-sergeants, and as the work of a twelvemonth is concentrated in four short weeks, everyone has to work at high pressure. The pay or colour-sergeants have an immense amount of work thrown on them. In the army the company accounts can be kept more or less at leisure, but in the militia the time is so short and so much has to be done in it that the difficulty of keeping accounts is much increased, especially when they are complicated by bounty and working pay. One mistake in the present pay and mess sheet goes right through the whole, and the columns are so numerous and so narrow that mistakes are easily made. Permanent sergeants have to retire at the age of fifty. A few years ago regimental sergeant-majors in the militia were deprived of warrant rank, which is much felt by those most excellent men. One permanent drummer, bugler, or trumpeter, is allowed per company. They are employed during the non-training in keeping clean arms, clothing, and accoutrements, and this work has been much increased by the issue of magazine rifles.

One bugle per bugler on the permanent staff is allowed to Rifles, Light Infantry, Artillery, and Engineers, and one drum, one fife, and one bugle per bugler to other infantry. No other allowance for instruments is given, but band clothing is issued for one sergeant and twenty men in battalions of 500 rank and file and upwards.

No allowance in aid of the band is made by Government, nor is pay provided for a bandmaster. In consequence the expense of providing this most necessary adjunct of a good regiment falls entirely on the officers.

The Officers of the Permanent Staff.—The officers of the permanent staff are the adjutant and quartermaster. In corps of less than six companies or batteries the adjutant does the work of both. Quartermasters are appointed, from the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers to artillery and engineer militia respectively, and to infantry militia from the same ranks in the respective territorial regiments either from the line or militia battalions. Their duties are identical with those of officers of the same rank in the army and only differ in that they have, like all other militia duties, to be done in a very short time. The quartermaster in many regiments has to clothe and equip three or four hundred recruits in a few hours, and such work requires no mean capacity.

Adjutants are appointed from officers in the army on full pay. Preference is given to the officers of the territorial regiment in the case of the infantry militia, and to officers of the same branch for artillery and engineers. Their duties vary greatly according to whether they are doing duty with an unit whose headquarters is at a regimental depôt or not. In the former case they are during the non-training period under the colonel commanding the depôt, and do much of the depôt work. In the latter case they are virtually their own commanding officers for eleven months of the year, and have the sole charge of the enlistment and training of the recruits and the immediate command of the permanent staff; these officers are therefore frequently in charge of large bodies of men with no one practically over them.

The Militia Officer.—The officers of the militia are appointed by the Crown, and are under the Army Act all the year round. During their first year's service they have to undergo an examination very similar to that in the regular army for officers of the same rank. In the infantry they are allowed two months' pay and allowances for the purpose of attending, either preliminary drill for two months, or a school of instruction for two months, or be attached to a battalion of the regular army for one month, and the other month at a school or a preliminary drill of their corps. They may attend for five months in all, but only receive pay for two months, and, if they fail to pass the examination at the end of the period of instruction, they do not receive pay for that period, but may attend a fresh course unpaid, and if they pass they receive pay for the full period of two months. In the artillery and the engineers the course is the same, with an additional period of two months' paid instruction (or four months in all) which must be passed at the school at Woolwich for the artillery, or at Chatham for the engineers. Officers of engineers or infantry are allowed to attend the School of Musketry at Hythe, and receive pay and allowances for the period of the course, subject to their passing the examination at the conclusion. Officers of artillery may attend the course of gunnery at the School of Instruction, Woolwich, under the same conditions. Officers of all arms have to pass for promotion to a superior rank; the examinations are nearly similar to those of the regular army. The country cannot be said to make a very liberal provision for the instruction of militia officers. After first appointment no pay is allowed for attending school or classes, and an officer who wishes to perfect his military knowledge has to do so at his own expense. All examinations are thus thrown into the limited time of the training, and officers who should be looking after their companies are learning up the various subjects, and the small time available for the instruction of the men is taken up in

providing companies and battalions for the examinations in drill. Considering the small amount of instruction allowed, it is unfortunate that it seems impossible to consult the convenience of officers—they being constantly ordered to classes, or their attendance counter-ordered, at a moment's notice, even during the non-training period. An insufficient number of classes is provided, and in many cases there is often at the last moment no room for militia officers. There are also many complicated regulations to be complied with which make it difficult for an officer to go to a school unless he makes arrangements months beforehand. The times of training are also sometimes altered at the last moment, which makes it increasingly difficult for anyone in business to arrange to get away. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the efficiency of the officers, as a body, is remarkable considering the shortness of time available for instruction. The commanding officer's powers are, however, severely handicapped by the regulations which prevent his having any authority during the non-training period. While nominally responsible for all that occurs, and officially informed that he is encouraged to visit his recruits, he is frequently precluded from doing so by the fact that he may live at one end of the country and his headquarters may be at the other, and that any visit of inspection must be made at his own expense. It is a moot point whether he is entitled to order his own recruits to parade for his inspection during the non-training period, even when his headquarters are at an out-station; and when they are at a depôt it is scarcely too much to say that the amount of supervision he can exercise depends entirely on the personal feeling of the colonel commanding the depôt.

One thing has to be learnt by every militia officer, and that speedily, namely, that he must, however junior, rely greatly on his own judgment in many matters of discipline and interior economy; there are no opportunities of consulting other people, nor the time to refer every question to a superior. Consequently the militia officer has great scope for the exercise of his abilities, and is brought into direct and constant contact with his men. He may be, and often is, not very word-perfect in drill, and his methods of maintaining discipline may be somewhat rough and ready, but in his general efficiency he is no unworthy imitator of his brother officer of the regular army.

Deficiency of Men.—The militia consists of artillery, engineers, infantry, and medical staff corps, and the establishment is in total 134,839 of all ranks; but it is most grievously below its numbers, no less than 592 officers and 17,737 of other ranks were wanting to complete the establishment in 1895, and though this

deficiency is partly made up by the vacancies in some corps being balanced by supernumeraries in others, on the whole the number wanting was 17,083. Besides this the number absent without leave amounted in 1895 to 7,462, making a total deficiency of 25,791 of all ranks.

On the whole the pay of a militiaman seems adequate, and it seems strange that there should not be an ample supply of men. The two main causes for the great deficiency are :—

(1) Sufficient recruits are not raised.

(2) There is great waste from: (*a*) men who go to the army; (*b*) men who purchase their discharge; (*c*) absentees.

As regards the first, there is no one man whose business it is to keep a regiment up to strength. The colonel is unable to superintend during the non-training, and the responsibility is frittered away between him, the adjutant, the colonel commanding the depôt, and often the district recruiting officer as well. No serious effort is made to sweep the great towns, or even placard them with good posters. On the other hand, in the remote country districts the permanent staff when on recruiting duty are not sufficiently paid. Every sergeant has always assured me that he loses money when recruiting unless he can get eight to ten men a day, with the result that small and distant villages are either passed over, or just taken by the sergeant on the way to some more populous centre.

The result is that not much is known of the militia outside the immediate vicinity of a headquarter, which is emphasized by the fact that the smaller the county, as a rule, the larger the proportion of militiamen to population.

Agricultural counties always provide a large proportion of militiamen, and the great and deplorable depopulation of rural districts is another reason of the falling off in numbers. The labourer who drifts into the big towns may never hear of the militia, and even if he does he finds it so hard to gain a living that he cannot afford to leave his work if employed, or his chance of getting a job if he is out of work. When trade is very good and all hands in full work a man can afford to give himself a pleasant holiday. When trade is very bad, men will enlist for food and shelter, but when trade is rising or falling men are afraid to leave their permanent work, or, if unemployed, have all their energies bent on securing a job. I have little doubt also that the well-meant efforts lately made to obtain characters and permanent addresses from all recruits have a deterrent effect on the better class of men. By far the larger number of respectable men in good employment will make every effort to keep the knowledge of their

enlistment into the militia from their employers and fellow workmen. When hands have to be discharged militiamen are picked out for dismissal, and many employers will not give work to a militiaman for fear of his being called away suddenly. The change which has lately taken place in the composition of the volunteer force operates in many places to the disadvantage of the militia. In the greater number of corps of volunteers the men chiefly consist of those who, thirty-five or forty years ago, would have joined the militia. They now join the volunteers, where they can indulge their love of soldiering without quitting their civilian employment; they often have all the advantages of a magnificent club for nothing, and if they care for a week or ten days in camp they can go with their regiment, and in the majority of cases are not only fed for nothing, but receive pay varying from sixpence to one shilling per day. The vast sums given in prizes of all descriptions also attract men, and though this state of things has produced our present imposing volunteer force, still it has at the same time tended to keep large numbers of good men from entering the militia. By a curious coincidence, Montgomeryshire, which possesses no volunteer corps of its own, provides in proportion to its population more militiamen by far than any other county in Great Britain.

The shoddy and ill-fitting clothing provided for the militia acts also as a great deterrent to recruiting, and especially the want of a proper head-dress. A helmet is being gradually issued, and I make no doubt will assist recruiting largely, although Fusiliers and Rifles have no head-dress even promised. Many regiments have brown belts, old pattern valises, and other obsolete equipment, and very few have water-bottles.

This treatment in the matter of clothing and equipment tends to lower the men's sense of self-respect and their pride in their corps, and gives colour to the idea, very prevalent amongst all classes, that the militia is an inferior and second-rate sort of force. Tradition among the lower orders keeps alive a dread and dislike of the militia dating from the time when men were forced into it, and then bullied till they enlisted into the regular army, and it is whispered that considerable pressure is still resorted to, to induce recruits who are drilled at the depôt to transfer to the line.

Parliament, also, which votes an establishment of 134,000 men, does not vote the requisite money for paying them, but by the curious custom of our country in such matters, only sufficient money is voted for any of the forces to pay the amount of men that the authorities think it likely they will obtain. One result of

this practice—a practice which most people, including Members of Parliament, are ignorant of—is, that supposing a sudden influx of recruits, there is no money to pay them with. One extraordinary instance occurred in the winter of 1893-4, when the influx of recruits for the militia was so great, that money was running out, and it was necessary to check recruiting in various ways, such as raising the standard, and ceasing to take growing lads of under eighteen. The net result was that in 1894 the militia was *weaker by* 5,000 *men* than in 1893, but it is a well-known fact that any sudden check on recruiting will often stop the flow of men for months, and, as a matter of fact, the recruiting for the militia is only now beginning to recover. It is a pity that the annual farce of voting men and not voting the money to pay them with should be still allowed to continue, and thus actually be the cause of a good recruiting year having a disastrous effect on the country's forces.

The militia is drained of many of its best men to supply the army, and though every encouragement is patriotically given by the officers, it is heart-breaking to a good captain to see his company annually depleted, and the return of time-expired men and their re-enlistment compensates but partially for the loss.

Large numbers of men purchase their discharge, having got into permanent work or being over-persuaded by their mothers, and many good men are thus lost to the country.

The absentees, though they are much fewer of late years, are still far too numerous. The recruit looks on enlistment as a job, and, like any other job, to be quitted if he can find a better paid one, and in this he faithfully represents public opinion, which in this country does not attach much odium to that worst of military crimes,—desertion. When a man has once served some years he learns to like the life, imbibes *esprit de corps*, and generally re-engages for a further period, and then only superannuation or death will sever his connection with his regiment.

The police as a body make no effort to arrest deserters from the militia, many thousands of whom must be well-known to them. To the best of my knowledge not 5 per cent. are ever arrested, and both in London and the provinces the police authorities frankly say it is not worth their while to bother about militia absentees.

Deficiency of Officers.—The militia is now between 500 and 600 officers below the establishment, and the number of vacancies tends to increase. The chief cause of this is the great agricultural depression which has utterly ruined the smaller landowners who formerly officered the militia, and has crippled the great ones. The

landed gentry are living abroad or are crowding into the cities to earn a living. Every younger son and most elder ones are going into business, and find they have no time to devote to soldiering. A man who only gets a few weeks' holiday can hardly be expected to spend a month of it at some dull country town or at some camp of instruction, and give up all forms of sport. Many regiments have had a number of vacancies for many years, and this causes a large amount of extra work and heavy extra expense to the officers, or else the plan of resorting to attached officers must be followed, a method unsatisfactory to both sides. The fact remains a serious one, that the militia is something like 15 per cent. short of its establishment of officers. Even this does not show the whole state of the case. The establishment in the artillery and infantry is only three subalterns to two companies, like the peace establishment of the regular army, and in the event of war, if the militia is required for foreign or even home service, it would want some 600 subalterns to make the battalions up to war strength.

The large deficiency of officers requires to be at once remedied. All officers should enter the army through the militia; they might not remain permanently even if they did not enter the army, but the country would benefit by their services for two or three years, and a reliable reserve of subalterns would be created.

All officers who retire from the army under the age of forty, receiving any pension or gratuity, should be obliged to serve for five years, in the militia, receiving extra half-pay. It is well worth the country's while to pay a little extra, as by the system of attaching officers to fill vacancies during the training, the country has to pay for the full number of officers, although they do not exist. The instructors of musketry and artillery should be seconded captains. The present system of expecting an officer to look after his company as well as act as musketry instructor is ridiculous.

Officers should be obliged to go through more instruction. Every officer on joining, in addition to doing two months at his own depôt or preliminary drill, should be attached for two months to the regular battalion of his regiment, or to the corresponding branches if he is in the artillery or engineers; in the latter case he should go through the long course of artillery or engineering in addition.

Lieutenants for promotion to captain, and captains to field officer, should be attached for a period to the regular army, and should undergo a stiff examination at the end of the time.

Officers should be encouraged to go through the schools of musketry at Hythe, of gunnery at Shoeburyness, and of engineering at Chatham, and sufficient vacancies provided at these schools.

In all cases they should receive the pay and allowances of their rank, subject to passing the examination on the completion of the course.

The commanding officer should be in real command of his corps during the non-training as well as the training period. He should be made exclusively responsible for everything connected with his regiment, including keeping it up to strength and training his recruits and young officers. He should have the responsibility of choosing his adjutant and the members of his permanent staff, and the right to dispense with them if they were not suitable; at the present time he has no voice in any of these matters. To enable him to do this he should receive such an additional amount of pay as would make it possible for him to exercise a real supervision without having to spend money for the benefit of the country out of his own pocket.

Rewards should be more freely given to good officers. The C.B.'s now served out are so few as to prevent all but the very smallest proportion of commanding officers obtaining one. Inefficient men should be ruthlessly got rid of, and claims based on length of service, high rank, or great wealth should be absolutely disregarded. Give the commanding officer a free hand, pay him sufficiently, and in return insist that he produce a regiment full in all ranks and in as efficient a state as the conditions of the service will permit.

Warrant rank should be restored to the regimental sergeant-majors. Their present position places them at a most unmerited disadvantage as compared with their brethren of the regular army. Their work is quite as, if not more, important, and it is a mistake to lower their status. The position and emoluments of the sergeants on the permanent staff should always be at least equal to the corresponding ranks in the regular army: they come far more closely into contact with the civilian population than any other body of soldiers, and any grievances they possess must tend to deter men from entering either the army or the militia.

A recruiting sergeant should be quartered for several months in every town and large village in the district, and he should, while on this duty, receive sufficient pay to prevent his losing money when working out-of-the-way places.

An Act should be passed to compel licensed victuallers, as well as the holders of grocers' licenses, to display any recruiting posters in a prominent position in their bars or shops. At present no publican will do this unless the recruiting sergeant makes his house his headquarters, and the posters are only displayed on places of worship, or at police stations, and many able-bodied men never go

near either. If Government would lay down a fairly liberal scale of separation allowances for married women and children, in the event of their husbands and fathers being embodied, and this information was placed on the recruiting posters, it would go a great way to softening the dislike for the militia amongst the mothers and wives.

Registers should be kept at all populous military centres of all non-commissioned officers who desire to join the militia as sergeants after leaving the army. It would be a great convenience to the commanding officer who could not get sergeants of the right stamp if he could write for some to the district office. Such sergeants should have their railway fare paid to and from their regiments, and would be more particularly useful as being complete strangers to the men, and not being brought into contact with them in civil life.

Army reserve men should be allowed to be attached to the militia as supernumeraries, they would be keeping up their military knowledge, and would be of great benefit to their new regiments. It would also possibly save some men from drifting into the ranks of the unemployed, as they would be able to learn from their comrades where to turn to for work when the training was over.

All age clauses for recruits should be abolished. Let every man's fitness be determined by his physical condition alone. Many men do not know their ages, and in many cases the present unnecessary restrictions only encourage perjury. It is in practice impossible to verify every intending recruit's statements, and it is always an error to keep up rules which cannot be enforced. In this connection it would be of great advantage to restore the militia medical officers. They were a valuable reserve for the army, their pay was not a very large item, and being local men they were the best possible judges of the physical fitness of the militiamen, and possessed an intimate knowledge of the diseases peculiar to the locality and to the trades at which the men work. The establishments of regiments bear no relation whatever to the male population of the various districts, or to the recruits that offer themselves, and call for revision. Regiments should be allowed to enlist all qualified recruits, irrespective of establishment, for a period of two or three years; the establishments should then be revised according to the results, and the colonels expected to keep these up. The boundaries of the different recruiting areas should be readjusted to follow the natural recruiting lines of the men themselves. Men from certain districts always join certain corps, and those districts should be enclosed in the recruiting area of those particular corps. More pains should be taken to trace

out deserters. They cause an infinite amount of trouble and expense, and it would be cheap in the long run to offer a substantial reward for their detection. If a county or borough could be fined whenever the unarrested absentees exceeded a certain percentage, the police would be forced to do their duty, which, in this respect, they almost invariably shirk. They should also be obliged to notify the death of any militiaman to the headquarters of his regiment.

All militia should be enlisted for service abroad, in case of war, and should be placed under the Army Act all the year round.

The Militia reserve should be abolished, and the money saved (over £30,000 per annum) spent in other ways.

The numbers and pay of the non-commissioned officers should be raised to that of corresponding ranks and arms of the regular army. They should also receive an additional bounty of thirty shillings per man per annum. They should all be allowed, if they so wish, to come up as a matter of right for the two months' preliminary drill, as that is the only time it is possible to give them any real instruction in their duties. They should be permitted to join on the Saturday before the men come up, and be allowed to remain till the Monday after they have gone down. This would prevent the chance of a non-commissioned officer arriving or leaving with the men if he preferred not to do so.

When in billets the sergeants should never be quartered in the same houses as the men, and they should have separate tents when encamped. As they are only in authority such a short period of the year, it is most important to keep them as much as possible separate from the rank and file; wherever possible a corporals' mess should be instituted with the same object. If a small proportion of vacancies on the permanent staff could be reserved for the volunteer sergeants, it would be an immense incentive to them to do their duty, and would make a certain number of old soldiers who are now discontented civilians into contented servants of the Queen.

Privates should receive good conduct badges on the same conditions as the regular army, and should receive extra bounty to the amount of 5s. for their first badge, and 2s. 6d. for every subsequent badge, and in the event of embodiment G.C. pay as in the regular army. Extra duty pay and marksmen's prizes should also be given on the regular army scale. Extra bounty should be granted to artificers in the artillery and engineers, such bounty to be sufficient to attract good tradesmen and to vary according to a man's proficiency at his trade.

Pay for a bandmaster or an allowance in aid of a band should be granted to all corps.

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

Either some extra drummers or a certain number of boys should be added to the permanent staff to assist the band; in the latter case, their pay being small, great expense would be saved to the officers without much cost to Government, and a decent band kept up all the year at the depôt would greatly assist recruiting, both for the militia and the regular army.

The militia should receive complete and modern equipment, and should shoot with cordite ammunition. More ranges should be provided, so that the musketry course may be conducted with as little hurry as possible.

Regimental headquarters should be as much as possible distributed over the country. Far more recruits would be obtained in the Metropolitan district if only one battalion headquarter was left at Hounslow and the other three scattered about the London suburbs.

A regiment should never train more than two consecutive years by itself. If it cannot be sent every third year to a camp of instruction, it should be camped with another militia regiment either at its own headquarters or at that of the other regiment.

At present the militia is under the Inspector-General of Auxiliary Forces and Recruiting, and is only one of three separate forces which are lumped together, though they differ greatly from each other in organization and character. An Assistant A.G. for the militia would at least provide the force with a recognized head under the Inspector-General, and the officer to be selected should have had experience as an adjutant of militia.

I have no room to refer to the question of organizing the force for active service, but I merely draw attention to the vast waste caused by keeping up 100,000 men while we are making no preparation to use them in the event of war. Even for home defence over 100 battalions could not be employed in the field for want of transport, and in the event of warfare abroad we limit our expectations to reinforcing the Mediterranean garrisons by the chance volunteering of a few casual regiments.

In the militia the country possesses a large, well-disciplined, and trustworthy reserve army. For an expenditure of much less than £10 per man per annum, we have more than 100,000 men ready to do duty at a moment's notice, of which 30,000 are prepared to at once join the regular army. No country can boast of a cheaper force, and it only requires a small amount of additional instruction to fit it for any duty.

The changes proposed above are not expensive, and by making both officers and non-commissioned officers more competent to instruct their men, would enable the militia to discharge their duty

to their Queen and country, not more zealously, but more efficiently, than they can hope to do now.

In conclusion, I would point out that war against a first-class Power cannot be carried on in these days, any more than in our grandfathers' time, without the aid of compulsory service in some shape, and that as the militia by the law of the land can still be recruited by the ballot, nothing can affect every able-bodied Briton more closely than the strength, the welfare, and the efficiency of our Old Constitutional Force.

RAGLAN,
Lieut.-Col. R.M.M.E.

INFIRMA VINCULA CARITATIS.

A MONTH or two ago several writers undertook to show us that, of other nations, England is not greatly loved—and to prove to us wherefore. Perhaps the highest point of humour in this discussion was reached when M. Jean Pam attributed this want of foreign affection for us to Mr. George Curzon's having casually remarked—somewhere in the City—that France resembled "a burglar outside a door, taking advantage of that position to pick a lock." Sentences must be rounded, 'tis the City taste, but the provocation seems hardly enough to have placed us beyond the boundaries of the beloved; yet Mr. Curzon is apparently of a different opinion (and that not unnaturally, perhaps), for he solemnly set to work to disclaim his own words; until the cock crew—the Gallic cock—in the person of M. de Pressensé.

All this, however, may pass, since we more lately had a Cabinet Minister openly glorying in the "splendid isolation" of England, though it might well be doubted whether we are, in fact, so completely left to our own resources as Mr. Goschen appears to desire or believe. Certainly, Senator Wolcott's speech would seem to show that some of those who would repute themselves for enemies have, after all, a disquieting suspicion of kindness about them, and that we are better liked than it were wise to be. But, accepting our "splendid isolation" as a fact, should we regard it as an advantage, or, at the least, as a tribute to our character equivalent to the classic appellation "*splendide mendax*," the proud possession of Hypermnestra?

Assuredly the insular character of Britain would seem to prescribe to its inhabitants another policy from that appropriate to peoples whom only a vineyard—and that Naboth's, perchance—may separate from their alien neighbours. To have a moat about one's house always gave a certain particularity and air of exclusiveness and independence to the owner; but, though Mariana was certainly at some time beloved, the *circum vallati* generally were not therefore the more, but rather the less, popular—for security begets superiority—and this last, dislike, as was well seen in Abel's case, and, for more recent times, in Aristides'.

Moreover, it can hardly be disguised that an insular position affords peculiar opportunities for the pursuit of that annoying policy which commends itself to our professional philanthropists under the name of "enlightened self-interest"—such a combination of egoism with altruism as consists in the securing of the greatest gain to oneself compatible with a not too outrageous, and therefore dangerous, disregard of the interests or prejudices of others—yet it would appear, from the results, that such a *politique* as this demands a dexterity and lightness of touch such as might possibly be looked for in statesmen chosen and educated in their art by a Pope or a Pompadour, but hardly to be demanded of men raised for a few short years to the head of affairs on the suffrage of a numerous, and for the most part not well-informed, electorate. If Mr. Chamberlain is not, as a diplomatist, altogether on a level with Pozzo di Borgo, this is hardly to be accounted for by Corsica's being even a lesser island, with a more select society, than Britain; but rather by the circumstance that the one was selected by Alexander of Russia, while the other must satisfy the more exacting, but at the same time less cultivated, taste of a sovereign people. M. Berthelot, in France, is even more rudimentary—not to say rude—in his methods.

It is, I know, a common delusion that Ministers are only allowed to please the people by pursuing a foolish policy of change and confusion in regard to our nearest, or home, affairs—and that our foreign policy is directed on some system as settled and immutable as the precession of the equinox. It is, however, somewhat hard to reconcile with this theory the campaigns of Marlborough and the peace of Utrecht, the sea-fight of Navarino and the war in the Crimea—to say nothing of the difficulties in the way of detecting a common purpose in the "bag and baggage policy" of Mr. Gladstone and the Treaty of Berlin of Lord Beaconsfield. Still it is possible to concede that those matters are, on the whole, the best ordered with which the elected of the people concern themselves least often; that India has more continuous good government than Ireland; and that we have never dealt quite so absurdly with Turkey as with Trafalgar Square. Yet, for all that, I am afraid the only excuse, or pretence to absolute consistency which we as a nation can make to a foreigner is the paradoxical *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

Unvarying variability is not, however, in itself a sufficient reason on which to base a demand for the affection of those whom we flout and court by turns. An opinion which François I.—whether as lover or as ruler matters nothing—thought it worth while to scratch with a diamond upon a window-pane in his palace of

Fontainebleau. François was, however, though a student of the heart, merely a French king. Mr. Curzon would say, therefore, a burglar—like François Villon, his contemporary and fellow-poet—and it took an Englishman to write—

> "Yet this inconstancy is such,
> As you too shall adore;
> I could not love thee, dear, so much,
> Lov'd I not honour more."

And this excuse a foreign lady, it is most likely, would not have accepted.

Besides, be this as it may, fickleness is by no means the most unpardonable fault of the English in alien eyes. They are more to be dreaded as enemies than even as friends. Nor need we lament this, reject all consolation, nor go so far as to hold for a certainty that it is better to be the friend of another than reckoned among his enemies, when we fail to lay hold of the ideal they call indifference. And thus Lord Bacon says: "Cosmus, Duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable; you shall read (saith he) that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you shall never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends." The weakest point in this position would seem to be that, though undoubtedly all are ordered to forgive their enemies, yet it by no means follows that they do so; and, therefore, it may not be so disadvantageous to have friends as might at first sight appear. It may, indeed, well be that to incur enmity is not so much of a benefit in itself as a proof that we have deserved friendship, were this the reward of virtue. So M. Arsène Houssaye, in one of his imaginary conversations, makes Marie Antoinette exclaim to Jean Jacques Rousseau: "*Des enemis! n'en a pas qui veut. C'est une gloire. Permettez-moi de m'incliner devant vous.*"

Now, should we look round and pick out those countries which can hardly be said to have any enemies, I fancy we should find that they are mostly liked for being innocuous in those general features which most strike a foreigner—as tulips in Holland, goats in Switzerland, and mantillas in Spain. These prominent features, in the case of England, are less grateful to a foreign observer, being, in fact, our ships of war on every sea, off every coast, a belligerent portion of this island floating on the territorial waters of another Power; such is the legal theory, and such the obvious fact. This preponderance afloat, if it be real, never can earn for us the liking—though it may the good opinion—of others. 'Tis over a century since, that the pastellist La Tour—who had lived for a time in England and returned to France a better patriot than they who had never crossed the Channel—said to Louis XV., "*Sire il*

faut observer que nous n'avons pas de marine." "*Et celles de Vernet, Monsieur, La Tour!*" replied the King to the painter.

Moreover, in recent times, we have seen the Colonies forward to claim the proud right to share in the dangers of England, giving evidence of an Imperial spirit which, gratifying as it must be to us here at home, is in the same degree disagreeable to those who may chance for the moment to act in hostility to this country. In truth, the foreigner is not permitted to forget, except in times of absolute stagnation, that England is no longer a small island, but is really that and a continent or two besides, and these populated by men less inclined apparently to part with the memories of a conquering race than we, amongst whom grew up that Manchester school which never added a foot to our territory and now, happily, is little more than a melancholy memory. Yet even successful Cobdenism is not sufficient to ensure affection; and people who have forgiven us Agincourt may still hate us for sweetening our tea with sugar which the French townsman pays the peasant to supply to us at less than cost price. That we flourish in spite of a political economy which every other nation condemns, assuredly creates in others something of that terror which every creature of supernatural habits always inspires. It is impossible to have no apprehensions in presence of those of whom it is complained that they "don't know when they are beaten," especially when they grow fat on a diet on which they should long since have starved to death. If no one were a bit afraid of England, Mr. Curzon's remark would assuredly not have hurt M. Jean Pam.

Is it, then, to be regretted if we are less loved than feared? The glorifiers of "our splendid isolation," apparently, think not; and there is authority on their side, and that of the highest, Niccolò Machiavelli: who writes thus concerning the matter as it presented itself in his time to a ruling prince who might have to choose, as England now: "*S'egli è meglio essere amato che temuto, o temuto che amato?* * *Rispondesi, che si vorrebbe essere l'uno e l'altro; ma perchè gli è difficile che gli stiano insieme, è molto più sicuro l'esser temuto che amato, quando s'abbi a mancare dell'un de' duoi.*" †

It had been far better for us, we may be pardoned for believing, had Mr. Gladstone possessed some of this wisdom at the time he

* The comment written by Napoleon I. on the difficulty above propounded was simply "*Ce n'est pas une question pour moi.*"

† As the Tuscan tongue is not familiar to everyone, I translate the above quotation, thus: "Whether is it better to be loved than feared, or feared than loved? It is answered that one should be both the one and the other; but, since it is difficult that the two go together, it is much safer to be feared than to be loved, when one must fail to be either the one or the other."

omitted to thrash the Boers before counting on their gratitude for the Transvaal Convention; for a country like ours, seeking amidst the vicissitudes of public affairs some one secure established basis for its policy, it were surely well to rely chiefly on that human sentiment which appears the most permanent. Let us listen to the Florentine Secretary once more. Machiavelli proceeds:* "*E gli uomini hanno men rispetto d'offendere uno che si facci amare che uno che si facci temere; perché l'amore è tenuto da un vinculo d'obbligo, il quale per esser gli uomini tristi, da ogni occasione di propria utilità è rotto; ma il timore è tenuto da una paura di pena, che non abbandona mai. Deve, nondimeno, il principe farsi temere in modo, che se non acquista l'amore, e fugga l'odio; perchè può molto bene stare insieme esser temuto e non odiato.*"

We may be content, I fancy, not to be loved beyond our borders if we can contrive not to be hated neither—content to cultivate regard in that frigid form men name respect—the only international form of affection worth having—nay, for that matter, to be had.

CHARLES DARLING.

* "And men dread less to offend him who makes himself loved, than one whom they fear; for love is held by the bond of obligation only—and this, by reason of men's perversity, is broken on every prompting of self interest; but fear is kept whole by the apprehension of punishment, which never leaves them. Nevertheless, the ruler should so make himself to be feared that, if at the same time he do not gain affection, he may avoid simple hatred; for to be dreaded yet not hated may well go together."

THE FORCES OF TEMPERANCE.

THE ostensible agencies by which temperance has been directly promoted in this country are the organized societies and the Liquor Laws, the one acting by voluntary, the other by compulsory means. Many appear to think them the only agencies. Thus people speak of the "temperance movement" and "temperance progress" as synonymous with the operations of the societies, and consider a "reform of the liquor laws" the one thing needful to make everybody sober. It is worth while, therefore, to enquire how far and in what way the societies and the law have been instrumental in effecting that improvement which I have already shown to have taken place during the last fifty or sixty years. But before proceeding further, I beg to enter a mild protest against being dismissed as an "optimist," as some who have done me the honour to notice my previous articles have termed me. The word optimism, I take it, refers to a state of mind and indicates a disposition to make "the best" of things, whatever the facts may be. An enviable state of mind, but not mine. I desire to make neither the best nor the worst, nor, indeed, to "make" anything at all, but just to represent the facts as they are, and to draw such conclusions as to my limited intelligence they seem to warrant. If anyone thinks the facts are not as represented, or do not warrant the conclusions drawn, by all means let him say so and prove it, but to label me out of the way as an optimist is a poor sort of comment. I have no interest in showing that drunkenness has diminished, or that the liquor traffic is pretty well conducted on the whole; it would serve me better as a writer to maintain the contrary, for the public loves "horrible revelations" beyond all other kinds of information. Study and observation alone have led me to the more favourable view, and with respect to the future I am less sanguine than my critics. The real optimists are they who believe that they can alter human nature by a stroke of the pen, and that some device of their own will accomplish in a year or two that which all the efforts of all the saints and sages have failed to achieve in a score of centuries.

Temperance Societies.—So long as drunkenness has existed there

have been men who have denounced and combated it—priests, law-givers, sages, and physicians—and in a sense, therefore, the "temperance movement" is as old as the evil itself; but the institution of organized societies for the promotion of sobriety belongs to the present century. Their history in this country falls into three periods. The first covered about fifteen years, from 1829 to 1844, and was marked by great activity and success; the second, of about equal length, from 1844 to 1860, was a period of reaction, decline, and failure; the third, which has lasted until now, brought a revival of interest and activity, but on somewhat different lines. It will suffice for the present purpose to run briefly through the three periods and point out their main features.

At its outset the movement was mainly or wholly religious in character, at least religion was its animating principle According to Dr. Dawson Burns, whose *Temperance History*—a sort of annual record of the doings of the societies—is the chief authority on the subject, we originally borrowed the idea from America, where isolated attempts at organization were carried on here and there during the first quarter of the century, and eventually took definite shape in the American Temperance Society, founded in 1826 by ministers of religion. They were imitated by the Rev. Dr. Edgar, of Belfast, who, together with other Presbyterian clergymen, established in 1829 the "Ulster Temperance Society," the first central body of the kind in these islands, although for some years small semi-private associations had been formed in different places in Ireland, of which the earliest is said to have been a club started by a working-man at Skibbereen, near Cork. After the foundation of the "Ulster Temperance Society" the movement developed very rapidly. By the end of the year there were twenty-five societies in Ireland, with 800 members, and at least one in Scotland, on the Clyde. In 1830 the campaign advanced to several towns in Yorkshire and Lancashire, with Bradford at their head. London followed, and the *Temperance Societies' Record*, a paper published in Scotland, stated in its report for the year that they had then 127 societies, with 23,000 members and 60,000 associated abstainers. These figures, surprising as they are for a movement so young, were said to be doubled in the following year, and though estimates of the kind must always be accepted with caution, it is quite clear that the cause did make extraordinarily rapid progress in those early days. From about 1831 England appears to have taken the lead, and soon outstripped her earlier competitors in the field. In that year an important central body was formed in London under the title of "The British and Foreign Temperance Society," with Bishop Blomfield for president, and various other bishops and dignitaries as vice-presidents. On her accession to the

throne in 1837, the Queen gave additional prestige to this society, and a new impetus to the cause it represented, by becoming its patron. The number of abstainers in the United Kingdom at that time was estimated to be about 170,000, of whom 150,000 were credited to England and Wales, while Ireland, the original parent of the movement, only contributed 5,000; but the day of Father Matthew was still to come. Meantime a little rift had already appeared within the lute, which was destined to turn the harmony into discord, and eventually to discredit the temperance societies to an extent which very few of their adherents appear to realize down to the present day. The pledge originally required of members only committed them to abstinence from distilled liquors, which were rightly thought to be the great means of demoralization. Fermented liquors—beer, wine, cider, and so on—were permitted as comparatively harmless. In other words, temperance was really the object aimed at, and moderate drinking was not made into a sin. But about 1832 the spirit of fanaticism began to appear in that home of fanatics the north of England, and demanded the inclusion of all alcoholic drinks in the ban. Total abstinence, so inaugurated, soon spread with an outburst of spasmodic enthusiasm, and was not a little helped by the catch-word "teetotal," which is merely an intensive form of "total" colloquially used in the north. The British and Foreign Temperance Society, however, declined to fall in with the extremists, whereupon a quarrel ensued, and led to a partial break-up of the society, some members of which formed a new and rival organization on teetotal principles. About this time Father Matthew was entering upon his great crusade in Ireland, and under his sensational influence the total abstinence movement for a time carried all before it.

The accounts of Father Matthew's mission from 1838 to 1842 read like a fable. He made teetotalers as the great Powers make soldiers, by the million, only much faster; and if there had been any staying-power in the business, the liquor question would have been settled out of hand. Wherever he went a veritable fury of sacrifice appears to have seized the people of Ireland, though the estimated number of converts must be discounted by the equal fury of exaggeration which seized the chroniclers of his progress. Thus in 1839 he is said to have administered 30,000 pledges in one day at Clonmel, and from 100,000 to 150,000 in two days at Limerick. Unless pledges were taken by acclamation it would be physically impossible to administer one-quarter the number stated. In 1840 he is said to have added 748,000 to the ranks, or an average of over 2,000 per diem for every day in the year, and by 1841 the number of total abstainers in Ireland was reckoned at 4,647,000, or considerably more than the entire adult population.

Anyone may believe it who likes; but whatever the exact truth may be, it is certain that this homely village priest did for a time meet with a success beside which the united efforts of all the other advocates of temperance, before and after him, fade into insignificance. In three years he actually reduced the consumption of spirits in Ireland from 10,815,000 gallons to 5,290,000 gallons, and practically abolished drunkenness. An elderly lady described to me the other day how she travelled through Ireland about that time without seeing a single drunken man, and how striking was the contrast between the perfect sobriety of Cork and the rolling intoxication of Bristol, which met her eyes on landing.

Father Matthew's statue stands to-day in Patrick Street, but his face is happily turned towards the bridge, so that he cannot see the numerous liquor-shops which now adorn that noble thoroughfare. His mission was a flash in the pan, a sudden outburst of Celtic zeal, which burnt too fiercely to last, and already the reaction set in when his back was turned in 1843. That year he came to England and made a considerable impression—a greater impression than anyone else has ever done in the same cause—but nothing like his triumphal progress in Ireland. The people everywhere were growing tired of the violent teetotal propaganda, which had in turn killed the more moderate and promising policy of the early thirties. The whole cause declined and languished. At the beginning of 1849 it could no longer support even a weekly journal, which had not failed for the previous twelve years, and in 1850 the British and Foreign Temperance Society perished of inanition on the resignation of Bishop Blomfield, while the National Temperance Society (the chief teetotal body) found its "sphere of operations greatly restricted from diminished subscriptions," and had presently to be reorganized under another name. Then other organizations came to grief one after another and dissolved. From America came the same dismal tale. "The cause in this country," wrote Mr. J. B. Gough, in 1857, "is in a depressed state. The Maine law is a dead letter everywhere. More liquor is sold than I ever knew before in Massachusetts, and in other States it is about as bad" (Dawson Burns). In spite of this discouraging account of the Maine prohibition law, only passed in 1851, from the pen of a zealous advocate of the cause, the United Kingdom Alliance, which had been formed in Manchester in 1853 for the purpose of getting a similar law passed in England, pursued its way with that enviable indifference to awkward facts which has characterized it up to the present day, and it was rewarded before long by a distinct revival of interest in the temperance cause.

This, the third, period in the history of the societies began about 1860. It was marked by the introduction of several new elements.

The religious motive, which was the mainspring of the original movement, as I have already said, still played a prominent part, and that has since become more important again through the strong lead taken by the Church of England Temperance Society; but it was accompanied, and at first over-shadowed, by other interests, all borrowed from America. Besides the political element represented by the United Kingdom Alliance, there were the Benefit Societies—the Sons of Temperance, Rechabites,* and Sons of the Phœnix—appealing especially to the class of artizans and small tradesmen, and somewhat later the Order of Good Templars introduced from the United States in 1868. This appears to be a sort of masonic brotherhood, which aims generally at furthering the cause of temperance by investing it with the mysterious attractions of a secret society. They all throve more or less on the revival of the sixties, and there were other signs of renewed activity, such as the foundation of a Police Temperance Society, a Working Men's Teetotal League, and so forth. The Church of England Society was formed in 1862, and was followed a few years later by a movement among the Roman Catholics under the influence of Cardinal Manning. In short, the interest became pretty general, and not a little of it must be ascribed to the great popular success of Mrs. Henry Wood's prize story, *Danesbury House*, published in 1860. I have not read this cleverly-written tale since boyhood, but if I remember rightly, Mrs. Henry Wood made all her characters succeed or fail in life precisely in proportion to their indulgence in alcoholic liquors, and rather pointed the teetotal moral that anyone who takes a single glass of wine or beer has already placed himself in the grasp of an inexorable power, and can only be saved from destruction by a tremendous struggle. At any rate, uncompromising teetotalism held the field at that time, with the assistance of the various interests enumerated, and uncompromising teetotalism has remained the battle-cry of the societies, with one notable exception, ever since. The history of most of them for the last twenty years, so far as it can be made out from the scanty materials available, has been uneventful. If they have never sunk to the point of collapse reached in the fifties, neither have they risen to anything like the numerical and moral success of Father Matthew's time. There have been unseemly quarrels in the ranks here and there, secessions and so forth, and some societies have undergone curious fluctuations. For instance, the Good Templars, who numbered over 200,000 members in

* The order of Rechabites was founded in 1835, but did not become important until the later period. It is now a very large and flourishing Society with nearly 100,000 adult members (over 15 years of age) in the United Kingdom. The Sons of Temperance number 32,000 "adult" members.

England and Wales in 1873, appear to have sunk to 97,000 in 1879. I have endeavoured to obtain the data for something like an estimate of the total temperance roll-call at the present time, but without success. Accurate information is only forthcoming about a few of the organizations; all the rest is the wildest guess-work. The following figures have been kindly furnished me by the Secretary of the Church of England Temperance Society, which I take to be by far the largest and most flourishing body:—

General or Temperance Section	53,393
Total Abstaining	171,637
Juvenile	384,289
Total	609,319

The great preponderance of the juvenile section, which will strike the reader, holds good, and in a higher degree, of the temperance army generally. Its numerical strength is made up of children who constitute four-fifths of the whole, according to Mr. Malins. This explains the discrepancy between its real electoral insignificance, as proved at the last General Election, and the prodigious extent of membership claimed by its advocates. All the societies, including the Friendly and other Orders, appear to have large juvenile sections, and then there are the Bands of Hope, which run nominally into millions. But bearing this in mind, one must still believe that even so the numbers are enormously exaggerated. According to Mr. Malins, one person in eight out of the whole population is a teetotaler; other authorities, I understand, claim seven and a half million adherents to the cause, making the proportion about one in five. How does this agree with ordinary experience? For my own part, out of the many hundred men, women, and children I know in all classes of life, there is only one solitary teetotaler, or perhaps two. Where are the vast hordes of abstainers to be found? In what class of life? Certainly not among the poor, else what would become of the public-house? and just as certainly not among the upper and middle classes. I beg to suggest that a Parliamentary return on the subject would be useful in showing us where we are, and where the societies are, for at present nobody knows. In making these remarks I would by no means be understood to imply a sneer at the societies. Their development of the juvenile work is wholly in accord with their original aim, which was rather to prevent than to rescue from vice. From the teetotal point of view, which regards taking a glass of liquor as putting one's foot over the edge of a precipice, nothing can be more efficacious than the policy of keeping the young at a safe distance. On the other hand, those who disbelieve in the precipice theory and think self-control the manlier and more moral aim, will consider

organized juvenile abstinence as at best a doubtful gain. They will see in it merely a movement for making little prigs of the children of respectable parents, who are either in no real danger as it is of ever becoming drunkards, or, in so far as they are in danger, will not be prevented from succumbing, when they gain their liberty, by shackles artificially imposed in childhood. The question of juveniles is thus a matter of opinion; the gain may be denied or affirmed, but it cannot be proved either way. Putting them aside, therefore, and coming to the comparatively limited operations of the societies among adults, I cannot find any evidence that their *direct* influence on the habits of the people has been at all important, with the exception of two or three special classes. Father Matthew no doubt produced a great and tangible effect, which was not altogether so transient as it appeared, and the general fall of the drink barometer during the height of the first temperance period was no mere coincidence, though other causes, such as bad times, co-operated with the movement. But during the last thirty years the failure of the teetotal propaganda to capture any large section of the population is sufficiently proved by the statistics of consumption. The people have drunk more or less, according to the state of their pockets at different times, but the net result has been to leave the general level of consumption almost unchanged. What has happened is, that many of the grossest abuses of the traffic have been diminished or removed, and that there is more moderate and less excessive drinking than there was. If this had been the object of the societies they could claim a large share of the credit; but they chose to go upon total abstinence, and that has clearly failed in its immediate effects. In truth, they hardly touch the mass of the people at all. They are composed, for the most part, of earnest persons, belonging to the middle and lower-middle classes, eminently respectable, and never in any danger whatever of falling victims to drunkenness. They are animated—to use Dr. Dawson Burns's words—"by a desire not so much to benefit themselves as to do good to others"; and all honour to them for it. But the others refuse to listen to any appreciable extent, and the chief reason is that they resent the whole principle of total abstinence as a needless interference with one of the good things of life and an insult to their self-respect. The very name "temperance" has become a bye-word among educated and uneducated alike by being usurped to cover a bigoted and self-righteous propaganda, from which everything temperate is eliminated. The Church of England Society stands out as having recognized this fact, which is known to everyone save teetotalers; and its great and growing influence must be attributed in a large measure to its moderate

attitude. It is one of the youngest of the societies, having been formed on its present basis in 1873, but it is already the largest, I believe, and by far the most influential. When its really temperate character is better understood, and it has shaken itself free from the damaging associations unfortunately connected in the mind of the public with the name "Temperance Society," a great extension of its activity may be confidently expected. True temperance should be, and, indeed, already is, a national cause; total abstinence neither is, nor seems likely to be.

Liquor Legislation.—Those who are accustomed to hear the liquor question spoken of as a thing terribly neglected by the Legislature may be surprised to learn that during the first fifty years of the present reign at least twenty-five Acts of Parliament were passed for dealing with some aspect or other of the traffic. Is there any other question which can show an average record of one Act every two years? Considering also the number of Select Committees of both Houses that have sat upon it, Parliament cannot be fairly accused of neglect. But, it is said, the legislation has been a failure. That depends on what was expected of it; and if its promoters did expect too much, those who are most anxious for fresh measures are hardly in a position to bring that charge against them, to judge from their own utterances. The Liquor Laws did not abolish drunkenness, and if they were expected to do so, they were so far a failure; but some of them did a great deal more good than is generally supposed, and contributed most materially to the improvement I have previously described. I will enumerate, in chronological order, the most important Acts bearing on the present question, with special reference to those which have been attended with beneficial results.

1834. An Act designed to check the unfortunate results which had attended the Duke of Wellington's Beer Act of 1830. That measure had practically thrown the beer trade open to anybody who chose to start a pot-house. The object was to encourage the consumption of beer and cider in the hope of diminishing spirit-drinking; but the immediate result was to multiply the number of disorderly little beer-shops without in the least depressing the spirit traffic. The Act of 1834 made a magistrate's certificate compulsory before a licence could be obtained, and did something to check the growth of the evil. The point is interesting for the light it throws on free trade in liquor, which some people advocate to-day.

1838. An Act for closing public-houses in London from midnight on Saturday until 12 o' clock on Sunday morning. Those who have read my previous article on "The Decline of Drunkenness," will perhaps remember the evidence quoted from the House of

Commons Enquiry of 1834 on the abominable scenes which used to take place on Sunday morning. Saturday night and Sunday morning were the occasions of more drunkenness than the rest of the week put together; and this Act worked wonders. The metropolitan "drunks" fell gradually from 21,237 in 1838 to 8,321 in 1844. That remarkable improvement was not all due to the law, because the Temperance Crusade attained its zenith in the very same period and great distress prevailed simultaneously, but the beneficial effects of the measure on public order were conclusively established before the House of Commons Committee of 1854 by the unanimous testimony of a crowd of witnesses, including publicans, police, working-men, and temperance agents. The case seems to me most instructive, and a valuable proof of the efficacy of a reasonable restriction of hours.

1840. The Beer-house Act was further amended in the direction of greater stringency. Licenses were only to be granted to the real resident occupier of premises under a property qualification and other conditions. The object was to ween out the speculative and poverty-stricken pot-houses, which have always been, and still are, the cause of the worst abuses.

1845. A Gaming Act, almost inoperative, as shown before the Enquiry of 1854, because the police had no power of entry.

1854-55. Hours of Sunday-closing fixed generally. A useful measure. The consumption of spirits fell by four million gallons.

1860. Mr. Gladstone's celebrated Wine and Refreshment Houses Act, authorizing "grocers' licenses," which are not grocers' licenses at all. According to the Act, *every person* keeping a shop is entitled to take out a license to retail wine for off consumption. Further, licenses were required for all refreshment houses, and eating-house keepers were entitled to take out wine licenses for consumption on the premises. All these provisions have been heartily abused, but for my part I believe it to be a good Act, which has operated as a great convenience to the lower-middle classes, and if it has not diminished drunkenness, has certainly not increased it. That, however, is only a pious opinion; but the contrary view is no more. The real crime of the measure is that it encourages moderate drinking, as it was intended to do. Poor Mr. Gladstone was never sound on that point.

1861. A further plunge into crime in the shape of an Act permitting the retail sale of spirits by the bottle for off consumption, and also the sale of very small beer (at not more than 1½d. the quart) in any house or shop under a five-shilling license. These measures are more doubtful, especially the latter, which seems needless and foolish.

1862. More amendments, and repeal of George the Second's

Tippling Act, which forbade the recovery of small ale-house debts.

1864. A Closing Act, forbidding public-houses to be opened again after the legal hour until 4 a.m. This was a useful Act, and necessary to prevent evasion of the law. It was amended in the following year by provisions for suspending the regulation in special cases.

1869. Wine and Beer-house Act—an important licensing measure. The principal provisions were: (1). Retail licenses not to be granted without a certificate given annually by justices; (2) Certificate might be refused on account of (*a*) failure of applicant to produce satisfactory evidence of good character, (*b*) house in question being disorderly, (*c*) previous forfeiture, (*d*) applicant or his house not being duly qualified by law. These measures had a most beneficial effect, which was further enhanced by the legislation of 1872 and 1874. They may therefore be taken together.

1872. Licensing Act—the most important measure of the century. It contained ninety clauses, of which the most pertinent may be summarized as dealing with the following points:—

(1). Prohibition of sale of intoxicating liquors without license—penalty for first offence a fine of £50 or one month's imprisonment; for second offence £100 or three months, with forfeiture of license and disqualification for five years; for third offence £100 or six months and unlimited disqualification.

(2). Prohibition of sale of spirits to persons under sixteen years of age—penalty 20s. for first and 40s. for second offence.

(3). Penalty for being found drunk in any highway or other public place or on any licensed premises up to 10s. for first offence, 20s. for second, and 40s. for third. Penalty for riotous or disorderly behaviour while drunk, up to 40s.

(4). Penalty for permitting drunkenness or violence on premises or for selling liquor to a drunken person, £10 for first offence, and £20 for the second, with compulsory endorsement of license (altered in 1874 to optional endorsement).

(5). Penalty for harbouring constables and for permitting them to drink or supplying them with drink, £10 and £20.

(6). Penalty for permitting gaming, £10 and £20.

(7). Power given to publicans to exclude anyone who is drunken, violent, quarrelsome, or disorderly.

(8). Forfeiture of license on repeated conviction: on the third offence recorded disqualification of the man and the house.

1874. Licensing Act, of which the chief provisions related to the power of the police to enter licensed premises, the fixing of hours of closing as at present, the exemption of *bonâ fide* travellers, the mitigation of some of the 1872 regulations, and adulteration.

These Acts were markedly successful. The Report of the House of Lords' Select Committee of 1876 stated that "recent legislation has had a beneficial effect throughout the country by producing good order in the streets, by abolishing the class of beer-houses, and by improving the character of licensed houses generally." Further, "the process of weeding out the most disorderly beer-houses has taken effect throughout the country." A large number of witnesses from various places gave evidence of the beneficial effects of legislation. Father Nugent—"It has worked wonders in Liverpool. I may date the improvement of the streets from that Act of 1872." Colonel Palin, Head Constable of Manchester—"It is now a quiet place, the Acts have had a wonderful effect in improving the state of the streets." Sir J. Mantell, of Salford—"The public-houses are well-conducted on the whole and much improved by recent legislation." Similar evidence was given with respect to London, Sheffield, Bristol, Birmingham, Newcastle, Cardiff, and Preston. "This improvement," says the Report, "is attributed mainly to the new closing regulations, but it is also due to the abolition of a large number of the worst class of beer-houses under the Act of 1869, and to the improved character of licensed houses generally."

The numerous Acts which have been passed since 1874 relate chiefly to minor points, but a few must be mentioned.

1881. Welsh Sunday Closing Act—an important experiment in legislation, which deserves careful study, as showing how far restriction can be safely carried. In the smaller places it appears to have been successful, but in Cardiff it has been conclusively proved to have done more harm than good by forcing illicit trade in the shape of clubs and shebeens. The women of the working-classes complain bitterly of it:—"The men used to come home at ten o'clock, now they come at three or four in the morning."

1883. An Act prohibiting the payment of workmen in public-houses—a useful measure, far too long delayed.

1885. An Act defining beer for Inland Revenue purposes as "any liquor which is made or sold as a description of beer, or as a substitute for beer, containing more than 2 per cent. of alcohol." Beer may be made of almost anything under the Acts. But the analyses under the Local Government Board show that deleterious substitutes are not used, and that the only serious adulteration is by water with sugar, and possibly salt, but the latter is doubtful.

1886. An Act prohibiting the sale of liquor to persons under thirteen for consumption on the premises. This was a most salutary measure, which would bear extension.

The reader who has waded through the foregoing list will admit, I think, that the Legislature has neither shirked the liquor question nor wholly failed in dealing with it, in spite of numerous blunders.

Of the two agencies I have been discussing, the law seems to have more tangible results to its credit than the societies. But in truth it is only a superficial view which would regard these two things as representing the forces of temperance. Many far wider and deeper influences have been at work during the period under discussion. Great changes have passed over the country; changes religious, political, social, economical, intellectual, and scientific; and not one but has in some degree touched the liquor question. The activity of the Churches, and particularly the regeneration of the Church of England, has done much to raise the standard of morality. The possession of political power has quickened the sense of responsibility in the people, and taught them more self-respect. Conversely, the social and industrial upheaval has forced employers of labour, landowners, and the upper classes generally to recognize, as they never did before, their duty to those around them and dependent on them. The physical conditions of life have been improved among the working-classes by the entirely new science of hygiene and by the cheapening of food. Their mental condition has been equally affected by facilities for locomotion, by education, and the development of the Press and other cheap literature. In this connection, the testimony of a working-man, given so far back as 1854, is worth quoting. He had spoken emphatically of the diminution of drunkenness in his own class, and was asked to what he attributed it. "There are a great many books published," he said, "periodicals and that like, which helps to open their understanding, and they get to know better. They have other pursuits, and they enjoy themselves more at home. Very many take in some little periodical or other."

And there is something more than all these things, something which is partly formed by them, but is yet distinct, which partly acts through them, and at the same time more directly. I mean what we call public opinion. It is an impalpable sort of thing, but very real, and by far the most powerful of all forces in a free country. The enactment, and still more, the administration of the law depend upon it. The societies depend upon it. As Dr. Dawson Burns says, "Temperance reform has succeeded as far as the willingness of society to adopt it has permitted it to succeed. How much farther could it succeed? . . . Temperance history is a record of success so far as men have been ready to co-operate in that reform." Now public opinion is the outcome of many influences, and that is true in this particular question no less than in others. There are the general influences mentioned above, and certain special ones, including the temperance societies themselves. Their indirect effects in helping to form public opinion have been most important. That has, in fact, been their real work far more than the

enrolment of members and the administration of individual pledges. As the Bishop of Rochester said the other day at the diocesan meeting of the C.E.T.S., their task is to "educate public opinion." It is, and always has been. They have pushed the question to the front, and insisted on attention being given to it. They have stimulated the public conscience. And possibly the extremists, by their very violence, have done this most effectively up to a certain point. The world is made up of all sorts; and in the day of stagnation a handful of fanatics may do good service by stimulating that progress which is the only alternative to decay. If they had their way altogether they would do a great deal of harm. But as there is not the remotest chance of that, let us cheerfully credit them with a fair measure of good. Eventually they come to grief by running obstinately up against the immovable wall of solid facts, and less excitable people may therefore watch their course with more sympathy than anger.

Much as the Temperance Organizations have done, however, to keep us all alive to the evils of intemperance, there has been another influence, I think, working more quietly and surely, but with more practical effect. Drinking is essentially a matter of social usage; the majority of people drink much or little according to the custom of the society in which they live. And in matters of social usage every class is apt to be strongly influenced by the class above, into which it is for ever aspiring to climb. Democratic as we may affect to be, the lower orders persistently imitate the higher so far as they know how; indeed, the more democratic they are, the more they imitate, to show their equality. Now, it is the fact that up to the early part of this century social custom not only permitted but encouraged drunkenness among the upper classes, who regularly and publicly set the example to the lower; and that a complete revolution has since taken place in this respect. It began before the "temperance movement," and went on steadily, independent of that propaganda, and apparently uninfluenced by it. It has been a gradual change in the standard of conduct, in favour of sobriety as part of the behaviour expected of a gentleman. Total abstinence had nothing to do with it; there was no question of abstaining; but drunkenness has come to be regarded as discreditable and offensive, as "bad form" in short, instead of being quite the right and proper thing. It is idle to say that the lower classes are unaware of the fact, or uninfluenced by it. What do servants think of a drunken master? What does the public think of a drunken clergyman or Member of Parliament, let alone a Cabinet Minister or a judge? They think him a disgrace, however drunk they may get themselves, because a man in his position is expected to conform to a

higher standard. And in proportion as they respect themselves, the lower classes are moved insensibly to make that standard their own. The influence is gradually permeating their ranks, and traces of it can be found very low down in the scale by those who care to look. The reader may not agree with me in attaching so much weight to this social factor, but no one can deny its existence, and I can call one unimpeachable witness to the importance of a social lead from the upper classes in regard to temperance. Dr. Dawson Burns, speaking of the decline of the movement in Ireland, remarks that "the causes are not far to seek. As early as 1841, almost at the culmination of the popular movement, it was noticed with regret and apprehension that the upper and upper-middle classes, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, had not joined the reform, and it was predicted that should this continue the want of moral support from such quarters would enfeeble and imperil the whole reform. The prediction was lamentably fulfilled." In other words, a social movement, if it is to last, must begin from the top, which is just my point. Therefore, I regard the example of society as a most important factor in bringing about that organic change in tone which marks the last fifty or sixty years. And though the improvement in manners began quite early in the century, the chief credit for maintaining and developing it belongs to the steady influence of the Court of Queen Victoria. This is one of the many ways in which Her Majesty's wise and high-minded rule has worked quietly and unostentatiously for the benefit of her people.

A word in conclusion about the future. Most of the "Forces of Temperance" discussed above will continue to work naturally and surely; but a good deal may be done actively to help on the improvement. The organizations have their work before them in pegging away at the further education of public opinion, and the more reasonable their tone, the greater will be the attention paid to them. Similarly with the Legislature. There is plenty of encouragement in the past for moderate and well-considered legislation, and as public opinion changes, measures of that kind may be brought forward with good prospects of success. The programme put forward by the recent conference of religious bodies shows a very promising spirit of moderation. They ask for more stringent administration of the present law, further restriction of hours and of the sale of liquor to young persons, the registration of clubs, and more effective treatment of habitual drunkards. With the exception of the last point, which is far more difficult to deal with than is generally supposed, all these proposals are good and, I believe, feasible. The larger questions of licensing reform they would refer to a Parliamentary Enquiry. Perhaps a Royal

Commission might be better, and before this appears one will probably have been appointed. For my part, I see no reason why such an enquiry should not lead to substantial results, provided the Commissioners go the right way to work. Something may unquestionably be done for temperance by legislation, but the essential condition of success is a true knowledge of the facts. A mere ding-dong of *ex parte* statements, dictated on the one side by prejudice and on the other by self-interest, will avail nothing, and will only result in the whole subject being hung up indefinitely. The liquor question has too long been the playground of theories, views, opinions, assertions, assumptions, and aspirations—of everything save a real study of the facts. The right treatment of disease requires before all things an accurate diagnosis of the conditions, made with an open mind. A Commission honestly bent on the truth cannot fail to be fruitful; one preoccupied with foregone and contradictory conclusions is doomed to sterility.

ARTHUR SHADWELL.

NOTE.—Mr. Whyte, the Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, has recently argued, on the strength of an enquiry carried out by the British Medical Association, that the upper and middle classes are more drunken than the lower. Such a contention hardly needs an answer. In the first place, the number of cases included in the enquiry was far too small to allow any general conclusion of the kind to be drawn; and in the second the number of deaths directly caused by alcohol bears no necessary relation to the general volume of intemperance. It all depends on the kind of liquor used. But does Mr. Whyte seriously mean to contend that the classes which frequent the public-house are more sober than those which eschew it? If, on the other hand, he only means to show that drunkards are to be found in the upper as well as in the lower classes, he is forcing an open door.

A. S.

THE BRITISH CASE AGAINST VENEZUELA.*

THE publication of the Blue Books upon the Boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela enables those who have the necessary leisure and inclination to peruse them, to form a full and instructed opinion upon the strength of the British case. The circulation of Blue Books is, however, limited. Lord Rosebery has cast some ridicule upon this form of literature, and it rests under the severe ban of the most voracious general reader; it does not cumber the groaning tables of our Free Libraries, and is unsought by Mudie's *clientèle*. Believing that the present volumes, in spite of the clamour for their appearance, and the surpassing interest of the subject they deal with, are not more likely than their predecessors to attain a wide publicity, I have thought it might be of interest and use to compress the story they contain—corroborating it when possible from exterior sources—within the limits of a lengthy article.

It seems all the more advisable to do so, as an elaborate collection of historical and geographical documents covering a period of nearly three hundred years is peculiarly susceptible of garble and misrepresentation. An unscrupulous partisan delving in this mine of information solely for the purpose of supporting a preconceived theory, to which his *amour propre* held him committed, might easily succeed in giving a wholly false impression of the aggregation of facts by extracting two or three obvious clerical errors, and giving the go-by to the great mass of evidence. This is not a spirit to be emulated, as there are no limits to the mischief that may be caused in acute international questions by a deliberate depreciation of an exceedingly strong case. Let us be scrupulous in recognizing every vestige of a claim that may be fairly set up against us, and conciliatory in enforcing our own rights, but it is simply playing with fire to pretend that our case

* By the special leave of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office I am permitted to reproduce two maps illustrating the recent Venezuela Blue Book. Through the courtesy of the Foreign Office and the Intelligence Department of the War Office I have been able to obtain impressions from the stones used for the Blue Book maps. I desire to express grateful acknowledgment for these privileges.—[EDITOR, *N.R.*]

against Venezuela is weak, and that surrender must inevitably follow the detection of a discrepancy in a Blue Book of several hundred pages.

It is also to be hoped that Englishmen in considering their case will clear their minds of resentment against President Cleveland's Message. I would not underrate the melancholy significance of that epoch-marking document as a manifestation of the dislike in which we are held by great political forces in the United States. That outburst and the popular response to it have been a rude awakening to all of us—they constitute the bitterest event of the century—but we can dismiss both from our minds in weighing our case against Venezuela. It is to be recollected that our Government and that of the United States have been on most cordial terms since the Message (which was not addressed directly to this nation) and that nothing could exceed the courtesy of Mr. Bayard's communication to Lord Salisbury, on February 3rd of this year, informing him that a commission had been appointed by the President of the United States "to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana," with Mr. Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court, as its President. Mr. Bayard adds: "Through its President, this Commission has suggested to the Secretary of State that, being distinctly and in no view an arbitral Tribunal, but having its duty limited to a diligent and careful ascertainment of the facts touching the territory referred to and in dispute for the information of the President, it would be grateful for such assistance to that end as could be obtained by the friendly co-operation and aid of the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela. Wherefore I beg leave to make application to your Lordship that, if entirely consistent with your sense of international propriety, the Commission may be furnished with such documentary proof, historical narrative, unpublished archives, or other evidence as may be within the power of Her Majesty's Government, as well as for any facilities which may conveniently be extended to assist the Commission in the purposes of its institution. The purposes of the investigation proposed by the Commission are certainly hostile to none—nor can it be of advantage to any that the effort to procure the desired information should fail of its purpose—the sole concern of the United States being the peaceful solution of a controversy between two friendly Powers."

Lord Salisbury replied with a promise of "advance copies" of the documents then being collected for presentation to Parliament, for which "prompt and courteous response" Mr. Bayard returned "assurances of the appreciation of my Government of the courtesy thus bestowed." It is gratifying to note so friendly an interchange

of letters between Governments at reputed loggerheads, and they afford a useful reminder that our case has not been produced under outside pressure, and that the rapidity of its publication is due solely to supposed Parliamentary exigencies. It can thus be approached with a perfectly open mind, and is to be studied with a desire to effect a just and generous settlement.

Lord Salisbury, it is to be remembered, has never closed the diplomatic door with a bang. As he informed Mr. Olney last November, "Her Majesty's Government are sincerely desirous of being in friendly relations with Venezuela, and certainly have no design to seize territory that properly belongs to her or forcibly to extend sovereignty over any portion of her population,"—the question in issue being which territory "properly belongs" to Venezuela and which to our colony of British Guiana. We derive our territory in British Guiana from the Dutch by right of conquest in 1796, confirmed by the Treaty of 1814 (to which Spain was practically concurrent), and the case of Venezuela rests upon her successful revolt from Spain which commenced in 1810, though she remained merged in the United States of Columbia until 1830, when she entered on an independent existence, which was eventually recognized by Spain in 1845. We are entitled to whatever was a part of the Dutch possessions confirmed to us in 1814, *i.e.*, the territory lying between the present Dutch Guiana and what was then Spanish Guiana—and Venezuela succeeded to all the rights and territory vested in Spain in Spanish Guiana. Had the Dutch and Spaniards ever defined and delimited their boundaries no dispute could ever have arisen, but, unfortunately for the Anglo-Saxon race, they omitted to do so, and no treaty marking their frontier is to be found. Spain, at all events, was interested in leaving her pretentions in the New World in the vague, and the Netherlands, satisfied with practical control of valuable possessions, abstained from pressing for definitions. In order to determine, therefore, what "properly belongs" to Venezuela it becomes necessary to trace the earlier history of Guiana, with the view of ascertaining, not who made the largest claims to possession but which of the parties, the Spanish or Dutch, can be most justly held to have established those claims by acts of occupation, jurisdiction, and authority. These tests have to be applied in a reasonable manner with reference to the circumstances of the time and the nature of the country. Let the reader take a map and perpetually ask himself as he goes along which Power held the coast from the Orinoco to the Essequibo from the time the story opens until the Treaty of 1814. And again, which Power predominated over the Hinterland as it became gradually opened up.

1499—1648.—Occupation of the Coast.

The Spanish Governor of Mainas, Don Francisco de Requena, in drawing up a memorandum in 1802 upon a recent treaty between the French Republic and the King of Portugal for the instruction of the Spanish Government, incidentally gives us an account of the early discovery of the territories in dispute. "The extensive coast of Guayana, comprised between the two great Rivers, Orinoco and Marañon, or Amazon, from the discovery of America, belonged to the Spanish Empire. In the year 1499 it was visited by Americo Vespucci, and some time afterwards by Captain Alonzo de Ojeda, also Vicente Yanez Pinzon examined it. Francisco Orellana, on descending from Quito by the River Marañon, passed along the whole coast. The same was done by the crew of Pedro de Ursua, who made the same voyage from Lima. Lastly, in the time of Charles V., Diego de Ordaz, the same Orellana, and other Spaniards, with fleets, went from Spain towards these parts, without ever having made any settlement whatever on them, simply contenting themselves with taking possession, *i.e.*, merely nominal possession, of them in the name of their sovereign. As all these coasts of the northern hemisphere were abandoned for more than a century, the Dutch and French founded colonies on them without any opposition whatever on the part of Spain to whom the said territories belonged." After an attentive examination of the documents forming the Blue Book it can be affirmed with confidence that from the visit of Americo Vespucci in 1499 until 1810, when Venezuela took her place, *Spain never "made any settlement whatever" in any territory now claimed by Great Britain in her dispute with Venezuela*, as I shall proceed to show.

At the time of the early visits described by the Governor of Mainas the Dutch and Spaniards were members of a common empire, but in 1581 the United Netherlands threw off all allegiance to Spain, and their independence was recognized by the Treaty of Münster (confirming the Truce of Peace in 1609) in 1648. This treaty confirmed the contracting Powers in their respective South American possessions and by a curious clause accorded to the Dutch, "also the forts and the places which the said Lords the States shall chance to acquire and possess after this without infraction of the present treaty," *i.e.*, they could extend wherever the Spaniards were not already established. The first historical period therefore ends with the Treaty of Münster in 1648, and it is necessary to examine it in order to ascertain what were the possessions then recognized as belonging to the two nations respectively. In 1595 Captain Philip de Santiago made a report on the River Orinoco, which he had recently visited, for the Spanish Government, discussing the "best sites and lands most adapted for settling

GWR... TOPOGRAPHICAL SECTION

SKETCH MAP OF PART OF GUIANA.

Scale 1/3168000 or 1 inch to 50 miles

50 MILES

REFERENCE NOTE

Dutch Posts

Spanish Missions

" Settlements

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Boca de Navios or Great Mouth R. Orinoco

R. Orinoco

Ciudad Bolivar (San Thomé)

San Thomé (Antigua Vieja)

Alta Gracia

Upata

Sta Maria

Palmar

Capapui

Miamo

Carapo

GUACIPATI

Divina Pastora

Nueva Providencia

Tumereme

Hitita

Site of a Dutch Post

Barima Pt

Macamoca Pt

Pt Playa

R. Waini or Guarapa

R. Barima

R. Amacura

R. Aguirre

Mt BARIMA

R. Barama

R. Maroco

C. Nassau

New Middelburg

New Zealand

R. Essequibo

Demerara R.

GEORGE TOWN

R. Berbice

New Amsterdam

R. Corentin

Penal Settlement

Cartabo

Kykoveral

Ft Nassau (Old Amsterdam formerly the capital of Berbice)

R. Caroni

R. Cuyuni

R. Mazaruni

R. Yuruan

R. Yuruani

R. Yuapamo

R. Carapo

R. Urauan

Mt CARAPO

Mt VENARO

R. Caburan

R. Marapuni

R. Potaro

R. Demerara

Mt TAQUARI

R. Mahu or Ireng

Mt IRUTERUM

Mt RORAIMA

PACARAIMA MTS

R. Yuruan or Cotinga

Mt MAKARAPAN

Arinda

R. Rupununi

R. Essequibo

R. Berbice

R. Corentin

R. Pirara

Pirara

CUNUCU or CORCON Mts

R. Takutu

Ft San Joaquim

R. Quino

CURIATO Mts

R. Rupununi

CARAWAIME Mts

ARAWASUTE Mts

VINDIAU Mts

R. Essequibo

Mt PIRITIKU

Mt YINIKO

GUIANA

BRAZIL

I. D. W. O. N° 1147

Lithographed at the Intell. Div. War Office, January 1896

MAPA.

on the bank of the Orinoco . . . . in case your majesty is pleased to command the said bank to be settled." This shows that at that time there were no Spanish settlements on the Orinoco whatsoever, but in the following year the Captain escorted Antonio de Berrio, who effected a settlement close to the right bank of the Orinoco, between the 62nd and 63rd parallels of longitude (see sketch-map A). This station was christened San Thomé de la Guayana, and was the only settlement made by the Spaniards in any part of Guiana prior to 1723. Though at different dates it was transplanted to different sites, always on the bank of the Orinoco, a reference to the map will show that it was always remote from the most extreme claim ever set up by the British Government. The Dutch, on the other hand, had been more active, and there is abundant evidence from Spanish and other sources that during the latter half of the century prior to 1590 the Dutch had established themselves on the coast of Guiana. In 1595 the English explorer, Captain Charles Leigh, found the Dutch established near the mouth of the Orinoco, a fact which is also confirmed from Spanish sources. In 1597 Ibarguen visited the Essequibo and reported "white men," who can be shown to have been the Dutch. Early in the following century various Dutch companies afterwards merged in the great West India Company (the Orinoco being laid down as the limit of its jurisdiction) were engaged in colonizing Guiana, and had made settlements there before 1614. A memorial to the Spanish Privy Council in that year by the Deputy Governor of San Thomé de la Guayana states:—

"And with regard to the others (*i.e.*, Dutch Settlements) existing, it would be well to clear those coasts of them, for, from the River Marañon to the River Orinoco there are three or four more settlements, very flourishing, from which they derive much utility and very great profit, and with the mouths of those two rivers they are making themselves masters of the possessions and the fruits of the natives, and this must call for some remedy; and the necessity of sending men, artillery, and arms for the defence of the city of Guayana must not be neglected."

The Dutch at this time appear to have been exceedingly active and pushing, and at the end of 1637 the Spaniards were temporarily deprived of the only foothold they possessed throughout the whole region of Guiana. The "Cabildo" of Trinidad addressed an imploring letter on the subject to the King of Spain, which was submitted to the Council of State, and has been unearthed from the archives of Seville. Here is his account of the state of the Spanish dominions:—

"(Extract.) *December* 27, 1637.

"Being informed by the Governor of that province, Don Diego de Escobar, who

sent a special courier from the city of Santo Tomé de la Guayana, that the Dutch, united with Carib Indians, had taken that place, and sacked and burned it, by the enemy who came from Amacuro, Essequibo, and Berbis, we hasten to inform your Majesty of that sad event. They also threatened us in this Island of Trinidad with a powerful 'Armada,' united with their confederates the Indian nations, who are very numerous, and even with the natives of this island, as both have risen against us. The Dutch are married to women of the Carib tribes, as well as to those of other nations, and this is a very powerful aid to them in their designs, which is to make themselves masters of all these parts, the whole of the Orinoco, as well as this island, and put us all to death. Their intention and desire have always been to take and populate both the one and the other, so as to bring themselves to the confines of the new Kingdom of Granada. We took all the measures possible with the little force at our command, but on account of the defenceless state of the place, we were unable to oppose their ravages."

The reader's attention is particularly called to the position of Amacuro, mentioned in this extract; it is beyond Barima. In a secret Report (believed to have been drawn up in 1640) upon the Dutch settlements, presented to the King of Spain, the adversaries are described as established on the River Paumaroon, at "the town of New Calandia (Zelandia), which is very large, and rich in all kinds of fruits, being the best settlement they possess in the whole of this coast, and on this account they carefully guard it, for this is already very near the River Orinoco, where the fort of Goyana (Guayana), which belongs to His Majesty, is situated." The fort here referred to is San Thomé, which had been rebuilt.

The Preliminary Statement at the opening of the Blue Book summarizes the position at the date of the Treaty of Münster (1648) with absolute truth :—

"1. That long prior to, and at the date of the Treaty of Münster, the Dutch had founded settlements in various parts of the territory now known as British Guiana, particularly upon the coast.

"2. That the only settlement established by Spain prior to that date was the post of San Thomé de Guayana."

Moreover, Spain was thoroughly aware of the settlements made by the Dutch in Guiana, when confirming the United Netherlands in all their possessions in South America, as the Spanish evidence shows. In other words, *the Treaty of Münster* surrendered to the Dutch the coast from the mouth of the Orinoco to the Essequibo as a base of operations for pushing into the Hinterland.*†

1648—1796.—Opening up the Interior.

The Treaty of Münster clears the air, and gives us a fresh starting-point. The Dutch are firmly established along the coast of the present British Guiana as far as the mouth of the Orinoco,

* The Treaty of Munster was confirmed by that of Utrecht, 1714.

† Although the Blue Book does not attempt to show inland Dutch settlements at this date, General Byam's journal (*British Museum Sloane Manuscripts*, 3662), written in 1665, refers to the erection of Fort Cartabo by the Dutch (*circa* 1620), some 50 miles up the Essequibo.

in flourishing settlements, according to the evidence of unwilling Spanish observation, and, so far, all that Spain has done —in the region of Guiana—to translate her claim of sovereignty into effect, has been to establish one precarious settlement at San Thomé de Guayana, which had been destroyed by the Dutch and consequently transplanted to a still safer distance up the Orinoco. It was located at the time of the Treaty at least one hundred miles beyond what is now known as the Schomburgk line. The clause in the Treaty recognizing future Dutch acquisitions not encroaching on established Spanish possessions must consequently be held to have given the Dutch a free hand to push into the interior, of which they were not slow to avail themselves, and it becomes interesting to watch their expansion from that date, side by side, of course, with the colonizing work of the Spaniards. There are plenty of records of Dutch activity during the latter part of the seventeenth century. Indeed, between the Treaties of Münster in 1648 and Utrecht in 1714, which confirmed the provisions of Münster, Spain slumbered while the Dutch remained very wide awake. In 1659 the Dutch colonies of Essequibo, Pomeroon, and Morocco (Maroco) were reported "as flourishing greatly, attracting free immigration, and bidding fair to become the most flourishing tropical plantations in America."* On the other hand, it is stated in Casani's *History of the Society of Jesus* (1741) that about 1664 the Fathers Llauri and Vergara were sent to explore Guiana with a view of seeing whether a Jesuit mission should be founded there. They reported the province abandoned by the Spaniards, and nothing came of their expedition. In 1669 we find the Dutch West India Company making a grant (in the most public manner possible, without any sort of protest from Spain) to Count Frederick Casimir of Hanau of thirty Dutch miles on the coast of Guiana, and 100 Dutch miles inland, "or as many more as may be required and occupied at one time or another" for the purpose of founding a German colony. In 1671 the Queen of Spain, in a decree addressed to her Secretary of State, speaks of the need of an expedition to the Orinoco to fortify its narrowest part, adding, "the Dutch are near the entrance" of the river. In 1674 the Charter of the West India Company was renewed, its preamble enumerating the colonies of Essequibo and Pomeroon, while the Company's limits were fixed at the Orinoco. Two years later (1676), in a "consulta" of the Council of War and Council of the Indies to the King of Spain, with reference to a new settlement meditated by the Dutch, they are incidentally mentioned as possessing "the greater part of the coast from Trinidad to that river (the Amazon)." At this time the Dutch appear to have offered to expel the French from the Windward Islands on behalf of Spain, but upon terms for themselves

* Keije's *Onderscheid der koude en warme Landen*, 1659, pp. 104, 166, 178.

which the councillors feared would prove too advantageous to Dutch prestige in the Indies. At a Spanish Council of State in the following year (1677) it was resolved "that the river Orinoco, with a width of more than twenty leagues at its mouth, should not be occupied." The evidence continues to be all one way.

About 1680 another unsuccessful attempt was made to found a Jesuit mission in Guiana, and the Governor of Trinidad, reporting in 1686, stated that it was next to impossible to drive out the Caribs of Guiana, as they were very numerous in all parts of the province, and were united with the Dutch from the River Orinoco to the Marañon (Amazon). In 1684 the Dutch Commandeur of Essequibo recommended that a strong little post should be established at Barima in place of the small watch-house that already existed there. By 1700 posts had been established by the Dutch at places on the coast and in the interior. Three of the latter are named in the records, one being beyond the Cuyuni in the Pariacotte Savannah, about six weeks' journey from fort Kijkoveral (see sketch-map A).

It is therefore clear that when the Treaty of Münster was confirmed by that of Utrecht in 1714, Spain occupied precisely the same position in Guiana as at the earlier date, *i.e.*, she had the solitary settlement of San Thomé. Meanwhile the Dutch retained their former hold upon the coast up to the Orinoco, and had also commenced interior pioneering along the basin of the Essequibo, Cuyuni, Pomeroon, and Amacura. The Spanish seemed quite to have thrown up the sponge in their colonial contest with their strenuous rivals. Certainly Don José Diguja, Governor of Cumaná and Guayana from 1759-1763, in an elaborate retrospect of his province drawn up in 1761, presents us with a most pitiful picture of its condition in 1723.

"The Province of Guayana in 1723 was under the jurisdiction of Trinidad, and without any other village than the Fort of Guayana, or city of Santo Thomé, situated on the banks of the Usupamo (Upata of map A), and with only twenty or twenty-five cabins occupied by so many neighbours, destitute of every human succour, in whom there was not even sufficient sense or force to clear [a little of] the thick forests which surrounded them, which made the place so unhealthy as to be insupportable, and also contributed to the great scarcity of provisions, depending exclusively on fish from the Orinoco, all injurious and provocative of fevers, some little game, and what the few wretched plantations produced. They never went any distance from the place on account of the great risk of falling into the hands of the Caribs, who occupied and wandered over all those territories," &c.

A few years later things were no better, as, according to the same Spanish Governor, "At this time (1728) the Dutch had the entire Province of Guayana in their hands, and with the English had large

factories in Barcelona united with the Caribs." In 1730 the Dutch West India Company prohibited trade in the Rivers Massaruni and Cuyuni except by their own agents.

From 1724 to 1790 a number of Spanish Capuchin mission stations were established between the Orinoco, where it flows by Santo Thomé and the Yuruari—the first, under the name La Concepcion de Suay, only two leagues from Santo Thomé. The farthest point ever known to have been reached by this movement was a cattle farm at Tumeremo (1788). It need hardly be said to those familiar with the spirit in which Great Britain has urged her rights that this mission station lies far without the Schomburgk line. There is some slender evidence of a site having been selected by the Spaniards at Cura which, in consequence, also remains without the "predatory" frontier laid down by Great Britain. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century (1748) the Hague records inform us that the Spaniards were attempting to encroach upon the Dutch territory in the neighbourhood of the affluents of the Cuyuni. On being remonstrated with, a Spanish officer, who seems to have exceeded his authority, replied that the whole of America belonged to the King of Spain. From the same records we hear that the Spanish missionaries applied, unsuccessfully, to the Dutch Government for permission to trade with the Dutch on the Cuyuni. In 1754, the Dutch Director-General of Essequibo reported that a Spanish mission recently established on an affluent of the Upper Cuyuni had been withdrawn at his request backed by a threat of force. The following year the Dutch, to forestall any attempted encroachment by the Spaniards over the Yuruari, established a post 150 miles higher up the Cuyuni* (see sketch-map A).

Another tribute to their position at this time was a complaint from the Spanish Commandant on the Orinoco to the Dutch authorities of disorders at Barima.

Spain was unquestionably getting seriously alarmed at the commanding position gradually assumed by the Dutch† in Guiana,

* The instructions to the Dutch Post-holders of the Cuyuni district contained among other directions the following :—

"The official of the said post will be very careful not to cause any injury to be done to the Spaniards, who are our good neighbours, and in all he will maintain good friendship and correspondence with them. But at the same time he will be most careful not to permit the said Spaniards to pass the River Cuyuni, if by any chance they are desirous of so doing, or in any part of the territory of our Colony ; and in case they attempt to molest the official of the said post or guard, he will immediately dispatch a man to the Governor's Castle to advise him promptly of the same."

† Extract from *Memorias* of Marquis de Torrenueva on the Spanish and English Commission in Seville, 1737 to 1743 : "And in view of the fact that the Dutch are established within this demarcation and limits, on the continent of the Province of Guayana, and occupying the territory with their cities and plantations, which stretches from the Orinoco to the before-mentioned Surinam, and which are distant the one from the other 8°, from 318½° to 324° of longitude, it would be well

and a few years later conspired with Portugal to oust their active rivals altogether from Guiana, but nothing came of the intrigue. A full and most frank exposition of the plot is to be found in the secret correspondence between Spain and Portugal. The correspondence like so much other matter in the Blue Book is very good reading, and I regret that space prevents my dealing more copiously with it. The plan proposed was that the Portuguese (below the Dutch), and the Spaniards (above them) should join hands at the back of Guiana, and hem the Dutch in, and eventually dislodge them. It was a very neat plan on paper, but, unfortunately, it was devised by men totally ignorant of the country and devoid of the means to execute it, though they were not squeamish in the choice of weapons.* The reports submitted to the conspirators, give a striking view of the situation in Guiana. The very missions are described as being "more in the hands of the Dutch than in those of the missionaries." The Province of Guayana is "entirely unpeopled by our people." The Spanish Commissary (1755) speaks as "having surveyed the banks of the Cuniri, Miamo, and the other rivers which flow into the Yuruary, and with pleasure would I have penetrated as far as the Cuyuni, if political reasons had not prevented me doing so." As we know that at this time the Dutch were settled on the Cuyuni,† it is not difficult to guess at the "political reasons."‡

to consider whether they (the Dutch) were in possession of those at the time the Treaty of Münster or Westphalia was signed in 1648, by taking measures conducing thereto, in connection with what was stipulated and is deduced from Article V of the said Treaty."

* Draft of a Secret Letter of Instructions to Señor Iturriaga, dated Madrid, October 8, 1753 :—

"I am commanded by the King to communicate to you secretly these matters, so that, with the same secrecy, you procure to incite the rebellious negro slaves against the Dutch, so that they commit all the hostilities possible against them, whether by destroying their estates and farms, or in any other way. The means considered the most effective for that purpose will be to send and leave among them some Spanish rogues ('Españoles de industria') of courage, so that they may direct and head them in their raids, the which will appear as outlaws of our nation. And in this manner the end will be attained without exposing ourselves to complaints and accusations, as they are the ones who execute the outrages. And in case they dislodge the Dutch, and place themselves as Commissaries under the protection of the King, His Majesty will maintain them as free subjects, and will give them freehold lands, and place them in the same places which their antagonists are so fond of, assisting to repel them if they return to regain and re-occupy them, or in any other territory of the King in which they may prefer to settle."

† In the same report we have a valuable definition of the Cuyuni :—"The common opinion that this river (Cuniri) flows into the Essequibo is not correct ; but the mistake that it does has some foundation, for its waters (as well as those of others) flow into the Yuruary, and this into the Cuyuni, and the whole form one only river under the name of Cuyuni in the Essequibo."

‡ As Spanish pretensions have played so great a part in this controversy, it is somewhat entertaining to find a Spaniard (Don José de Iturriaga complaining of

Owing to the serious demands already made upon the reader I am obliged to pass rapidly over the intervening period to 1796, when we entered into effective and final possession of the Dutch possessions in Guiana.* There is very significant testimony to the position of the Dutch, in the middle of the century, in a letter addressed by the Prefect of the Capuchin Missions to the Governor of Spanish Guyana in 1758:—"I also give you the news which I myself received from Moyo, &c., on coming from Essequibo for the purpose of becoming a Christian. When he was baptized he told me he had brought many papers from Essequibo, and among them an official document in which the jurisdictions of the Governors were marked down. The jurisdiction of his Governor, according to what he said, and confirmed by this document, extends to the mouth of the Aguirre, and from that mouth, drawing a line due south, shows the division between his jurisdiction and the others. So it appears that the said line comes to pass or extends to the margins of the outermost savannahs of our Missions of Miamo. The said line passes by Tucupo and Corumo, and passing these, reaches to the before-mentioned Aripamuri." The same year (1758) there was an attack by Spaniards on the Dutch post on the Upper Cuyuni, the Post-holder and commercial agent being taken prisoners—remonstrance was made in the Court of Madrid and reparation demanded, but without apparent result. Ten years later further raids were made upon the Dutch at Barima, Waini, and Maroco of which complaints were made by the Dutch. In consequence of the policy of the Spaniards, the Dutch States General delivered a formal remonstrance to the Court of Spain,†

Dutch pretensions (1757):—"In regard to this matter, I desire to make known to your Excellency that about fourteen years ago I saw a passport or patent in Latin granted by the Governor of Essequibo of that date to a Carib chief who lived within the river Orinoco. On making enquiries concerning this, and the grounds on which the Governor of Essequibo issued such protection, I came to learn, and I was afterwards assured, that the *States-General in their Commissions to the Governors of Essequibo also give them the title of Governors of the Orinoco.*" The italics are mine.

* In 1781 Great Britain captured the Dutch Colonies in Guiana, and marked the boundary upon the coast to the westward of Point Barima. A map of the newly acquired colony was drafted on the spot, and was published in London in 1783. This map gives the name Barima to the River Amacura, and makes it the western boundary of the colony. In 1782 these colonies were captured by the French, who in 1783 restored them to the Dutch.

† "From time immemorial been in possession not only of the River of Essequibo and the different rivers and creeks which flow into the sea along the coast, but also of all branches and streams which fall into the same River of Essequibo, and more particularly of the most northerly arm of the same river called the Cayoeny: that from time immemorial also on the same River Cayoeny, which is considered a domain of the State, there had been built a so-called post consisting of a wooden habitation possessed on behalf of the company, like several others in this colony, and guarded by a Post-holder, an outpost or settler with some slaves and Indians."

setting forth their claims in Guiana, which were not repudiated, while the Netherlands Ambassador at Madrid obtained a promise from the Spanish Prime Minister "that he would send orders to the (Spanish) Governor to discontinue all hostilities and to leave those of the Dutch Colony in quiet possession as they had possessed the same until now."*

As already mentioned, the Spanish missionaries founded a cattle farm at Tumeremo in 1788, and were desirous of extending to Cura, but that they did not actually do so is shown by the Spanish

* Dr. Emil Reich, an able jurist, has been conducting an elaborate independent investigation in the library of the British Museum, the results of which he published in *The Times* of March 7th, from which I make the following conclusive extract:—"The Venezuelans, it would appear, shrewdly suppose that the knowledge of Spanish has altogether disappeared from England since the times of the Armada. This is, however, not quite so. There are still some persons left in this country who can read and understand the *cédula* of King Charles III. of Spain of September 19, 1776 (speaking of the coast from the mouth of the Orinoco to that of the Amazon):—

"'Que en la circunferencia ó recinto del vasto continente de aquella provincia [Guayana] tienen los franceses y holandeses ocupada toda la costa del mar con sus colonias: aquellos en la Cayena cerca de boca del rio Amazonas, y estos en Surinan, Berbice y Esequivo á cincuenta y cinco ó sesenta leguas (counting 20 Spanish leagues to one degree) de la boca grande de Orinoco en las márjenes de las Amazonas.'

"This *cédula* does, in fact, considerably increase the Dutch possessions on the coast west of the Essequibo. The *cédula* goes on to say that 'our effective possessions (*effectivas posesiones*) are reduced (*se reducen*) to a part of the Rio Negro, the whole of the Casiquiare, the upper and lower Orinoco, and the new establishments to be established (y los nuevos establecimientos que se van fundando) in the interior of the country, along the rivers Caroni, Paragua, Arua, Caura, Erevato, Padamo, Ventuari, and others flowing from the unknown centre of Guayana into the Orinoco (y otros que bajan *del centro incógnito* de la Guayana al Orinoco).' The *cédula* continues to state, as if to bear out expressly the present claim of the English, that of the vast interior of (modern Venezuelan) Guayana all that is known (*se conocía*, to the Spanish, of course) are thirty leagues 'penetrated' by the Catalanian Capucines ('que no se conocía por etónces del vasto interior de aquella provincia otra cosa que las treinta leguas penetradas por los misioneros capuchinos catalanes'), and that 'the geographical maps prove that there is still between the foreign colonies and our (Spanish) establishments a desert left of eighty or 100 leagues' ('que las cartas geográficas manifestaban que aún dejando entre las colonias extranjera y nuestros establecimientos un desierto de ochenta ó cien leguas'). A glance at any correct map will suffice to show that the territory claimed for the Spanish by that official *cédula* leaves the territory here claimed as that of the Dutch by about 1780 quite untouched. . . . . For, what can be more evident after the very expressions in the Spanish State documents than that the territory to the east of the Orinoco was, to use the Spanish King's own words, 'an unknown desert' to the Spanish? A very considerable part of this 'unknown desert' was colonized and taken possession of by the Dutch; and when, as in 1746, 1747, and 1748, some Spanish missionaries advanced far enough to interfere with Dutch settlements high up the Cayuni river, the Spanish King repeatedly apologized for their aggressions to the complaining States-General." (*Netcher*, p. 118, from the archives at the Hague.)

records*—that they never effected a footing beyond the Cuyuni river is as absolutely certain as anything dependent on research can be, *e.g.*, the journal of Major Lopez de la Puente, who visited the interior officially (1789), states "that the expedition did not consider it prudent, owing to the proximity of the Dutch, to proceed as far as the Cuyuni, nor did it even reach the mouth of the Yuruary, as there was no road open to it." There is nothing further to record until 1796, when the English finally acquired the Dutch possessions by conquest, and forthwith proceeded to assert their claims, according to the Governor of Caracas, by portioning out all the territory between the Essequibo and Barima. The Governor adds:—"To form an idea of the area of the territory which extends from the Essequibo to Point Barima, I have examined the exact map, drawn up by the Colonel of Engineers, Don Miguel Marmion, when Governor of Guayana, and taking from the south-west to the north-east, there are forty-seven leagues of coast, with many rivers and creeks, which flow into the sea; and if they have drawn their line north and south to the fork of the Rivers of Yuruan and Yuruary it embraces about forty leagues, and from east to west forty-six, forming the figure of a trapezoid."

The events between 1648 and 1796 establish the following facts:—

1. The Dutch were in continuous possession of the coast from the mouth of the Essequibo to Barima.

2. They also explored, settled on, and controlled the country watered by the rivers between these two points.

3. Their position on the Cuyuni river was only once seriously threatened—and then by an admittedly illegal expedition—throughout the period towards the close of which it was considered as unassailable by the Spaniards.

4. The Spaniards never effected any settlement whatsoever in the disputed territory, their nearest mission station (Tumeremo) being at least 40 miles beyond the Schomburgk Line.

5. Such Spanish claim as there may have been reposed upon Discovery and Papal Bulls (which would equally entitle her to the United States and Canada), while the Dutch position rested on Treaty, followed by effective occupation.

1796–1840.—Early British Administration.

The acquisitions of 1796 were confirmed by the Treaty of 1814,

* The Fiscal, in another Report of 1789, appears to cast some doubt upon both these places, for he says, "It would be well were a post established in the fork ('orqueta') of the Curiamo; . . . but in the event of the said post or village of Spaniards that is to cover those frontiers and put a stop to the robberies of the Dutch and Caribs not being constructed, permission to found the cattle farm of Tumeremo should not be granted."

when British Guiana was recognized as forming a part of the British dominions. In the meantime it was in occupation and under our control, and we acquired all the rights of our predecessors, whatever they may have been. Have we by ignorance, folly, or supineness forfeited those rights? The Treaty of 1814 did not define the boundaries more precisely than its predecessors.* All we need note is that it added the Colony of Essequibo to Great Britain, the Dutch confining themselves to what we now know as Dutch Guiana; which lies to the south of British Guiana. In other words, Great Britain acquired the Dutch possessions abutting on Spanish Guiana; and the reader who has followed this article so far must have a tolerably precise idea of their extent. Owing to this territory being described as the Settlement of the Essequibo, Venezuela has contended ever since she raised the question in 1840 that British Guiana does not extend to the west of the *River* Essequibo. The reader is in a position to estimate the force of this claim so far as we have gone, and it is desirable that he should bear it in mind throughout the remainder of the story.

There is plenty of evidence showing that during the early years of our occupation and possession, our officers exercised similar power to the Dutch, and over similar spheres. The state of cultivation was investigated, the native tribes were protected, the Dutch title of Post-holder was retained. Grants of land were made considerable distances up the Essequibo, the Massaruni, and the Cuyuni, also between the Pomeroon and the Barima. Captain Macrae (11th West India Regiment) made a report upon the Colony in 1799, at the request of the Duke of Portland, containing the following passage:—

"The Colonies of Demerary and Essequibo are cultivated from the boundaries of Berbice, called Abary Creek, along the sea coast to Pomerony River, including the borders of Essequebo and Demerary Rivers, the islands in the mouth of Essequebo River, Mahaica and Mahaycony Creeks, and several canals, which form an extent of 250 English miles. The land not yet cultivated on the sea coast, extends itself from the west coast of Essequebo, where the district of Pomerony begins, to the Spanish settlements in Oronoco River. That land is esteemed as extremely rich, and

* "Article 1.—His Britannic Majesty engages to restore to the Prince Sovereign of the United Netherlands, within the term which shall be hereafter fixed, the Colonies, Factories, and Establishments which were possessed by Holland at the commencement of the late War, viz., on the 1st January, 1803, in the Seas and on the Continent of America, Africa, and Asia; with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope and the Settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, of which Possessions the High Contracting Parties reserve to themselves the right to dispose by a Supplementary Convention, hereafter to be negotiated, according to their mutual interests."

a lot of uncultivated ground is sold now for 10,000 guilders: from thence an estimation of its value may be made when cultivated, though it is impossible at present to make a true calculation."

In 1802 Major Macrae made a report upon the Spanish settlements on the Orinoco, from which it appears that their nearest fort was a very considerable distance above Barima, and consisted of a few native Indians "occasionally called either pilots or soldiers."

In 1810 a careful report of the condition of the Province of Spanish Guiana was sent by the Junta Superior to the King of Spain fully confirming the statements made previously as to the condition of Spanish enterprise. It states that the Governor Inciarte never took a single step towards carrying out his design to settle the lower part of the Orinoco, and establish a Spanish village with a fort on the right bank. That same year Venezuela cast off her allegiance to Spain, and as her rebellion was successful she must thenceforward be regarded as the inheritor of Spanish rights. The only events to be noted at the outset of her career are the attacks made about 1816 by Venezuelan troops upon the mission villages which had been founded by the Capuchins in the territory to the south of the Orinoco, and which are shown upon the sketch-map A. The result of these attacks was that the population of these villages rapidly diminished, and a few years after 1820 the villages had practically ceased to exist. A description of these incidents will be found in the "Documents for the Life of the Liberator," Caracas, 1875, vol. vi.

A perusal of the reports of British Governors to the Home Government during the early part of the century suggests that they were not thoroughly familiar with the full extent of the Dutch jurisdiction.* For example, Lieut.-Governor, Sir B. D'Urban, in 1827,

* Lieut.-Governor Myer's report to Lord Camden in 1804:—

"*Situation.*—The Colony of Esequibo and Demerary is situated between the 6th and 7th degree of north latitude, and between the 57th and 59th degree of west longitude from London, in that part of South America known under the general name of Dutch Guyana. It is bounded on the north by the main ocean, which divides it from Africa; on the south by unexplored woods and the river of the Amazons; on the east by Berbice and Surinam; and on the west by New Cumana and the Spanish Settlements on the Oronoco.

"*Boundary.*—It is separated from Berbice by the Abari Creek. The boundary with the Spaniards is disputed. According to Dutch, it is a line running north and south from Cape Brama or Brem; and according to the Spaniards it is the Morucco Creek, a little to the westward of Cape Nassau.

"*Extent.*—The distance from the Abari Creek on the east to the most distant military post at Morocco on the west is—

	Miles.
From Abari to Mahaica	20
,, Mahaica to Demerary River	28
,, Demerary River to Esequibo River	18
,, Esequibo River to Poumaron River	45
,, Poumaron River to Morucco	12
Total...	123"

The reader will observe that the boundary claimed here would not comprise the full bend of the Cuyuni.

informs Lord Bathurst that "there is a legally appointed Protector of Indians for each of the six rivers: Mahaiconey, Mahaica, Demerary, Boerasirie, Essequibo, and Pomeroon," from which it may be inferred that the British Administration was not so far-reaching as that of Holland, as there is no mention of the Cuyuni, though it is to be remembered that in early British times the Essequibo district comprised part of the Massaruni and Cuyuni, as, indeed, it does still. The same Governor submits a memorandum to Lord Goderich (1827), showing that he was not aware of what recent research has revealed as to the extent of the British inheritance.

"This sketch (not reproduced) embraces all the cultivated and occupied portions of the Colony of Demerary and Essequebo, but it would have made it of an inconvenient size, and would probably have been of no essential utility to have extended it to all the boundaries of the Colony.

"These are—

"On the north, the sea-coast, from the mouth of the Abary to Cape Barima, near the mouth of the Orinoco.

"On the west, a line running north and south from Cape Barima into the interior."

From the accompanying map it will be gathered that a line "north and south from Cape Barima" would lie well inside the Schomburgk Line. It may be said that there is very little reference to the Cuyuni during this period, and the Blue Book contains but scanty evidence of British activity in the far interior, which seems to have remained a *terra incognita* for some years; the lucrative industry of the colony was sugar, and the sugar lands are situated on the coast. There is, however, considerable mention of settlement on the Massaruni, the Maroco, and the Pomaroon, and of missionary work. There is a report from the Rev. L. Strong to Lieutenant-Governor Sir B. D'Urban which throws an interesting sidelight upon the disputed boundary:—

"Mr. Armstrong being extremely desirous of visiting the settlements situated higher up the river, in the month of September last proceeded in his canoe five days' journey up the Cuyuni River, but for the want of provisions was obliged to return. He met with many Indians who were extremely friendly and fully aware of his purposes to instruct them and their children. He conversed with some, who came, they said, from a settlement of 200, about five days' journey higher up the river, under the rule of a Chief who had emigrated from Venezuela; they also stated that he and they wished for a teacher or dominie to reside with them. Three Indian boys then petitioned their parents for permission to accompany Mr. Armstrong down the river and reside with him at the Mission house, to which they readily conceded, and the children are at present with him.

* * * * * * * *

"From the experience of the Moravian missionaries during their labours among the Indians in Berbice and Surinam, the greater part of the last century (as already laid before your Excellency), we perceive that there are no great difficulties placed before zealous and persevering missionaries on the part of the Indians themselves,

and from the testimony of a gentleman who has lately visited the Indians in the Oronook, and on the Spanish frontier, at the head of the Massaruni and Cuyuni Rivers, I learn that at one time there were no less than 20,000 Indians assembled to profit by the instructions of the Spanish priests, but that from the lack of proper instruction and care, their numbers are reduced to 3,000, now settled in Venezuela chiefly at the head of the Cuyuni River."

In 1835 the British Government made a grant to the Royal Geographical Society in order to encourage exploration in British Guiana. Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Schomburgk was selected for this work, who, after certain preliminary explorations, called the attention of the Government in 1839 to the necessity of demarking the boundaries of the colony. He showed that in the West the Dutch occupation had extended beyond the Pomeroon and Maroco to the eastern bank of the Barima :—"When the Settlements were in the possession of the Netherlands the present countries of Demerara and Essequibo were divided into the Colonies of Pomaroon, Essequibo, and Demerara (*vide* Hartsinck, 'Beschryving van Guiana,' Amsterdam, 1770, vol. i., p. 257). As the first was the most western possession, and formed the boundary between Spanish Guiana, its limits were considered to extend from Punta Barima, at the mouth of the Orinoco, in latitude 8° 40′ north, longitude 60° 6′ west, south-west and by west to the mouth of the River Amacura, following the Cano Cuyuni from its confluence with the Amacura at its source, from whence it was supposed to stretch in a S.S.E. line towards the River Cuyuni (a tributary of the Essequibo), and from thence southward towards the Mazaruni." Mr. Schomburgk very wisely suggested a joint Boundary Commission under the auspices of Holland, the Brazils, and the Republic of Venezuela. A good deal has been made of the fact that in the map accompanying this letter, a line was drawn inside what we now know as the Schomburgk line, but it was a purely provisional, tentative, and geographically inaccurate line, owing to the writer's working with mere sketch-maps.* He had neither accurately located the Cuyuni or Mazaruni Rivers, and subsequent personal investigation in the locality led him to draw a more accurate boundary. In 1840 Mr. Schomburgk was sent officially by the British Government to survey and mark out the boundary—unfortunately not on a joint commission as he had suggested. The Venezuela Government suggested that a Treaty of Limits should precede the marking of the boundary, this being subsequently undertaken by a commission representing both nations. Schomburgk

* The line shown on this map, and reproduced *ad nauseam* since, includes the whole of the Barima and Mazaruni basins in British Guiana, and agrees with his subsequent survey map which accompanied his Report to Governor Light.

appears, however, to have already started on his expedition, which comprised the whole country from Point Barima and the River Amacura as far as the confluence of the Acarabisi Creek with the River Cuyuni. The frontier he laid down is shown upon map No. 9. He had fortified himself for his task by laborious historical research, and his Report to Governor Light reveals the *bona fides* of his local investigations. He ascertained so far as he could where there had been Dutch authority, and left out of bounds places with traces of Spanish influence. He had due regard for the natural features of the country and the frontier associated with his name was the work of a prudent, sensible, industrious, and eminently fair-minded man, as all who read his Reports can testify. I have included this period in the summary at the end of the article.

1842-1893.—The Diplomatic Struggle.

Schomburgk's action in marking Barima and the Amacura as the boundary of British Guiana created great indignation in Venezuela, and every form of protest was presented to the Governor of our colony and Lord Aberdeen. After prolonged correspondence, in which Lord Aberdeen endeavoured to maintain the marks as a basis of discussion which it would be inconvenient to remove (they had not been erected, he said, "as indications of dominion and empire on the part of Great Britain"), the British Government, to whom it was represented that a dangerous state of political excitement had been created in Venezuela, consented to their removal. Lord Aberdeen concluded his letter of concession with this very express reservation:—

"But the Undersigned feels it his duty distinctly to declare to M. Fortique that although, in order to put an end to the misapprehension which appears to prevail in Venezuela with regard to the object of Mr. Schomburgk's survey, the Undersigned has consented to comply with the renewed representations of M. Fortique upon this affair, Her Majesty's Government must not be understood to abandon any portion of the rights of Great Britain over the territory which was formerly held by the Dutch in Guiana."

In 1842 it came to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government that six years before, namely, in 1836, a correspondence had passed between the Venezuelan authorities and the British Consul at Carácas, in which the latter, at the request of the British Vice-Consul at Angostura, had proposed to the Venezuelan authorities that they should erect a beacon on Cape Barima in order to guide ships in the neighbourhood of the Orinoco. This correspondence was in no way authorized by the British Government, and they

had no knowledge of it until it was communicated to them in 1842. The Venezuelan Government never returned any reply to the above proposal.

In 1843, Señor Fortique, the Venezuelan Minister in London, renewed his application for the speedy conclusion of a treaty to define the disputed boundary, and in January, 1844, for the first time, he delivered a despatch containing a formal statement of the Republic's claim to all territory west of the Essequibo. The principal points of this claim were :—

That Spain was the first discoverer and occupant of the New World ("so that in 1579 the enemies of Spain already found towns to destroy").

That in the time of Sir Walter Raleigh the Spaniards already occupied the Rivers Barima, Maroco, and Pumaron, while their domination extended to the Essequibo—Sir Walter's account being corroborated by the Dutchman Jan de Laet.

That at the time of the Treaty of Münster the Dutch had no possessions in Guiana beyond the Essequibo.

That Spanish domination at that time extended from the Orinoco to the Amazon.

The Note also quoted the statements of certain geographers and others to the effect that the Essequibo was the boundary of Dutch Guiana, and concluded by saying that the Essequibo was the natural boundary between Venezuela and the British Colony, and that the British colonists possessed little or nothing beyond it.

Lord Aberdeen, in an elaborate reply, was careful to point out that in removing the Schomburgk marks "Her Majesty's Government made no cession of any rights which they might themselves be entitled to urge." Lord Aberdeen vigorously contested, and completely disposed of M. Fortique's contention by arguments familiar to all readers of this article. As Lord Aberdeen has been most unfairly accused of giving away the British case, I quote the concluding passage from his Note containing the famous offer of "the Aberdeen Line."

"If the Undersigned were inclined to adopt the spirit of M. Fortique's note, it is obvious from what has been stated that he must claim for Great Britain, in her right of succession to Holland, the entire coast from the Orinoco to the Essequibo; and, indeed, such a claim, independently of all question of right, would be practically far less injurious to Venezuela than that which M. Fortique has asserted is to Great Britain, inasmuch as, while Venezuela is without a settlement of any sort upon the territory in question, the admission of the Essequibo as the boundary of Venezuela would involve at once the surrender of Great Britain of about half the Colony of Demerara, including Cartabo Point and

the Island of Kyk-over-al, where the Dutch had their earliest settlements upon the Mazaruni, the missionary establishment at Bartika Grove, and many actually existing settlements upon the Arabisi coast to within fifty miles of the capital.

"But the Undersigned is of opinion that negotiations are not facilitated by putting forward claims which it is not seriously intended to maintain, and therefore he will not follow M. Fortique's example, but will declare at once what concessions from her extreme claim Great Britain, out of friendly regard to Venezuela, and from a desire to prevent the occurrence of any serious differences, is willing to admit.

"Believing, then, that the undivided possession of the Orinoco is the object most important for the interests of Venezuela, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to cede to the Republic a portion of the coast amply sufficient to insure Venezuela against the mouth of this her principal river being at the command of any foreign Power.

"With this view, and regarding it as a most valuable concession to Venezuela, Her Majesty's Government are willing to waive their claim to the Amacura as the western boundary of the British territory, and to consider the mouth of the Moroco River as the limit of Her Majesty's possessions on the sea-coast.

"They will, moreover, consent that the inland boundary shall be marked by a line drawn directly from the mouth of the Moroco to the junction of the River Barama with the River Waini, thence up the River Barama to the Annama, and up the Annama to the point at which that stream approaches nearest to the Acarabisi, and thence down the Acarabisi to its confluence with the Cuyuni, from which point it will follow the bank of the Cuyuni upwards until it reaches the high lands in the neighbourhood of Mount Roraima which divide the waters flowing into the Essequibo from those which flow into the Rio Branco.

"All the territory lying between a line such as is here described on the one side and the River Amacura and the chain of hills from which the Amacura rises on the other, Great Britain is willing to cede to Venezuela, upon the condition that the Venezuelan Government enter into an engagement that no portion of it shall be alienated at any time to a foreign Power, and that the Indian tribes now residing within it shall be protected against all injury and oppression."

*No reply was vouchsafed to Lord Aberdeen's handsome offer.**

* Our representative at Caracas writing in 1850, says :—"In the discussion of this question, both with the Minister and the President, I assumed, and it is so distinctly understood by them, that as Lord Aberdeen's offer to M. Fortique in March, 1844, was not accepted, it has, of course, fallen to the ground, and that it will not be renewed by Her Majesty's Government."

SKETCH MAP OF BRITISH GUIANA.

To illustrate the proposals that have been made at various times to settle the Boundary dispute with VENEZUELA.

Scale 1/1,168,000 or 1 inch to 50 miles

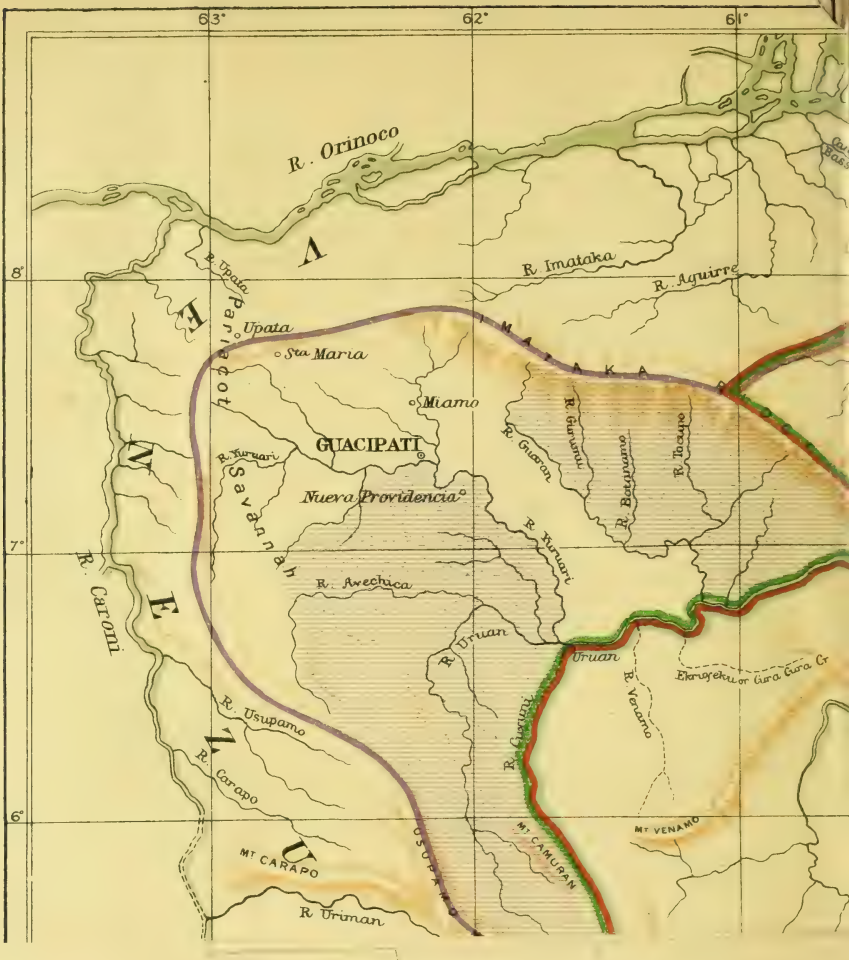
50 40 30 20 10 0 50 MILES

REFERENCE NOTE

- Schomburgk Line 1841-42 ..... A — A
- Senor Fortiques Line 1844 ..... B — B
- Lord Aberdeen's Line 1844 .....
- Senor Rojas Line 1881 ..... D - - - D
- Lord Granvilles Line 1881 ..... E — E
- Extreme British Claim which is not pressed ..... F — F
- Territory outside the Schomburgk Line, which the British Government offered to submit to arbitration 1890
- Boundary with Brazil part of which is in dispute
- Boundary with Dutch Guiana

I.D.W.O. No. 1141

Lithographed at the Intell. Div. War Office. January. 1896


63°
62°
61°
8°
7°
6°
R. Orinoco
R. Imataka
R. Aguirre
R. Upata
Upata
Sta. Maria
Miamo
GUACIPATI
Nueva Providencia
R. Yuruari
R. Savannah
R. Caroni
R. Avechica
R. Usupamo
R. Carapo
MT CARAPO
R. Urimán
R. Guaniamu
R. Guaran
R. Botanamo
R. Tacapo
R. Yuruari
R. Uruan
Uruan
R. Caruachi
R. Verano
Ekarogeku or Cura Cura Cr
MT CAMURAN
MT VENAMO
VENEZUELA
MAZARUKA

After this effort on the part of Great Britain the question slumbered for several years, but was temporarily disturbed in 1850, owing to the excited political condition of Venezuela. Attempts to occupy Point Barima and other territory claimed by Great Britain were feared by the latter, and it was mutually agreed that neither party should occupy or encroach upon the territory in dispute, this being understood as that beyond Lord Aberdeen's frontier. At this time the most Eastern settlement of Venezuela appears to have been Tumeremo (see sketch-map A).

Between 1850 and 1876 Venezuela was passing through "a period of civil commotions," in the words of Mr. Olney, and was unable to attend to her boundary controversy, so the effort made by the British Government to resume negotiations in 1858 was abortive. In 1876 Venezuela was free once more to put forward her claims, which were accordingly advanced by her Minister of Foreign Affairs (Señor Calcaño) in a despatch to Lord Derby. It is the old familiar plea:—

"The right of Spain to the territory of America has always been indisputable in the eyes of all the nations of the world. She discovered and occupied it before any other nation. These are titles universally admitted for the assertion of dominion, and as effectual at least as any which the law of nations has recognized as good. Thus, never has there been an instance of an attack on the right of Spain to these regions, which was sanctioned by the unanimous assent of all nations, by the express recognition of some, and the tacit recognition of the rest, and in favour of which she might even adduce the Bull of Pope Alexander VI., which now amounts at least to a fresh and most valuable recognition, whilst at that time it was of decisive significance. And if in applying these grounds for Spanish dominion throughout the American territory to the coasts of Guiana, which are the subject of the present question, the very noteworthy circumstance be born in mind that they were precisely the part where Columbus first hit upon the American Continent; that there Alonzo de Ojeda began the discovery and conquest of Venezuela; that the government of those lands was that which the Emperor Charles V. granted to Diego de Hordas; and that it was in those very lands that the said Hordas, Herrera, Hortal, Cedeño, and others carried out their laborious explorations at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there can be no hesitation whatever in recognizing the then perfect right of Spain to those extended regions, and that of Venezuela now as her legitimate successor."

The historical facts are so fully before the reader that I will not trouble him with a summary of Señor Calcaño's travesty of them. As in all other Venezuelan statements of claim, the word Essequibo is cunningly interpreted as meaning merely the river of that name and not the Dutch possession between the River Essequibo and the Orinoco, which history teaches us the word Essequibo signified.* "At the south-east they (the Capuchin missions)

* "Their ingenious procedure is this:—In all the State documents that they quote they interpret the word 'Essequibo' as meaning strictly the river itself, and not establishments in the basin of the river. But quite apart from the evident generality of usage in the last and in this century, owing to which establishments of a river invariably mean establishments in the basin of the river—quite

bordered upon Dutch Guiana, or the Colony of Essequibo, this river being the dividing line." I refer the reader to sketch-map A. He is also asked to observe the effect of introducing the word *River* before Essequibo as Señor Calcaño does in the end of his despatch: —"Thus far have we proceeded in developing the strict, trustworthy, and incontestable demonstration not only of Spain's lawful right to possess, but of the *fact* that she actually did possess up to 1779, as sole Sovereign thereof, all the territories comprised between the Orinoco and the River Essequibo."*

Señor Calcaño's note was followed by one from Señor Rojas, who had recently arrived in London to represent Venezuela. He gives the reasons why "the Aberdeen Line" of 1844 "could not be accepted by my Government," among others:—

"1. That the proposed line was exceedingly prejudicial to some Venezuelan settlements in that region, and was offered at the same time to my Government on behalf of the British Crown as a concession out of friendly regard to Venezuela, and not as a right which we thought we were entitled to demand."

Lord Derby shortly afterwards went out of office and Señor Rojas renewed his application to Lord Salisbury in 1879, suggesting "a frontier of accommodation," although Venezuela possessed documentary evidence proving "to conviction" that the River Essequibo is her eastern boundary. Lord Salisbury replied (January 1880) laying down the line marked F.F. in map 9 as the boundary Great Britain is entitled to claim, being in effect that claimed by the States General in 1759 and 1769. He adopted, however, the attitude he has held ever since:—

"And, although the claim of Venezuela to the Essequibo River boundary could not, under any circumstances, be entertained, I beg leave to assure you that Her Majesty's Government are anxious to meet the Venezuelan Government in a spirit of conciliation, and would be willing, in the event of a renewal of negotiations for the general settlement of boundaries, to waive a portion of what they consider to be their strict rights, if Venezuela is really disposed to make corresponding concessions on her part."

Señor Rojas replied in a most promising letter, stating that he had "received instructions for the arrangement of this long-standing affair by abandoning the ground of strict right." He proposed a frontier starting from the Maroco, and somewhat similar in other respects to Lord Aberdeen's, without "blindly adhering to it."

apart from that irrefragable fact—the very expressions of the Royal *cédulas*, as quoted above, show that by 'Berbice,' 'Demerary,' 'Essequibo,' not only the rivers themselves but the establishments in the basin of these rivers are meant."—Dr. Emil Reich.

* The reader is referred to the footnote on page 288.

Most unfortunately, Lord Salisbury was unable to reply to this, as he left the Foreign Office after the General Election of 1880.

The reader has before him a sufficient sample of the diplomatic relations existing between the two countries during these wearisome negotiations, and I propose passing rapidly over the subsequent correspondence. Señor Rojas proposed a less generous line to Lord Granville than he had to Lord Salisbury, and was refused owing to the extension of British settlers, but was met by a counter proposal—both these are marked in map 9.* Lord Granville, who was never accused of stiffness, was careful to explain that he considered the British claims as far as the Barima "unassailable," and that his concession was simply made in the interests of peace, and was in no way an admission that the British "have not a rightful claim to the line which extends to the mouth of the Orinoco." His proposal met with no reply. In 1883 Lord Granville sought to settle various outstanding difficulties with Venezuela, but declared that a reply to his previous proposal with regard to the boundary was a necessary preliminary to other negotiations. He was informed that the constitution of Venezuela forbade the alienation by any power in the state of any portion of territory annexed to constitute a part of her dominions, and was invited to refer the matter to arbitration. Feeling that the constitution of Venezuela might stand in the way of an execution of the arbitrator's award, Lord Granville very properly declined this specious suggestion. The following year (1884), General Guzman Blanco suggested the boundary question should be submitted to a Court of Law chosen by the parties. Lord Granville declined this, and urged a recurrence to the method agreed to by both Governments in 1877, *i.e.*, that a conventional boundary should be adopted by mutual assent. In 1885 a fresh Treaty of Commerce between the two Governments was agreed to by Lord Granville, and as this contained a general arbitration clause to the terms of which Lord Salisbury objected on entering office, he has been accused of refusing an arbitration on the boundary question, which Lord Granville had accepted. The terms of the proposed treaty, however, and the correspondence clearly show that the arbitration clause was only to apply to future difficulties, and in no way weakened the perfectly clear position Lord Granville had adopted

* Some may regret that Señor Rojas' offer was rejected, as it is the only one approaching reason ever submitted by Venezuela. How far he had authority, however, to give effect to it must remain doubtful in the light of a conversation between our Minister to Venezuela and President Guzman Blanco, in 1886, recorded by the former :—"He (the President) also said, on my referring to the subject, that Señor Rojas proposed a Joint Commission in 1877 without instructions from his Government, and was on this account recalled."

on the boundary question. Lord Rosebery succeeded Lord Salisbury in 1886, and made another gallant effort to solve a baffling problem, suggesting that the territory between the Rojas and Granville Lines (see map 9) should be regarded as in dispute, and should be solved between the parties by an arbitrator or joint commission. This exceedingly moderate suggestion was declined by Venezuela, who demanded, as usual, arbitration over all territory up to the River Essequibo. Feeling that all hope of accommodation was out of the question, and finding that Venezuela had been guilty of several trespasses upon the territory which it was agreed in 1850 neither Power should encroach upon, Lord Salisbury proclaimed the Schomburgk Line as the irreducible boundary of British Guiana in October, 1886. The following year Venezuela broke off diplomatic relations after renewing her request for an arbitration up to the Essequibo, which she has done on several occasions subsequently.

A consideration of the events I have referred to during the last hundred years, and the documents relating to them, both of which are set forth in great amplitude in the Blue Book, leads to the following conclusions :—

I. That Great Britain, as legitimate heir of the Dutch in British Guiana, though ill-informed in the early years of the century as to the precise extent of her inheritance, has not done anything to forfeit it.

II. For the sake of a settlement she has frequently offered to take less than she was entitled to (and has waived a portion of her claim), which so far from detracting from the merit of her position does the reverse.

III. These different offers were made without prejudice to the higher claims she has not specifically waived.

IV. They were invariably declined, when any notice was taken of them, and in no way fetter her present rights.

V. She is incontestably entitled to the territory within the Schomburgk Line, but she has offered to take less before for the sake of peace, and is probably willing to do so now.

VI. She cannot, however, accept arbitration up to the Essequibo River, as portions of this territory have been in the continuous occupation of the Dutch and British for a period of nearly three hundred years, and its subjection to arbitration would diffuse a sense of insecurity throughout the British dominions.

VII. Different British Ministers have during controversy lasting over fifty years suggested different settlements, but one and all have declined to entertain the reference proposed by Venezuela, and its continued advocacy would only have the effect of discrediting the cause of arbitration.

VIII. Had the United States suggested a limited arbitration over the territory, let us say, between the Rojas and the Schomburgk Line (plus the portion Great Britain is willing to arbitrate about beyond the Schomburgk Line), with a due regard to settlements existing prior to some agreed date, they would probably have rendered good service to both disputants.

L. J. Maxse.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Corn Stores for War Time.

To the Editor of "The National Review."

Sir,—Although I understand you are unable to allow me to reply at length to Mr. Bear's strictures in your last issue on my article on "Corn Stores for War Time" which appeared in *The Nineteenth Century* for February, I feel sure you will in justice to myself allow me to say a few words in reply to such a remark as that I "really appear to write without thinking"—when, to prove that statement, Mr. Bear gives me credit for making such an absurd proposal as that we could obtain a reserve of twenty-five million quarters of wheat by buying and *selling* five million quarters a year. What I most distinctly and repeatedly said was that the reserve store of wheat *should never be for sale or sold in peace time.* It is surely a perfectly well-known principle of business that a stock or store of any kind which cannot be bought or sold cannot affect current market prices.

In order to keep our store of corn always perfectly good, I proposed that the current supplies bought by our corn merchants should be taken by the Government and exchanged for corn a year old (in every way better for bread-making purposes than new corn). So we should buy five million quarters the first year, and exchange it as it got old for new corn; the second year we should buy another five millions and add it to the reserve (not sell it, as Mr. Bear says I proposed)—in this way, in five years, we should have about as much wheat in store as we now import in one year, and it would last us, with such other food as we could import, long enough to grow live stock, cereal, root, and other crops all over the country, and so we should be in a measure independent of foreign supplies.

Mr. Bear thinks that my statement that we are living on a "precarious week's supply" of corn, *i.e.*, bread, is utterly wrong. I heartily wish he could convince me that it is not an understatement of the actual position in case we were suddenly to find ourselves at war with the two countries which now grow our daily bread for us. If we have as much as three months' supply it is *for peace time*, when we know it is being constantly renewed. For the great masses of our people it would to all intents and purposes cease to exist the very instant the main supplies were cut off. Only the middle and upper classes could afford to buy bread in such a case, and what then? Only this morning (March 17th) we see in the papers

that the Bishop of Stepney said that, in *that district alone*, there were one hundred thousand skulking loafers who constituted a danger to London and a peril to the Empire.

If our food supply from abroad is ever so seriously interfered with as to place bread beyond the reach of our millions of toilers, leavened with hundreds of thousands of "skulking loafers," it will be quite impossible for this country to carry on war—we must give in at any sacrifice in order to feed our masters.

Mr. Bear says that, instead of having a year's reserve of bread safe in this country, as I propose, we should go on in our hand-to-mouth fashion; and in case of a war with Russia and America, at once wire all over the world for supplies, and that we could make bread of other corn, such as barley, rye, maize, &c.

No one who has taken the trouble to see where our food supplies come from can suppose for one moment that we could thus replace the enormous supplies we get from Russia and North America. We should be most fortunate in obtaining from neutrals even as much as we now get. Mr. Bear entirely overlooks the fact that our American and Russian supplies of maize and other corn are almost as large as those of wheat! and that thus between 20 and 30 million quarters of other corn would be cut off also.

I was not bold enough to suggest that we should have a reserve of food for our horses, cattle, and other live stock, or even enough barley to make beer with. I thought that to secure the lives of our people against starvation was as much as one dare suggest.

I fully expected, when I knew that Mr. Knowles intended to publish my article in *The Nineteenth Century*, that I should have a good many hatchets thrown at me, but I do not mind that, when a man like Mr. H. M. Stanley, M.P., who knows what famine means, if ever man did, writes to me, "your words will sink into the minds of the people."

I have no corn of my own to grind in this matter. My article was sent to Mr. Knowles under a "pen-name," but he said it must be signed by the writer. It was not written, as some have said, as an outcome of the threats of war from America and Germany. It was the result of many years' anxious wondering as to *how* we could feed our millions in a great war.

I have explained my suggestion at length in *The Daily News* of March 11th and 12th, so that I will only add here that I can assure Mr. Bear that I know perfectly well that there are laws regulating the rights of neutrals—such as Argentina might be—in war-time; and I also know those laws are not worth the paper they are written on when great nations are fighting for their lives, unless there is some neutral strong enough and willing to enforce them.

Nothing but the power and will of this country prevented France declaring rice contraband of war when last fighting China. Suppose North America and Russia at war with us; their first and strongest move would be to declare food of any kind destined for our ports—directly or indirectly—contraband of war, and what other nation would join us to

fight them for such a cause? France? We shall be lucky if we get nothing but her cold neutrality. Germany? Hardly. The Baltic States, with Russia thundering at their back-doors?

No, our "splendid isolation" is a fact we ought to acknowledge by preparing for it quietly in peace-time. Why, if we had a year's supply of bread in reserve we should have removed almost the only hope the rest of the world has now in thinking of attacking us.

And the direct cost to the country of this reserve would be unfelt by a soul in it, and the indirect gain would be immeasurable.

Your obedient servant,

R. B. MARSTON.

St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, London.

P.S.—I am one of those who believe that an invasion of this country is possible, but that the invaders would be destroyed or taken prisoners. For this reason I have suggested in *The Daily News* of March 12th, 1896, that the granaries necessary to contain the corn to make our 3,000 to 4,000 million loaves of foreign bread annually should also be fortified. That, in fact, the reserve of corn should be kept in those detached forts near our great towns which our military authorities have talked about for so long.

NOTICE.

All communications to the Editor of THE NATIONAL REVIEW should be addressed to the care of Mr. EDWARD ARNOLD, 37, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.

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G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION NEW SWINDON.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

No. 159.—MAY, 1896.

EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

THE LULL.

After the manner in which undreamt of crises have blossomed "thick as leaves in Vallombrosa" throughout the last six months, we should be sorry to hazard a prediction upon the robustness of any existing set of conditions East, West, South, or even North. Every quarter of the Universe appears to be in a prolific condition, and an outbreak in the Far East, a domestic convulsion in France, or the sudden collapse of the fiendish Khalifate of the Soudan, not to mention half-a-dozen other first-class portents, are among the possible contingencies of the immediate future. There is a general feeling, however, that European intrigue will slumber until the splendid pageantry of Moscow has been comfortably tided over. Certainly Russia has exercised a somewhat moderating influence of late in international affairs. It is thought she will more than make up for this beneficence by such a malign display of activity as this generation has not witnessed, and the quidnuncs are saying "we are safe until the coronation, but afterwards won't things hum!" Possibly the young Czar may upset calculations by asserting himself—so far he has given no sign of the qualities attributed to him, but he may have been feeling his way, and when the magic ceremony is over Europe may learn that the predominant Power

among nations is once more in the hands of a passionate lover of peace. Until that happy day other countries will continue competing for the favours of Prince Lobanoff, the Russian Chancellor, who, during the self-effacement of his master, is greater than any living potentate. This dictatorship by a bureaucrat who fears neither God nor man and need please no one but himself is not wholesome. The Russian Chancellor belongs to the Ignatieff type of statesman, and is always seeking to effect some brilliant *coup*. Other nations naturally desire to be associated with Russia in these enterprises, hence general unrest and uneasiness. It is to be hoped that the Czar may emerge from his apparent supineness, and reinforce the steadying influences of the Continent which are now alone represented by the Emperor of Austria and the King of Italy.

THE "BLACK SEA."

The temporary lull does not extend to South Africa, where the British Empire is beginning to gather the bitter fruit of the recent incursion into the Transvaal. When it occurred whole vistas of possible mischief were foreseen, but the reality already surpasses the surmise. As is well known the population of this region may—in spite of other foreign ingredients—be divided into (1) the British, (2) the Dutch, and (3) the Natives. The latter greatly outnumber the other two nationalities. Even in the long settled parts, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, the aggregate of whites is only 650,000 against two and a half million natives, and in the recently settled countries the whites are almost lost, in what the *St. James' Gazette* graphically calls "the Black Sea." The Black Sea has risen still higher in Matabeleland. The whites, in isolated settlements, almost all British, have been massacred except when they have had time to concentrate on the more populous places, such as Bulawayo, Gwelo, and Tati. At least fifty lives have been already lost, and there is some anxiety as to the fate of the partially beleaguered townships the chief of which is Bulawayo, a scattered open village, not easy to defend, and, in the earlier reports said to be not over rich in either ammunition or food. It has, however, held out for over a fortnight, and still commands the Mongwe pass to the South and the coach road, while news of successful foraging expeditions are continually transmitted over the telegraph which still remains intact; the natives have invested Bulawayo on the remaining three sides, but appear afraid of coming to very close quarters in spite of their overwhelming numbers and command of ammunition, consequent on the mutiny of native police. The anxiety of the defenders must be unceasing owing to the number of non-combatants to be protected and provided for, and the possibility of night attack. The garrison consists of about 1,000 able-

bodied men, but there is nothing like a rifle apiece. The spirit they have displayed, and their cheery messages, have done something to restore our diminished prestige in South Africa. Reinforcements have been despatched in batches of about a hundred, but owing to the desperate distance from Mafeking (550 miles), where the railway stops short, the first detachment cannot arrive until well into May. Mr. Rhodes is also advancing from Salisbury (which is only 200 miles away) with a small column. The situation will continue to cause anxiety for some time, and the effective subjugation of the Matabele can hardly begin before the end of May or beginning of June.

DUTCH AND ENGLISH.

While a handful of gallant men are waging this desperately unequal conquest with the natives the relations between the two white races in South Africa are most seriously strained. It is as well to realize the elementary facts. The Dutch outnumber the British in Cape Colony, and greatly preponderate in the Orange Free State, while in the Transvaal the two races are probably about equal, though a considerable superiority of able-bodied men rests with the British. In Natal the latter greatly outnumber the Dutch. Taking South Africa as a whole, the Dutch still outnumber the British, but the two races are to be found side by side in almost every province. It is obviously the interest of both to co-operate, and Mr. Rhodes indisputable title to esteem rests on the success with which he combined them for common objects. So triumphant was his statesmanship that by the end of last year the Dutch outside the Transvaal, and a considerable sprinkling of progressive Boers within it were ranged with the whole British population of South Africa in disapproving the perverse attitude of President Kruger's Government towards the Uitlanders, and they were thoroughly annoyed at his unreasonable railway and commercial policy. Among the Dutch, however, if not among Anglo-Saxons, blood is thicker than water, and the raid caused a great revulsion of feeling in Cape Colony, while the two Dutch Republics have remained locked in one another's arms ever since. The whole future of South Africa depends upon the restoration of harmony between the two races, but confidence is a plant of slow growth, and for the present there is a gulf of distrust between them. The Dutch are ranged behind President Kruger, and the British confront him.

DOPPERS.

Negotiations are still proceeding between the British and Transvaal Governments with a view of relieving the tension. If the extremists of either country prevailed, if, *e.g.*, our policy were dictated by Sir Ellis

Ashmead-Bartlett, the fire-eater from Sheffield, or the Dopper Boers finally captured President Kruger, it is difficult to see how a bloody war could be avoided. Our Doppers desire that a British army corps should be despatched to effect the reforms demanded by the Reform Committee of Johannesburg, but the Government has not only steadily and most wisely declined to listen to them, but has been punctiliously polite in its treatment of President Kruger, going so far as to explain to him the precise circumstances that rendered a reinforcement of our South African garrisons needful. The Doppers of the Transvaal appear to have had more success than ours, and the British attitude towards President Kruger is far from reciprocated. He was invited to come to London upon his own suggestion; three months have passed, and the invitation has not been replied to, and even the best friends of the Transvaal Republic in this country, among whom we number ourselves, cannot help doubting the *bonâ fides* of this delay. If there had been nothing but delay we could patiently acquiesce, as the Boer population was thrown into a state of natural excitement and anger by the ill-starred action of the Chartered Company's forces, and no one expected them to exhibit an impatient desire to gratify the Uitlanders, and no one would propose to bustle President Kruger. Unfortunately, there has been something more serious than delay—preparation. It is no exaggeration to say that the Transvaal has been arming to the teeth; forts have been erected round Pretoria, an immense quantity of arms and ammunition have been imported, and though the Boers have never shown that they stand in need of extraneous aid, there has been a considerable and organized inflow of men from the Army Reserve of Germany. We can concede that the recent aggression afforded a reason for putting the military equipment of the State upon a sound footing. When it is remembered, however, that the Uitlanders have been disarmed, that the armed forces of the Chartered Company have been taken over by the Imperial Government, and are extended to their utmost in holding out against the Matabele, and that Sir Hercules Robinson is the High Commissioner, it is difficult to resist the view that a dangerous double game is being played. The South African outlook is thoroughly disheartening, and the white tension is more serious than the black rising.

A Declaration of Policy.

Mr. Chamberlain has recently declared the policy of the British Government on this momentous subject with his usual force and clearness, and in such a manner as to command the universal assent of the Empire:—

"There are two governing factors in the question of South Africa; the first is that Great Britain is, has been, and must continue to be the paramount Power in those regions. Our interests are superior to those of everyone else, and I believe I speak the opinion of the nation when I say that, at all risks and at all costs, we will resist any foreign interference. That is the first condition. But the second condition arises out of the peculiar situation of our own possessions in South Africa. In South Africa two races—the English and the Dutch—have to live together. At the present time—and probably for many years to come—the Dutch are in a majority, and it is, therefore, the duty of every statesman, of every well-wisher of South Africa, to do all in his power to maintain workable relations between the two races. In our own Cape Colony the Dutch are also in a majority. There are tens of thousands of Dutchmen in the Cape Colony who are just as loyal to the Throne and the British connexion as, let me say, our French-Canadian subjects in the Dominion of Canada. But at the same time, these Dutch fellow-subjects of ours very naturally feel that they are of the same blood as the Dutchmen in the two neighbouring Republics, and they sympathize with their compatriots whenever they think that they are subject or likely to be subject to any injustice, or to the arbitrary exercise of force. Now, then, gentlemen, these are the two propositions which I hope will be universally accepted—that we are and will remain the paramount Power, and that at the same time we will use every exertion, exhaust every means to secure a good feeling between the Dutch and the English."

In amplifying this declaration he dwelt on the denial of "the commonest rights of citizenship" to the Uitlanders of the Transvaal who are subjected to "injustice and abuse" by "a defective and corrupt administration." The "contemptuous rejection" of their "reasonable demands" has created difficulties in the past, and will continue to do so. Mr. Chamberlain struck the true keynote of our policy towards the Uitlander question in declaring that "it ought to be our object to carry with us our own Dutch fellow-subjects" in endeavouring to secure the redress of these grievances In other words, by our moderate forbearance acting upon their own sense of fairness, we must win back the Dutch to the view they held before Krugersdorp.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND EGYPT.

The French Government has been foiled in its efforts to embarrass our action in Egypt. Monsieur Berthelot, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, had to resign on account of a circular which was imprudently menacing towards England. He has disclaimed responsibility for this note, which it is to be believed was inspired by his chief—Monsieur Bourgeois. Prince Lobanoff, the virtual autocrat of Russia, was not prepared to back up France in a bellicose attitude towards England; he would support her in being disagreeable—that was all. In fulfilment of this undertaking, the Russian Commissioner of the Egyptian Debt joined his French colleague in declining to accede to the British Government's appeal to the *Caisse* for funds to defray the cost of the expedition. The application was, however, granted by the Com-

missioners of the other Powers, and the ill-will of France was defeated. Russia can hardly be blamed for her conduct in this matter, she had to make some return for the prolonged servility of France. A vote on the *Caisse* question was a cheap discharge of her debt. If France had been guided by a statesman of higher calibre than Monsieur Bourgeois, she would have supported the British application. Her refusal to do so has injured no one but herself; she has been rebuffed and humiliated. The lesson to be drawn from this episode is that France cannot initiate a policy. She must content herself with following meekly in the wake of Russia, as she seems bent on cultivating bad relations with England. The disheartening thing is that the politicians and journalists who inspire French policy will not even take the trouble to inform themselves of the British side of the Egyptian question. Sir Alfred Milner's book, *England in Egypt*, published some half-dozen years ago, is absolutely unknown in Paris. Few Frenchmen read English, and no French publisher would incur the odium of publishing a translation of a work on Egypt favourable to the British occupation. Yet it may be said that no one can understand the position in Egypt without mastering the contents of this book, which may be almost described as the British Official Handbook to the Egyptian Question. Had the French taken the trouble to study it there would have been less outcry in France upon the advance into the Soudan. They would have been prepared for it. One eminent French journalist declared the expedition to Dongola was "entiérement dirigé contre nous."

THE DONGOLA CAMPAIGN.

The first move in the Dongola campaign has been accomplished: Akasheh is occupied and Sir Herbert Kitchener is in command of some ten thousand men distributed at various points between Assuan and Akasheh. Of these about two thousand are British soldiers, four thousand are Soudanese, and the remainder Egyptians. Three stern-wheel armoured steamers have been ordered, and should be delivered within three months, and put together for service on the open stretches of the river between Dongola and Abu Hamed, or still farther south if required. Sufficient railway plant is being got together to carry the line forward to a point within forty miles of old Dongola—that is to say beyond the most dangerous and impracticable reaches of the Lower Nile. So far so good, and the expedition has apparently started with an ease and an absence of fuss and flurry which speaks volumes for the system upon which the frontier forces of the Khedive have been organized and trained by British officers during these last ten years. Up to within a week of the receipt of telegraphic orders

from Cairo to start on active service, not a single officer or man of the garrison of Wady Halfa had the least hint that the Egyptian Government intended to assume the offensive. The order came; the garrison forthwith advanced bag and baggage into the desert; other troops from the north occupied the positions thus vacated, and another admirable example was afforded to those who needed one, that a handful of selected British officers can organize native troops, and put them rapidly into the field. These battalions have each but three British officers apiece, of whom the senior is not above the rank of major, and is in many cases only a captain, temporarily lent to the Egyptian Government. That the men thus commanded are full of confidence in themselves and their leaders seems clear from all accounts, and the next question is, What will be the next move? The official answer to such a query would in all probability be that this force will stand still for four months and await further orders, but we cannot believe in any such probability. However great may be the desire of the British Government and British War Office to curb the action of the Khedive's army, we cannot expect the latter to sit quietly down during the worst four months of the year in the desert, within striking distance of considerable Dervish forces, and not attack them or be attacked by them. It will be surprising if the next four weeks pass by without a serious engagement.

RESISTANCE IN THE SOUDAN.

While we have to prepare for every eventuality in the Soudanese campaign, it is impossible to read Slatin Pasha's amazing book without entertaining the hope that the resistance we shall encounter may be less formidable than in the Mahdi's time. The Khalifa's power is different both in degree and kind to the Mahdi's. His dominions have shrunk; he has not the same religious influence, nor has he anything like the same number of adherents. Many sheikhs and tribes have declared their independence. His despotism and cruelty have developed a spirit of revolt which is likely to break out on the first opportunity. The tyrant, we are told, "has surrounded himself with hordes of strangers who have ousted the rightful owners of the soil, and have made themselves masters of the situation. . . . Almost the only one of the old emirs left is Osman Digna." The local population were weakened as much as possible, and "fire-arms and weapons of all descriptions were taken from them." The natives have been called upon to give up more than half their cultivated lands, and "all their best fields are now possessed by the Khalifa's own relations and favourites, the former owners are often obliged to till the soil for their new masters, who have annexed their servants, slaves, and cattle." This does not suggest a

contented people likely to spring to arms in defence of their homes. As regards the Khalifa's forces which are scattered over his dominions, there are probably some 100,000 men. Of the 64,000 sword and spear men, "at least 25 per cent. are either too old or too young to be considered effective for a campaign." Of the 40,000 rifles possessed, there are not more than 22,000 in good condition, and ammunition is scarce. "His leaders," says Slatin Pasha, "are neither capable nor sufficiently instructed to ensure victory; his men are not now loyal enough to fight with that determination which early fanaticism inspired." It has been reported that fighting has already taken place among the men of the Khalifa's bodyguard at Omdurman, and that 500 natives were killed. The Khalifa's power rests on rotten foundations, and may at any moment crumble away unless he receives outside support as the Abyssinians are said to have done.

CUBA. For the moment, but it can hardly be for long, the Cuban question remains much where it was last month. Congress, which owing to the restrictions imposed upon it by the American Constitution, is practically precluded from passing legislation, continues to take the same eager interest in foreign affairs which President Cleveland's Venezuelan Message first excited. It has presented the President with a joint resolution calling upon him to recognize the belligerency of the Cuban rebels, and to offer his "friendly offices" to Spain, with a view to obtaining her recognition of the independence of Cuba. The President took no outward notice of this resolution, and he has probably taken no steps to lay it before the Spanish Government, but he may have made independent representations of his own, calling the attention of Spain to the feeling excited in the United States by the prolonged and indecisive struggle with a rebellion in American waters, and discussing the possibility of arriving at some *modus vivendi* with the rebels. In the meantime there has been a General Election in Spain, and the Ministerialists have been returned in an overpowering majority, though how far this represents any true public opinion is doubtful in a country of which the executive exercises so remarkable an influence over electoral returns. Upon the Cuban question, however, there appears to be no difference of opinion as to the imperative need of suppressing the rebellion, and ignoring the United States. The amazing thing to the outside world is, that while the rebels seem to have secured no successes, Spain has been unable, with an army of 120,000 men, to stamp out the rising. Throughout the last two years she has had over 100,000 troops in the island, and the rebellion remains,

apparently, as alive as ever—news is expected of some decisive engagement, or in the alternative of some pacific development.

CANADIAN OBSTRUCTION.

Canada has completely eclipsed the Mother of Parliaments. The Dominion House of Commons has held a continuous sitting extending from Monday to Saturday, and lasting 129 hours, which is more than three times the length attained by obstruction in the height of its ascendancy at Westminster. After a respite on Sunday, the sitting was resumed for another 80 hours. The Irish Nationalists are green with envy both at the triumph and the tactics of the Canadian obstructionists, who appear to have been allowed to read long passages from the Bible, while one member is reported to have contributed copious extracts from the *Bab Ballads* to the debate. There was an elaborate organization of relays on both sides, and Parliament Building was temporarily turned into an hotel. The shuttlecock of the rival parties was the Remedial Bill, introduced by the present Conservative Government to deal with the Manitoba school difficulty. The Bill was read a second time on March 20th, by 112 votes to 94, and it was in the committee stage that obstruction supervened. For a full understanding of the subject, we refer the reader to Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper's opportune article, which was written between the Second Reading and the Committee stage of the measure. He is the son of Sir Charles Tupper, and was lately Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the Dominion Government. As leader of the "Young Canada" Party he occupies a most important position in Canadian politics. The Bill seeks to redress the grievance of the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba, who, by the *ultra vires* action of the Legislature of that province, were deprived in 1890 of the educational advantages guaranteed to them in 1870, when Manitoba entered the Dominion and became entitled to the rights and subject to the restrictions of the British North America Act of 1867. That Act, while delegating the control of education to the provincial legislatures, expressly precluded them from infringing "the right or privilege" with respect to "denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the Union," and further prescribed that, "Where in any province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the Union, or is thereafter established by the legislature of the province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education."

G.W.R. MECHANICS

THE REMEDIAL BILL.

In 1871 the Manitoba Legislature established a system of separate schools, such as exist in other provinces of Canada. At that time the Roman Catholics and Protestants in the province were about equal in number, and the Act of 1871 established a School Board with two sections, one Protestant and the other Catholic, to manage their respective schools, between which the legislative grant was divided. In 1890, the numerical relation between the adherents of the two faiths having been completely revolutionized by a great influx of Protestant settlers, the two boards were abolished, and the educational system was subordinated to a Department of Education, while "an Advisory Board was empowered," in Sir C. H. Tupper's words, "to prescribe text books and forms of religious exercise," the legislative grant being withdrawn from all schools not conducted under the Department. In other words, the Roman Catholics were entirely deprived of their educational rights, and became taxed to support schools in which they could not conscientiously educate their children. After an abortive appeal, in an injudiciously framed case, to the Privy Council, judgment was finally given in favour of the Roman Catholic case in 1895. As a consequence, the Governor-General in Council drew up a Remedial Order, restoring to the Roman Catholics the right of their schools to share in the legislative grant. Manitoba declined to act upon this Order, and a Bill founded on it was consequently submitted to the Dominion Parliament, the Second Reading of which was carried as described. It is noteworthy that out of five members for Manitoba taking part in the division, four supported the Bill and only one opposed it. Obstruction has compelled the withdrawal of the Bill, and lapse of time is plunging Canada into a General Election, in which it will probably be the main issue. The Conservative Party, now in power, with the exception of a few members sitting for ultra-Protestant seats in Ontario, support the Bill, as do likewise a few Liberals. The Liberals or "Grits" of Ontario are its main opponents, reinforced, strangely enough, by the brilliant Mr. Laurier, the French Roman Catholic who leads the Liberal Opposition in the Dominion House of Commons, and has carried with him on this question the mass of Quebec Liberals. He appears to us, however, to be playing a somewhat risky game, as also do the Protestants of Ontario. By declining to redress the lawful grievance of Roman Catholics in Manitoba, the rights of the Protestant minority in Quebec may be endangered, and it will be very surprising if Mr. Laurier is able to persuade his co-religionists in that province, to whom he owes much of his parliamentary strength, that his policy has been beneficial to their interests.

VOLUNTARY *v.* BOARD SCHOOLS.

The principal legislative measure of the Session—the Education Bill—was introduced by Sir John Gorst (Vice-President of the Council) on March 31st in a speech fully worthy of the importance of the subject. Before describing the provisions of his Bill, he discussed the difficulties to be dealt with by the Legislature in revising our system of education, or, rather, our double system, of Board and Voluntary Schools which together constitute our national schools. Last year the Voluntary Schools educated 2,445,812 children as against 1,879,218 educated in Board Schools, or, in other words, of every seven children educated by the State, three are educated in Board Schools and four in Voluntary Schools. Practical statesmen must realize that, after a strenuous competition of twenty-five years, the Voluntary Schools have proved their abiding character. The Roman Catholics boast—and with truth—that they have never surrendered one of their schools to a Board. In 1870, the Church of England had 844,334 children in her schools, while in 1895 she had 1,850,545, and the voluntary subscriptions, which were £329,846 in 1870, reached £640,406 in 1895, while during the same period the Church has spent £7,375,402 on buildings. To supplant the existing Voluntary Schools and re-provide the 3,620,805 places they have supplied, at £7 per head, which is by no means an excessive estimate, would cost the country £25,345,635. Besides this capital expenditure of 25 millions, there would be an additional annual expenditure of $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions to replace the present subscriptions, the existing voluntary administration, and to cover the difference between the expense of education in a Board and Voluntary School. The case against attempting to abolish the Voluntary Schools by establishing universal Board Schools has never been put in a cooler or more convincing manner, and few can be found to resist Sir John Gorst's dispassionate view. "I think, therefore, as far as practical statesmanship is concerned, that the question which this House has to consider is not whether it will abolish the Voluntary Schools, but whether they are efficient for the education of the people; and if not efficient, how they can be best made so."

POVERTY-STRICKEN SCHOOLS.

Now the Voluntary Schools in the poorest part of the great cities, especially those under Roman Catholic auspices, labour under financial difficulties, and the provision able to be made per head by their management is far below that of the Board School in the same city. Moreover, there has been a great rise in teachers' salaries in recent years. A survey of the whole country shows that

the sum spent on maintaining children in Voluntary Schools is £1 18s. 11¼d. per child as against £2 10s. 1¾d. in Board Schools. This difference of 11s. 2½d. is almost entirely represented by the lower payment of the teaching staff, which in Voluntary Schools averages 9s. 4¼d. per child less than in Board Schools. The teachers in the former are worse paid than those in the latter; they are consequently less qualified, and the Voluntary Schools are understaffed. There are also poverty-stricken Board Schools. Their existence was foreseen at the time the Act of 1870 was passed, when a threepenny rate was thought an adequate limit. Experience has falsified this estimate; in the school district of Walthamstow, near London, a Board has been established for fifteen years, during which time the rates have risen from 4d. to 1s. 6d. in the pound. Its population of tradesmen and artisans has doubled in ten years and now amounts to 61,000. Thirty-one schools are maintained at an aggregate cost of £20,000 a year, new schools are being built, and further schools are urgently required; the district contains no valuable rating property, and a 1d. rate only produces £800, while the grant this district obtains from the Exchequer is only £956. This is no solitary case; in West Ham the school rate is 2s. 4d. in the pound, at Ormsby near Middlesborough it has averaged 1s. 5¼d. for the last three years, and in the Forest of Dean it is actually 2s. 5d. In many rural districts an enormous rate is levied, and "such glimpses as we get of rural education are extremely discouraging."

THE COUNTRY BOARD SCHOOL.

Sir John Gorst, whose impartial *conspectus* of the Education Question has constituted him a court of appeal to the contending factions, expressed a very decided opinion upon the relative merits of the two systems in rural England: "As things are, the only salvation of rural education, such as it is, is the parson's village school," for, "while the Board Schools in the great cities have proved themselves extremely efficient in education, the Board Schools in the country have proved themselves totally inefficient. If you were to replace the Voluntary Schools in the country by Board Schools, you would degrade national education." He quoted a most striking passage from a general report drawn up in 1894 by Mr. Brodie, then Chief Inspector for the South-Western Division of England: "The climax is reached in the country Board School. True, indeed, it is that a few of these are well managed, but in by far the most there is no management at all worthy of the name; there is no pride in progress; nay, the very reverse. Additional subjects mean additional staff, additional apparatus; the rates must be kept down, the school starved, the teacher underpaid, and sometimes, if the inspector does not sternly forbid it, some young, raw, un-

trained, and even stupid relative of one of the members of the School Board is to be foisted on to the teaching staff, to produce such rotten fruit as may be expected when a sickly graft is added to an already unhealthy tree. I subjoin two facts which have come to my knowledge. In one country Board School, which, by the great vigour and ability of the master, aided by a clever wife, had obtained great success, the master was rewarded by having his salary cut down by £20. Why? I answer (not without indignation), because he had earned that amount by his able conduct of the night school. In another country Board School an active and zealous young mistress was dismissed because she wished to teach geography, and was otherwise ardent for progress. She was replaced by a middle-aged and worn-out woman, who at no time could have had much capacity for teaching, and who could neither keep order nor get the children on. Thus do the 'rude forefathers of the hamlet' nip the budding intellect of ingenuous youth. What a penny wise, pound foolish system!"

THE EDUCATION OFFICE.

After describing the chaos besetting Secondary Education which is mismanaged by four central and six local authorities, Sir John Gorst gave a graphic sketch of the inability of the Education Department to grapple with the vast mass of detail demanding its immediate and direct cognizance. In 1859 both Lord Lingen and the present Bishop of London declared the system to be over-centralized, and in 1887 Mr. Patrick Cumin, the secretary to the Department, said "the tremendous detail of looking into every school in the country was too cumbrous. It was all very well when education was a small affair, but now that it had become national it seemed to him that the system was too detailed." Last year the Education Office inspected 19,789 day and 3,421 evening schools. "From each of these schools the Office received direct communications, a return from the managers, and a report from the inspector; and, as each pair of day school returns has 1,659 blank spaces that have to be dealt with, it follows that the Department had to do last year with 32,829,951 blank spaces. As the payment made to these schools depends upon the accurate scrutiny of these blank spaces, they must be very carefully looked at, and each document has to go through 54 different stages. There are 31,476 pupil teachers under the supervision of the Department, and every one of them has a separate report examined in the Office."

THE NEW BILL.

Having suggested the necessities of education, Sir John Gorst gave a sketch of his Bill. In his own words, "*The principle of the measure is the establishment in every county and county borough of a para-*

mount education authority. It is to be the one channel through which public money is to reach the schools; it is to supplement, and not to supersede, existing educational effort, and it is to be a sort of separate education department for each county and for each county borough." This proposal does not claim to be original, it has been recommended by various Commissions from 1861 to 1884. The new education authority will be the county council acting through a statutory educational authority nominated by the county council. The only restriction placed upon the selection of this committee is that a majority of its members must also be members of the county council; thus the principle of popular control is effectually maintained. Counties may combine for the purpose of this Bill, and under special circumstances, *e.g.*, in the County of London, the County Council may itself propose a scheme for the special constitution of a committee to be approved by the Education Department. The new authority will dispense the grant and will undertake the general inspection of the schools under the eye of the Department. Gradually the code will become decentralized, less rigid and less uniform, to meet the varying requirements of particular local circumstances. The new authority will also exercise the powers cast upon the county councils by the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, and will administer the fund accruing under the Act of 1890, in the interests of secondary education. It will also be the school attendance committee in places where there is no School Board. Hereafter it will receive dominion over industrial and Poor Law schools. By one of the most important provisions in the Bill—the one which it will be sought to make the centre of controversy, though a singularly modest proposal in our opinion—the educational authority is entrusted with the distribution of a special aid grant of 4s. for every child in all Voluntary Schools or in poverty-stricken Board Schools (under section 97 of the Act of 1870) :—*But in both cases the amounts received are appropriated, in the first place, to the improvement of the teaching staff*, and it is only in cases where the teaching staff does not require improving that the sums may be applied to other definite purposes which are specified in the Bill."

Miscellaneous Clauses.

We refer the unsatisfied reader to the Bill itself for full judgment of its scope. Broadly speaking, the new education authority is to make itself responsible for the efficiency of the existing system of public elementary education, and in case of a collapse of any of the present agencies, is to step in and see that deficiencies are supplied. The Bill places our schools under the direct control of a popularly constituted body

appointed *ad hoc*. With regard to secondary education, the new authority is to aid and establish secondary schools, and may become the managers of the higher grade schools. Among the more important miscellaneous clauses are (1) The abolition of the 17s. 6d. limit—which removes a long-standing grievance of the Voluntary Schools; (2) the exemption of all elementary schools from paying rates; (3) the age of school attendance is raised from eleven years to twelve; (4) borrowing facilities are conferred upon managers of Voluntary Schools; (5) a check is placed upon School Board extravagance by a provision requiring that any increase in the rate consequent on the maintenance of children be sanctioned by the public authority before it is levied; (6) a sort of supplementary conscience clause provides that in every elementary school one of the conditions of obtaining a Government grant is that if a reasonable number of parents of children require to have separate religious instruction given, then it is the duty of the managers of the school to permit of reasonable arrangements being made to allow that religious instruction to be given. There is a more or less organized Opposition whose duty it will be to denounce this Bill as a sinister attack upon education in the interests of sectarianism, but so far the hostile criticism directed against it has been singularly wanting in cogency, and, owing to the composition of the Cabinet, it is very difficult to suggest with any seriousness that it has committed itself to a reactionary campaign. The decentralization of a blind stereotyped system is the governing principle of the measure, while the organization of secondary education, the increased age of school attendance, the improvement in the teaching staff, and the singularly wise attempt to allay the religious difficulty, hall-mark the Bill as the work of an ardent and enlightened lover of education. We are convinced that the more it is studied the more general will be agreement with the verdict pronounced by that level-headed prelate, the Bishop of Manchester, who has spoken of it as "a wise and statesmanlike measure," but the measure is not beyond criticism, and we desire to call attention to the friendly but acute criticism of Mr. Diggle. We cannot help regretting that out of so bountiful a surplus only 4s. a head should be allotted to necessitous schools, but they have to share with the oppressed income-tax payer in the expense of national insurance.

DIVIDED OPPOSITION.

In connection with the Education Bill the *Daily News*, the official organ of the Gladstonian-Opposition, has addressed a blunt menace to the Irish Nationalist Party on the assumption that they are favourable to Sir John Gorst's Bill. After a general tirade against the measure,

the veil is thus rudely torn from the Union of Hearts between the allies, and the world is candidly invited to inspect the machinery of this cynical conspiracy. The system of log-rolling has never been more candidly confessed to, or more naïvely expounded; but the passage has its encouraging aspect, as it shows that the English contingent of the Opposition would not be sorry to withdraw from the campaign against national unity, into which it so heedlessly plunged under the ardent auspices of Mr. Gladstone:—

"The great mass of English Nonconformists have for the last ten years steadily, emphatically, and repeatedly supported Home Rule for Ireland. All kinds of appeals have been addressed to them, and addressed to them in vain. They have been asked to consider 'their brethren in Ulster,' and to strike a blow at the tyranny of the priest. They have remained, like other English Liberals, faithful to the principle of self-government, and have refused to be led astray by the most artful devices of the enemy. A shrewd and longheaded man like Mr. Dillon must, one would think, have calculated the possible consequences of such a vote as it is said that he will give. We can speak with impartial freedom. We have always argued that Irish Home Rule is a good thing in itself, that it is not less advantageous to England than to Ireland, that having been adopted it cannot be discarded, and that the conduct of the Irish Members has nothing to do with it. We believe this to be a philosophical, a rational, and a statesmanlike view. But mankind is not always guided by pure reason, and the old-fashioned sentiment that one good turn deserves another survives in many quarters. To vote against English Tories even on English Bills may be justified as retaliation for the refusal of Home Rule. To vote under the same conditions against English Liberals would be an act of doubtful gratitude and still more doubtful wisdom."

THE NEW LAND BILL.

Mr. Gerald Balfour (Irish Secretary) introduced the Government's Irish Land Bill on April 13th in a speech of a somewhat discouraging length but full of ability, and characterized by remarkable grasp of the subject and a conscientious desire to remedy every legitimate grievance, and clear up a most tangled problem. In the opening part of his speech, he said: "Side by side with the establishment of a system of joint or dual ownership there has been from the first a desire for what I venture to consider a better and more excellent system — namely, the establishment of a peasant proprietary in Ireland. This desire found expression even in earlier Land Acts, and since 1881 it has been, I may say, the keystone of the Unionist policy in regard to land in Ireland. The goal—the final goal, at which in our judgment land reform in Ireland must aim—namely, the substitution of simple ownership for dual ownership, is far distant, and it would be still far distant even if the Purchase Acts had worked more rapidly and more effectively than as a matter of fact they have worked. The moral effect, indeed, of those Acts has not been exaggerated, and where the tenant farmers have purchased their holdings the testimony is invariably that it has tended to make them thriftier and better citizens

than they were when they were mere tenants." His proposals include the amendment of procedure, the extension of statutory terms for "fair rents," and a readjustment of the value of tenants' improvements. The purchasing clauses render purchase a temptation. The Irish tenant, indeed, is offered terms which no tenant has ever been offered in any other part of the globe. If he can induce his landlord to sell, he at once gets a reduction of 20 per cent. on the fair rent, and his rent, or what is the equivalent of his rent, his instalments, continue to shrink for seventy years, when the property becomes his own. The encouragement to the landowner to sell is hardly equal to the temptation which is offered to the tenant to buy. The vendor is absolved from the previous necessity of providing a guarantee deposit, which is now retained by the Land Commission, and deducted from the purchase money: besides this, landlords are offered a favourable scheme for the redemption of tithes. On the other hand, they will probably be injured by the proposal to force the sales of bankrupt estates administered by the Landed Estates Court. The total effect of the new purchase clauses should be to convert a great number of tenants into landowners; this is probably very desirable. It will be quite a generation before they have earned the inherent odium of their class, and become known as "land-grabbers." We cannot conceive that the Irish will have the folly to reject so generous a measure. The purchase provisions are the most valuable part of the Bill, but the measure, which is of immense intricacy, covers the whole field of the Irish land question, and it is difficult to see how time can be found to pass it all in a heavily mortgaged session.

THE BUDGET.

The great feature of the Budget this year is its overflowing surplus, of which the great bulk is to be expended on National Insurance. The following are the figures:—

ACTUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE PAST YEAR.

Revenue	£101,974,000
Expenditure	97,764,000
Realized Surplus	£4,210,000

CHIEF ITEMS OF LAST YEAR'S REVENUE.

Raised by *Direct Taxation*:—		
Estate Duties	£11,600,000	
Stamps	7,350,000	
Land Tax	1,015,000	
House Duty	1,495,000	
Income Tax	16,100,000	
		37,560,000

Raised by *Indirect Taxation* :—		
Customs	£20,756,000	
Excise	26,800,000	
		47,556,000
Surplus from Post Office...		3,743,000

ESTIMATED INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE CURRENT YEAR.

Revenue	£101,047,000
Expenditure	100,755,000
Estimated Surplus	1,708,000

The surplus for 1896-97 it is proposed to dispose of as follows :—

Changes in Death Duties	£200,000
Amendment in Land Tax	100,000
Relief of Agricultural Rates	975,000
New Education Grants, January to March, 1897 (probably)	125,000
Balance for contingencies	308,000
Total	£1,708,000

The Chancellor of the Exchequer expounded his Budget in a masterly manner, and confirmed the striking impression he made last month in the debate on Bimetallism. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's successes are due to sheer ability, as he disdains to cultivate popularity, and takes rather a "dour" line of his own. The most interesting and timely passage in his speech was that discussing our resources in case we are called upon to vindicate our existence: "On the 1st of April, 1857, the funded debt stood at £842,000,000. This year it stands at £652,000,000. We have paid off in thirty-nine years £190,000,000 of debt. By this self-denying course Parliament and the people of this country have raised up a reserve fund of incalculable importance—a reserve fund which, if the time of need should come when this country should again have to fight for its life, would enable us, without imposing a single extra penny of taxation, to raise a couple of hundred millions for the defence of the country, and without imposing also an atom more debt upon the people of that day than our predecessors bore without a murmur in 1857."

THE AGRICULTURAL RATING BILL.

On the Monday following the Budget night, Mr. Henry Chaplin brought forward the Agricultural Relief Bill, the gist of which is that agricultural land is to be assessed in future upon half its rateable value. The recent Royal Commission proposed it should be rated upon a quarter of its annual value. The deficiency is to be met by a contribution from the Imperial Exchequer. The exemption is to apply only to land; houses and buildings are to

continue to be assessed on the whole of their rateable value. Mr. Chaplin's measure will afford a very slight relief to our heavily-burthened land. Before many years are over we shall probably realize that the policy of crippling the tilling of the soil is anti-national and unprogressive, but in the meantime the superstition reigns among Radical politicians—without being confined to them—that land is necessarily a source of wealth. They are mostly townsmen, and the land they are familiar with is town land. They have no cognizance of land except as a rent-producer to an idle aristocrat. Directly they are in power they set to work to despoil their victims. Their last raid took the form of Sir William Harcourt's Real Estate Death Duties, which are assessed upon a fictitious value. Unsaleable and profitless properties have a purely arbitrary price attributed, quite impossible to realize, and are taxed accordingly. The result is that country house after country house is closed, and the American millionaire is awaited. Mr. Chaplin's Bill is nick-named the "Landowner's Relief Bill," by which is intended the Ogre's Relief Bill. Probably Mr. Chaplin's measure will be a slight relief to the whole agricultural class, including the ogres, the farmers, and the labourers. The latter will be the first to feel any alleviation in this depressed industry.

MR. LECKY ON LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY.

Mr. Lecky has published an interesting work, in two bulky volumes, *Democracy and Liberty* (Longmans & Co.). It is an admirable survey of the whole field of modern politics, and treats very nearly every question that exercises serious politicians. According to him the world has never seen a better Constitution than England enjoyed between the Reform Bill of 1832 and the Reform Bill of 1867. He says, during this period "the constituencies coincided very substantially with the area of public opinion—the public opinion of a nation being something quite different from the votes that can be extracted from all the individuals who compose it. There are multitudes in every nation who contribute nothing to its public opinion, who never give a serious thought to public affairs, and who have no wish to take part in them." Since 1867 he complains that the suffrage has included those "who are as ignorant as children of the great questions of Foreign, or Indian, or Irish, or Colonial policy, of the complicated and far-reaching consequences of constitutional changes, &c." Still, he admits that though the politics of a nation may deteriorate, the national character may improve. He says:—

"It appears to me hardly possible to compare the present generation of Englishmen with the generation of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers without believing that, on the whole, English character has improved. . . . The spirit

of humanity has immensely increased, both in the form that shrinks from the infliction of suffering, and in the form that seeks out suffering in order to alleviate it Churches and creeds will come and go, but the best index of the moral level of a community is to be found in the amount of unselfish action that is generated within it."

Many remarkable passages might be given from Mr. Lecky's book; the most interesting part of it is perhaps in the chapter he devotes to Socialism, in the second volume. The word "Socialism" is, it seems, of French origin. Reybaud claims to have been its inventor, and he first employed it in an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which appeared in 1836. Mr. Lecky gives an admirable definition of Socialism at page 225, vol. ii. He passes in review the various theories of Babœuf, Godwin, St. Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen, Louis Blanc, Lassalle, Marx, and Henry George. He concludes his survey with the following striking passage :—

"Few things are more difficult than to estimate the real force of dishonest and subversive theories in a great, free nation, where every novelty and every extravagance find an unshackled utterance. In the chaos of vast redundant energies, of crude opinions, of half-assimilated nationalities, of fiercely struggling competitions, paradox and violence rise easily to the surface, for they strike the imagination, and give men the notoriety which, in such a society, is feverishly sought. Notoriety is, however, no measure of power."

FRANCE AND EGYPT.

Ce que les Français pensent de la question d'Egypte peut se résumer en quelques mots : ils souhaitent ardemment le retrait des troupes britanniques. On a nié jusqu'en ces derniers temps l'existence d'un sentiment public bien déterminé sur ce grave sujet ; c'était coutume dans certaine presse anglaise de montrer l'opinion française indifférente aux affaires d'Egypte et de laisser croire que seuls quelques politiciens ou quelques diplomates, groupe colonial ou journalistes, s'intéressaient à ces affaires, et, seuls, entretenaient l'agitation.

Il a fallu se rendre à l'évidence lorsque l'expédition de Dongola a éclaté et qu'on a vu le populaire tout entier manifester par une poussée violente de l'opinion sa résolution de ne pas abandonner une question qui est au cœur même de la nation.

Et, chose extraordinaire, tandis qu'en matière extérieure le parlement français avait pris depuis dix ans la tradition de rendre des votes unanimes, cette fois nous avons vu les modérés, c'est à dire les plus suspects de tièdeur à l'égard de la question d'Egypte, se détacher de l'unanimité pour reprocher au gouvernement de n'avoir pas conduit avec assez de décision les premières opérations de protestation contre l'expédition de Dongola.

Relisez les débats de la Chambre et du Sénat français du 31 Mars, des 2 et 3 Avril ; vous garderez l'impression qu'il n'est pas en notre Parlement un seul homme qui considère que la question d'Egypte n'existe pas : tous, à droite et à gauche, radicaux, socialistes, modérés, royalistes ont reçu du pays et ont transmis au Gouvernement le mandat de la résoudre, et de demander à l'Angleterre le retrait de ses troupes de la Terre Egyptienne.

Les causes de cet état d'esprit sont nombreuses : nous allons les étudier tout à l'heure, mais hâtons nous de reconnaître que le grand public ne les saisit pas toutes au même degré et qu'à ces yeux la gravité de la question résulte surtout dans le péril constant que son existence même fait courir à la paix du monde. Le Français est certainement, quoi qu'on en ait dit, le peuple qui tient le plus au maintien de la paix : les conditions mêmes de son travail et de son épargne ont développé chez lui, précisément

même à cause de sa nouvelle vie sociale, l'instinct de conservation et le besoin de sécurité du lendemain, à un tel point qu'il s'émeut aujourd' hui très facilement de tout ce qui peut éventuellement compromettre ou troubler les bonnes relations entre les puissances européennes, entamer un conflit d'où sortirait la grande guerre.

L'alliance franco-russe est le résultat de cette politique de prévoyance pacifique et c'est justement parce que cette alliance lui a rendu confiance en Europe, a calmé les inquiétudes du coté des grandes questions continentales, que le français est plus facilement en éveil au moindre bruit, du côté des questions asiatiques ou africaines de nature à inquiéter son repos.

Longtemps il a redouté que le conflit ne vint de l'Extrême Orient: mais le dernier groupement de puissances intervenu dans les affaires de Chine lui a paru en ces derniers mois constituer une garantie de paix si efficace, qu'il n'aperçoit plus de danger tout au moins immédiat dans le problème chinois. De même, le groupement intervenu dans les affaires d'Arménie et de Turquie a fait apparaître la possibilité de gagner du temps pour laisser mûrir les solutions nécessaires au maintien de l'Empire Ottoman. Seule la question d'Egypte se dresse menaçante, grosse de surprises et source de conflits. On voudrait l'ignorer, l'oublier, l'étouffer, qu'on ne le pourrait pas, car elle a soin de se rappeler tous les jours au monde par les complications multiples et toujours nouvelles qu'elle ne cesse de soulever. L'Egypte, c'est le Nil, et le Nil, c'est l'Afrique mystérieuse et sauvage : c'est l'Ouganda, c'est le Bahr-el-Gazal, c'est l'Ethiopie, c'est la Mer Rouge, c'est le Mahdisme, c'est le Senoussisme : c'est en même temps le Canal de Suez : c'est l'Empire Ottoman et c'est aussi, dans un autre ordre d'idées et non des moins graves, par une répercussion naturelle, le problème de l'hégémonie future dans l'Afrique Australe et de l'avenir de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo.

Certes, toutes ces questions existaient déjà avant l'occupation anglaise de 1882 : c'était même aux affaires du Soudan et au développement extraordinaire de l'empire d'Ismail d'une part jusqu'au Cap Gardafui, de l'autre jusqu'au Victoria Nyanza et jusqu'au Ouadaï, que l'Egypte avait dû en grande partie sa crise financière, et c'était aussi l'agitation insubordonnée des éléments révolutionnaires Soudanais pénétrés dans son armée, qui, à l'instigation d'habiles agents anglais avait ouvert l'ère de troubles dont les évènements d'Alexandrie furent la conclusion.

On ne peut nier toutefois que l'aspect actuel de toutes ces questions ne soit un des principaux effets de l'occupation anglaise du Bas Nil. Pourquoi, en 1884, la limitation de l'Egypte à Wadi Halfa si ce n'est pour que l'Angleterre pût exécuter son dessein d'alors qui était de détacher le Soudan de l'Egypte et d'en faire une

province Anglaise, dans des conditions telles que la présence de l'Angleterre à Kartoum devenait une garantie pour le maintien de son occupation en Egypte? Pourquoi ensuite, de 1889 à 1896 toute cette politique laborieuse tendant à isoler le Soudan, à le laisser "Cuire dans son jus" suivant l'expression célèbre, si ce n'est pour empêcher l'établissement sur le Haut Nil d'une autre puissance européenne dont la présence eut été un danger pour l'occupation anglaise de l'Egypte? Pourquoi, en 1885, tant d'empressement à la création d'un Etat Indépendant du Congo, si ce n'est pour donner une partie des sources du Nil à un pouvoir neutre plutôt que d'y laisser s'installer la France, et toujours par crainte qu'une grande puissance européenne s'établissant même aux sources du Nil ne gêne l'occupation anglaise de l'Egypte? Pourquoi en 1885 l'autorisation donnée à l'Italie d'occuper Massaouah, si ce n'est pour empêcher la France de s'y établir à son tour et de troubler par là l'occupation de l'Egypte? Pourquoi, à la même époque l'occupation anglaise de Leila? Pourquoi les accords avec le Négus Jean, et après que le Négus, poussé par l'Angleterre contre les Derviches, est allé périr à Metemmah, pourquoi la reconnaissance de l'inexact traité d'Ucialli, pourquoi les protocoles de 1891, et de 1894, où l'Angleterre attribue généreusement toute l'Ethiopie, les Gallas à l'Italie, si ce n'est toujours pour le même et unique objet, empêcher la France ou une tierce puissance de s'approcher du Nil par la Mer Rouge, par le Golfe d'Aden, par l'Abyssinie, par la Juba, et de venir menacer par l'intérieur l'occupation anglaise de l'Egypte? Pourquoi le 1er Juillet 1890, le traité avec l'Allemagne qui viole l'acte de 1862 et donne Zanzibar à l'Angleterre, tandis qu'il donne Héligoland à l'Allemagne, dont il détruit l'empire naissant aux sources mêmes du Nil au moment ou l'Allemagne va pouvoir par sa seule présence dans l'Equatoria importuner l'action anglaise en Egypte?

Ah! l'admirable plan, et quelle merveille la politique qui a su, à travers quatorze ans de luttes diplomatiques, maintenir une idée d'une exécution aussi difficile, aussi impossible que celle ci: garder toute la vallée du Nil à l'influence britannique. On dit que l'auteur de ce grand dessein n'est autre que Lord Dufferin lui même: Je crains bien pour lui, que l'illustre diplomate n'assiste sur la fin de sa carrière à la faillite de son beau rêve. Jetez un coup d'œil sur la carte, voyez l'état vrai des choses: le Mahdisme maître à Kartoum et au Darfour, les Belges sur le Nil à Lado, les Français au Bahr-el-Gazal, l'Ethiopie victorieuse et puissante sur le Nil bleu et jusqu' au Sobat, et l'hégémonie allemande apparaissant dans l'Afrique Australe: d'où l'Angleterre obligée de renoncer à l'isolement du Soudan et de proclamer après la France, après Mr. Hanotaux en Juin 1894, et en Mars 1895, que le Haut Nil doit être

rendu à l'Egypte et que les droits souverains de l'Empire Ottoman sur toute la vallée du Nil si méconnus par les accords anglo-allemands du 1 Juillet 1890, et anglo-congolais du 12 Mai 1894, doivent être solennellement restaurés de Wadi-Halfa jusqu' au Lac Victoria par les troupes egyptiennes; et Kassala lui même doit être rendu à l'Egypte.

Les historiens futurs auront bien du mal à expliquer la brusquerie de l'évolution que vient d'accomplir la politique anglaise: mais ils expliqueront facilement que la France, et en attendant d'autres puissances, la Russie, n'aient pas cru devoir laisser se produire un mouvement aussi extraordinaire sans demander des explications et finalement soulever tout le débat au fond.

En agissant ainsi, le gouvernement français et son allié ont donné au gouvernement anglais une marque non équivoque de leur attachement à la politique pacifique, en même temps que de leur sympathie pour les intérêts bien compris de l'Angleterre. C'eût été encourager les plus folles aventures, et jeter l'Angleterre dans toutes sortes d'embarras, sur le Nil et en Europe, que de laisser s'engager à l'aveuglette, sans études ni conversations préalables une expédition aussi mal conçue dans son esprit et dans son objet, aussi mal expliquée au monde, aussi dangeureuse en soi sous toutes les formes, que l'expédition de Dongola. Au lendemain même des défaites que l'Italie s'était attiré en Ethiopie, faute d'écouter les conseils désintéressés de la France, et pour avoir voulu suivre les excitations malsaines d'une certaine école diplomatique anglaise, la France se fut faite elle même complice de cette école et eut assumé pour jamais sa part de responsabilité dans de nouveaux désastres, tels que ceux de Hicks et de Gordon, si elle n'eut pas fait entendre les conseils de sagesse que sa propre expérience et sa haute autorité de puissance musulmane africaine suffiraient seules du reste pleinement à autoriser de sa part.

Ajoutez qu'avec la rapidité de propagation des "ondes Musulmanes" en Afrique un désastre sur le Nil ne tarderait pas à produire l'effervescence accoutumée au Darfour, dans l'arrière-pays de la Tripolitaine, autour du Lac Tchad, et jusqu' au Sahara Algerien. Le fanatisme est une épidémie d'une marche aussi puissante que le choléra, et de même que l'Europe ne tolère plus qu'une puissance quelconque lui importe le germe de l'affreuse maladie, de même les états intéressés à la paix de l'Afrique ne peuvent admettre qu'à la légère on déchaîne le fanatisme dont leurs dépendances peuvent être atteintes avant qu'elles aient pu établir autour de leurs vastes possessions un cordon militaire suffisant à barrer le mal.

Mais, nous dira-t-on, puisque vous reconnaissez que le mal existe, vous devriez bien, au lieu d'arrêter les troupes anglo-égyptiennes

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION NEW SWINDON.

leur offrir loyalement votre coopération pour en venir à bout par un effort commun et décisif; la coopération qu'on vous a offerte en 1882 peut encore se reprendre aujourd'hui; elle serait digne de la France. Je répondrai nettement à ce langage; j'approuve hautement ceux qui en 1882 ont refusé de débarquer leurs troupes à Alexandrie à coté des troupes anglaises, car, ainsi que l'écrivaient à l'époque la plupart des journaux anglais, un débarquement à deux, l'établissement d'une garnison à la fois anglaise et française à Alexandrie, eut été le signal de conflits les plus graves. Il en eut été autrement si les deux puissances se fussent mises d'accord pour distribuer leur action, par exemple, l'une dans le Delta, l'autre sur le Canal. De même aujourd'hui l'addition de bataillons français aux troupes dépêchées sur Akashed serait la source de difficultés sans nombre. La coopération française ne pourrait utilement s'exercer que si la France se chargeait d'opérer par une autre voie que les troupes anglo-égyptiennes, mais convergeant au même but. La chose est à examiner; l'intention, évidente pour tous, de l'Angleterre d'avoir en automne son expédition purement anglaise, de Souakim vers Berber et Kartoum est elle même une invite à la France de cesser de se désinteresser militairement des affaires du Soudan et les deux alliés, français et russe, se rendront sûrement compte de leur devoir à cet égard.

Du reste ce n'est pas seulement le désir de prévenir des complications au Soudan ou un conflit avec l'Angleterre en Egypte, qui guide les deux gouvernements dans le choix des mesures à prendre ou des négociations à suivre avec l'Angleterre, c'est aussi un ensemble de considérations d'ordre très varié et non moins important.

En premier lieu, il y a le vœu légitime et fort naturel de la part de deux grandes puissances comme la France et la Russie, que l'Angleterre observe la parole donnée. It est inutile que je rappelle les engagements pris; les pages de deux numéros de la *National Review* ne suffiraient pas à les contenir; avant et depuis l'entrée des troupes anglaises au Caire le gouvernement britannique n'a cessé de répéter de la manière la plus solennelle, qu'elles n'allaient en Egypte que pour rétablir l'ordre, et qu'aussitôt l'ordre rétabli elles partiraient; les puissances sont témoins de ces serments; l'honnêteté internationale veut qu'ils soient tenus, sans quoi il n'y a plus le respect de rien. Quelles que soient les habiletés de la diplomatie la plus fertile en expédients, pour éluder ou ajourner l'exécution de la parole donnée, cette parole existe, et pour rentrer dans le droit, pour ne plus sentir peser sur tous ses actes, l'équivoque et le danger d'une situation aussi fausse et aussi illégale, l'Angleterre doit, dans cette affaire de sa vie publique, se conduire comme ses enfants ont le renom de se conduire dans leur vie privée, avec honneur.

Vous ne sauriez vous douter de la douleur, le mot n'est pas trop fort, que cause en France, à tous ceux qui veulent le maintien de la paix par le respect réciproque de ces hautes personnalités morales que sont les états, l'attitude de l'Angleterre, s'obstinant à refuser à deux grandes puissances, la France et la Russie, la déférence à laquelle elles ont d'autant plus de droit, qu'elles ont mis plus de confiance et de patience à en attendre la manifestation. Une œuvre qui repose sur une telle base est mauvaise. Encore une fois connaissant bien l'Angleterre, et ayant une vive admiration pour le caractère et les qualités des individus britanniques, je ne puis comprendre le phénomène d'aberration intellectuelle et morale que la question d'Egypte produit chez les hommes d'Etat, et les porte à faire au pouvoir, ce qu'ils rougiraient certainement de faire au privé; je ne crains pas de répéter que c'est mal, très mal.

En plus de ce sentiment du respect qui leur est dû, les deux puissances ont le sentiment de leurs intérêts matériels. Or, même en faisant la part très large, et que je garderai bien de méconnaître, aux progrès réalisés par l'administration Anglo-Egyptienne en Egypte, on est obligé de constater, au point de vue financier, que, sous des apparences de prospérité le budget Egyptien est en réalité dans une situation peu avantageuse. Les fonds ont monté certainement: mais cette hausse est due surtout à la répercussion que la garantie des puissances donnée à l'un deux en 1885, exerce sur tous les autres; en réalité (la chose a été définitivement établie par le magistral travail de M. Aristide Gavillot, *L'Angleterre épuise l'Egypte*), non seulement le budget égyptien s'est augmenté depuis l'occupation Anglaise de 1,166,032 £E. sans parler des 20,756,639£E dont l'occupation anglaise a appauvri le pays, mais encore ce budget se solde en déficit, de l'aveu même du conseiller financier anglais, dans la *Note* qui précède le budget Egyptien de 1896 : et, cela, malgré les réductions des intérêts de la Dette publique imposées indûment aux créanciers en 1885, 1888, et 1890, et bien que, depuis le mois d'Août 1894, le gouvernement Egyptien bénéficie du supplément de ressources qui résulte de l'extinction des intérêts sur les Actions du Canal de Suez.

Les dépenses de l'expédition de Dongola achèveraient de creuser le trou, car, le Fonds de Réserve général (50,000,000 de francs) y passerait tout entier; puis il faudrait s'adresser aux Economies des Conversions que la sollicitude de la France a conservées à l'Egypte par son *Veto* absolu depuis 1890, mais qui seraient rapidement absorbées par la boulimie soudanaise. Et alors viendrait la nécessité de nouvelles conversions ou de nouveaux emprunts, au moment même où une indéniable crise agricole avilit les produits de l'Egypte et menace ses revenus provenant pour les 8/10 de son agriculture.

Il est aisé de comprendre que, possèdant chez elle, les trois quarts de la Dette publique d'Egypte la France ne veuille pas s'incliner devant la singulière théorie qu'une majorité au sein de la Caisse de la Dette au Caire peut disposer, sans son aveu, de la fortune de ses enfants. A ce point de vue, l'expédition de Dongola a été une nouvelle faute, car les Créanciers français de la Dette, qui vivaient sur la légende des bienfaits de l'occupation anglaise, ont, en quelques jours, compris la vérité, et la thèse britannique, a, de ce chef, perdu son plus fort appoint. Même si la question politique des engagements internationaux ne s'en mêlait pas, la question financière seule, obligerait l'Europe à intervenir de nouveau, comme en 1885, pour des accords qui, cette fois, devraient être pourvus d'une sanction.

Mais il y a plus que la politique et la finance, il y a l'intérêt militaire immédiat des deux puissances qui réclame la solution de la question d'Egypte. De même qu'en 1883, 1884, et 1885, c'est-à-dire, lors des opérations anglaises sur le Soudan, la France éloignée de la vallée du Nil, pouvait, dans une certaine mesure, se distraire de ces opérations, de même, en 1882, la modestie de ses établissements dans l'Inde et en Indo-Chine lui rendait difficile de contester à l'Angleterre la prédominance de la route des Indes où la Grande Bretagne avait un empire immense à défendre. Aujourd'hui la France à son tour, a un empire et la Russie se fait un empire : nul ne peut le nier, depuis l'accord Anglo-Français du 15 Janvier 1896, et surtout, depuis les évènements de l'an dernier, qui ont conduit l'Angleterre à devenir impuissante devant l'établissement de la Russie à Port-Arthur ; en outre, la France posséde Madagascar. La neutralisation du Canal de Suez s'impose donc : en termes diplomatiques il faut reprendre la négociation " d'un acte conventionnel fixant l'établissement d'un régime définitif destiné à garantir en tout temps et à toutes les puissances le libre usage du canal de Suez". Ce fut l'ordre du jour de la commission internationale réunie à Paris le 30 Mars 1888, et qui aboutit le 13 Juin à un projet de convention qui resta dans les cartons de Downing Street jusqu'au 21 Octobre 1889. A cette date Lord Salisbury, sollicité à cet effet par le cabinet de Paris, exhuma ce projet de convention, le modifia, se mit d'accord avec la France sur ses termes définitifs, mais attendit pour le mettre à exécution l'adhésion promise de toutes les puissances ; celui de la Turquie n'est pas encore venu, et la convention a repris son sommeil dans les bureaux de Downing Street. En réalité ce qui a causé, à cette époque, l'échec de cet arrangement c'est que Lord Salisbury avait cru devoir renouveler, le 21 Octobre 1889, la réserve suivante présentée le 13 Juin 1889, par Sir Julian Pauncefort à la commission internationale de Paris ; "Les délégués

de la Grande Bretagne, en présentant ce texte de traité comme le régime définitif destiné à garantir le libre usage du Canal de Suez, pensent qu'il est de leur devoir de formuler une réserve générale quant à l'application de ces dispositions en tant qu'elles ne seraient pas compatibles avec l'état transitoire et exceptionnel où se trouve actuellement l'Egypte et qu'elles pourraient entraver la liberté d'action de leur Gouvernement pendant la période de l'occupation de l'Egypte par les forces de Sa Majesté Britannique:" Comme l'interprétait quelques jours plus tard une dépêche du Cabinet de Paris il était entendu que la nouvelle convention ne pouvait entraver la liberté d'action du Gouvernement Britannique, sur le Canal, pendant la période d'occupation; il s'en suivait des lois que la neutralisation du Canal n'était pas possible aussi longtemps que durait l'occupation britannique, et qu'elle était en fait subordonnée à la neutralisation de l'Egypte.

Ce semble que l'heure soit venue de reprendre la conversation sur la base de cette convention du 21 Octobre 1889, en la complètant par quelques lignes, très-simples et très-courtes, neutralisant l'Egypte en même temps que le Canal. Nous avouons ne pas voir de meilleure solution de la question egyptienne.

Revenir au *condominium*, a la Convention Drummond Wolff, il n'y faut pas songer. Le nouveau *condominium* n'aurait qu'une durée éphémère: car il reparaîtrait avec tous ses défauts d'antan et trouverait une Egypte fort mal disposée à les supporter. Tout le monde aurait vite fait de le supprimer, et sa seconde disparition aurait pour résultat inévitable un interminable conflit entre les éléments administratifs de l'Egypte, "avec toutes ses conséquences." Récemment, un grand journal d'Egypte a pu recommander le retour au *condominium* sans que personne s'en émût: on n'y a vu qu' une facétie de Sir Elwin Palmer.

Quant à la convention Drummond Wolff, elle est bien morte; qu' elle repose en paix! Ce n' est pas la France qui essaiera jamais de la ressusciter, car elle ne pourrait, être que désastreuse pour tout le monde, surtout en l'état actuel du Soudan et du Haut Nil. Nous savons bien que lord Salisbury aime à répéter son regret que la ratification de cette convention n'ait pu avoir lieu; mais nous doutons que si elle eût été ratifiée et exécutée dans son esprit, c'est à dire en tenant compte de toutes ses réserves, de toutes ses réticences, elle eût jamais résolu la question autrement que par la perpétuation de l'occupation et la prolongation des difficultés entre la France et l'Angleterre; or ce sont précisément ces difficultés dont nous désirons le réglement à terme fixe et *ne varietur*.

On a proposé aussi de terminer l'affaire en rendant l'Egypte à

une action plus directe de la Turquie ; nous n'en parlons que pour mémoire. Car, avec les traditions de l'Europe en pareille matière, un nouveau rattachement des services Egyptiens aux services turcs de Constantinople ne rencontrerait sûrement l'adhésion d'aucune puissance. Le lien de la suzeraineté de la Porte doit être maintenu, mais l'autonomie égyptienne doit être non moins respectée, et même consolidée, en dehors des cas prévus par les firmans en vigueur. Nous sommes pleinement d'accord sur ce point avec les autorités anglaises d'Egypte et de la Métropole.

Quant à la crainte d'un remplacement éventuel de la garnison anglaise de l'Egypte par une garnison française, c'est une pure bourde. Les jingoistes qui sont capables de la propager sont les premiers à avouer qu'ils n'y croient pas eux-mêmes. Dieu merci ! nous avons conservé quelque popularité dans le peuple egyptien, précisément par ce que nous ne sommes pas les occupants ; nous n'envions nullement les haines que l'occupation a value et vaut au nom anglais sur tout le Nil. Nous avons assez de nous maintenir en Algérie, en Tunisie, à Madagascar, au Tonkin sans aspirer à prendre en Egypte une succession qui n'offre, au fond, aucun avantage sérieux, ni en finances, ni en commerce, ni en industrie, ni en travaux publics à ceux qui en sont actuellement les détenteurs. De la gloire ? Celle de Bonaparte nous suffit dans le passé et dans l'avenir ; elle a bien sa valeur, du reste, à côté de celle de lord Wolseley.

Nous avons fourni, à toute occasion, notamment lors des pourparlers de 1884 (dépêche du 19 Juin), de 1886 et de 1890 l'assurance formelle, écrite, que nous n'avions pas l'intention d'occuper l'Egypte après le départ des troupes anglaises et que nous étions opposés à l'occupation de ce pays par une puissance quelconque. Nous sommes prêts à renouveler, par écrit, s'il est nécessaire, la déclaration " que nous n'avons pas changé de manière de voir," et à ajouter avec M. Ribot, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères (dépêche du 31 Mai, 1890) : " Le jour où l'Angleterre, remplissant ses promesses fixera elle-même une date pour l'évacuation dans les conditions nécessaires, pour prémunir les puissances contre toute surprise, nous prendrons volontiers, de notre côté l'engagement de ne point occuper l'Egypte."

Bien, me direz-vous, admettons que les troupes anglaises quittent l'Egypte et que les français n'y puissent les y remplacer, qu'adviendra t-il après ? " L'Egyptien incorrigible recommencera les sottises de jadis, ce sera l'anarchie et la révolution, avec nouvelle intervention a bref délai." Nous ne le pensons pas. Quoique les anglais, oubliant le fameux programme de lord Dufferin en 1882, " l'Egypte aux Egyptiens," n'aient jamais songé à créer et élever une génération d'hommes d'état indigènes, capables à eux seuls de

gouverner et administrer l'Egypte, après le retrait du contrôle anglais, le malheur, qui est la grande école des nationalités, a suffisamment développé chez la jeune Egypte, les facultés essentiellement administratives de prudence, d'une part, et de dévouement au Khédive, de l'autre, pour qu'on n'ait plus à redouter, de longtemps le retour des Arabi pacha et autres gens du même acabit.

Du reste les Egyptiens sont les premiers à reconnaitre que l'évacuation ne saurait être le signal de la disparition immédiate du contrôle européen; suivant l'expression du plus autorisé d'entre eux, ils admettent que "leurs institutions doivent se développer progressivement" avant que l'Europe cesse d'éxercer sur eux la "tutelle" que les fautes de leurs pères ont imposée. Mais cette "tutelle" elle-même peut prendre de nouvelles formes sans diminuer d'efficacité, et l'étude de cette évolution cadrant avec le sentiment des patriotes égyptiens ne saurait nous effrayer. Nous connaissons bien des moyens de satisfaire, sur ce point, les plus exigeants, tant en Egypte qu'en Angleterre; ce n'est pas ici le lieu de présenter ces combinaisons. La négociation qui s'est ouvert entre la France et l'Angleterre permettra au surplus d'examiner tous les cas et de les fixer très facilement; les chancelleries de nos grandes capitales sont riches en projets de réglement de la question d'Egypte, depuis cent ans que cette question existe, et un débutant dans la carrière n'a qu' à colliger les *Blue Books* pour en extraire une demi-douzaine qui ne font pas mauvaise figure.

Celui auquel nous nous sommes ralliés, aprés un long discernement, peut tenir dans ces quelques lignes de lord Granville: "Le Gouvernement anglais fixera à une date certaine la fin de l'occupation anglaise, et proposera à la fin de cette occupation, ou avant, aux Puissances et à la Porte, un projet de neutralisation de l'Egypte, sur la base des principes appliqués à la Belgique" (dépêche du 16 Juin 1884).

A quel délai maximum peut-être fixé la date de l'évacuation? En 1884, lorsqu'il annoncait l'évacuation pour Janvier 1888, lord Granville parlait de trois ans et demie; plus tard l'Angleterre n'a plus demandé que trois ans; c'est le terme indiqué dans son rapport, récemment public, par M. Money, commissaire anglais de la Dette au Caire. Il nous parait, à nous, que dix huit mois seraient pleinement suffisants pour permettre à l'Angleterre de prendre les mesures préliminaires de l'évacuation. Elle pourrait fort bien, dès les premiers six mois, ainsi que Lord Salisbury le proposait, en 1889, à M. Spuller, retirer ses troupes de la Haute-Egypte, puis graduellement, se replier sur Alexandrie, et finalement évacuer Alexandrie. Au fur et à mesure de leur départ les troupes anglaises pourraient être remplacées par des troupes egyptiennes

plus ou moins encadrées d'officiers anglais, turcs ou européens; le fonds des économies des conversions est là tout prêt pour la constitution, ou plutôt la reconstitution de cette armee Egyptienne. Sitôt que la date de l'évacuation aura été fixée, la France autorisera le prélèvement sur ce fonds des sommes nécessaires et "aux combinaisons militaires destinées à mettre le gouvernement egyptien en état d'assurer par lui-même la sûreté intérieure et extérieure du pays, par l'augmentation des forces indigènes." Ce sont les propres termes de la dépêche de M. Develle du 8 Février 1893, à M. Waddington, confirmant le circulaire du 17 Juin 1890 de M. Ribot sur le même sujet.

Donc fixation à dix-huit mois de l'évacuation de l'Egypte, réorganisation de l'armée egyptienne immédiatement après la fixation de cette date, mise en œuvre de la convention de 1887 neutralisant le canal de Suez: telles sont les premières étapes.

Puis il conviendra d'arrêter sur les bases mêmes de la neutralité Belge la neutralisation applicable à l'Egypte, et par l'Egypte à toute la vallée du Nil. Car, à nos yeux, pour faire édifice durable, il faudra neutraliser toute la vallée du Nil en même temps qu'on neutralisera l'Egypte. Ce n'est pas à dire qu'un seul régime administratif doive être appliqué à toute la vallée; songez par exemple que cette vallée contient l'Abyssinie, et que l'Abyssinie vient de démontrer par des arguments irréfutables qu'elle tient à avoir sa vie propre. Mais son self-government ne saurait l'empêcher d'entrer dans une sorte de fédération, formée et garantie par les puissances, pour assurer à la fois le paix musulmane et chretienne dans tout le Bassin Nilotique.

En même temps que l'Egypte, l'Abyssinie pourrait fournir son contingent de gendarmes pour cette police; un camp anglais dans l'Ouganda, un camp belge dans l'Equatoria, un camp français sur la ligne du Bahr el Ghazal compléterait la surveillance des marches soudanaises. En cas, tout à fait improbable dans ces conditions, où une intervention de forces extérieures deviendrait nécessaire pour réprimer un mouvement extraordinaire entre l'Ouganda et Dongola, mandat pourrait être donné à une puissance neutre, l'Etat du Congo, par exemple, de rétablir l'ordre sur le point troublé, de concert avec les armées egyptiennes et abyssines, et, au besoin l'Europe pourrait même investir cet Etat neutre de cette mission éventuelle dès la neutralisation de la vallée.

Les institutions internationales actuellement existant au loin seraient maintenues; mais leurs attributions seraient mieux précisées, et leur fonctionnement plus directement contrôlé par le concert des puissances, sans gêner toutefois la progression naturelle de l'autonomie egyptienne. Si les gouvernements qui participeront à la neutralisation, veulent bien y mettre un peu de bonne

volonté, le nouveau régime marchera sans trop d'accidents, car la population egyptienne est, de sa nature, très-facile à gouverner, et les éléments de désordre ne viennent pas de son sein ; les vrais coupables dans toute échauffourée en Egypte et même sur le Haut-Nil, sont, les trois quarts du temps, des agents étrangers.

Un congrès est-il nécessaire pour mettre sur pied un état de choses définitif comme celui que nous réclamons ? certainement, mais, d'autre part, il est inutile de convoquer ce congrès si l'on n'est pas au préalable, d'accord sur l'acte à intervenir; ne recommençons pas la comédie de la conférence de Constantinople de 1882. Le congrès ne peut servir qu'à sanctionner et promulguer solennellement un traité élaboré entre les chancelleries sur un programme présenté par l'une d'elles.

On dit que la Russie et la France vont présenter ce programme ; tant mieux ; la procédure est bonne, et quelle que soit la réluctance de l'Angleterre à en accepter non point même le principe, mais seulement la discussion initiale, nous osons espèrer qu'elle ne commettra pas la faute de refuser, purement et simplement, à ouvrir une couversation sérieuse sur la matière.

Nous ne voudrions pas jouer les Cassandre ; il nous sera toutefois permis de déclarer, en terminant, notre profond sentiment, que la situation commande à l'Angleterre une réelle conciliation. Ce ne sont pas seulement les complications soudanaises, abyssines et australes qu'une attitude intransigeante de sa part peut singulièrement aggraver ; un refus d'effort sincère vers un accord avec la France et la Russie sur la question d'Egypte, dans l'état actuel des esprits en France et ailleurs, serait relevé en quelque sorte comme un défi, et rendrait toute leur liberté d'action à des hommes d'état encore liés par le souvenir des conversations passées ou par l'espoir d'une conciliation future.

Nous serions désolé qu'on put voir dans ces dernières lignes une arrière pensée quelconque d'intimidation : l'Angleterre n'est pas de ces nations qu'on intimide : elle l'a vaillamment prouvé au lendemain du télégramme du 1 Janvier au Président Krüger. Non, notre pensée est plus haute : nous voyons plus haut et plus loin que les querelles actuelles : nous demandons la permission de parler aussi franchement à l'opinion publique anglaise qu'elle nous parlait à nous même de 1866 à 1869, alors qu' infatués et aveuglés de notre hégémonie en Europe, nous ne percevions pas l'orage qui grondait sur nos têtes et nous prenions à contre-sens les conseils de sagesse qu'elle voulait bien nous donner. Combien nous avons regretté plus tard, de n'avoir pas su nous modérer à temps et de nous être conduits de telle manière que finalement, au jour de la lutte, nous sommes restés seuls, abandonnés même de nos alliés de la veille.

L'Angleterre à son tour, vient d'entrevoir cet isolement, il y a quelques semaines : elle l'a trouvé " splendide ; " cela nous a rappelé notre " cœur léger," de 1870 ; tant pis pour les hommes d'état qui se réjouissent de voir les intérêts universels se liguer un à un contre leur propre pays, et qui n'ont pas la sagesse de comprendre qu 'une action qui n'est pas suivie d'une d'étente finit toujours par amener une réaction.

François Deloncle.

CAN ENGLAND BE INVADED?

THE evolution of the modern State from the primitive family or the tribe is largely due to a natural craving for personal and territorial security. Association for purposes of defence must, from the earliest times, have been recognized as a necessity, and by a process of successive groupings small units became absorbed into large communities, whose survival depended upon their powers of resistance to aggression. Aptitude for war, racial or other affinities favouring the mutual confidence which organized action demands, and geographical conditions were ruling factors in the upward struggle. So long as territorial security was maintained, civil development could proceed, and commerce might spring up and thrive, while war, if successful, tended to foster the growth of national sentiment, the most powerful of the forces by which a State is consolidated.

The speed of events has been enormously quickened in modern times, but the laws of evolution endure, and the conditions which governed the rise and the decadence of the Old World States remain unchanged. Now, as in the days of ancient Greece, the State which is unprepared to defend its integrity has no sure foundations. Within the past two hundred years every country in Europe has been invaded, and the map has undergone constant changes. Only the frontiers of Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland remain practically unaltered, though they have been crossed and re-crossed by armies. Within the last fifty years Russia, Denmark, Austria, France, and Turkey have all been successfully invaded, while the German Empire, the kingdoms of United Italy, Roumania, and Servia, and the Principalities of Montenegro and Bulgaria have sprung into existence. Peace in Europe has been unbroken only since 1885, and in the restless rivalries, the ambitions, the unhealed sores, even the domestic exigencies of nations, lurk abundant potential causes of future wars. None can dream that a state of stable international equilibrium has been attained; few regard it as attainable. Meanwhile great Powers such as France and Germany, and small ones such as Belgium and Denmark, are alike driven to contemplate the possibility of invasion,

G.W. MECH INST NEW

and to undertake preparations for defence. Such preparations are, next to the maintenance of internal order, the first duty of a State; but the measure of the danger, and the nature and extent of the requisite means of defence necessarily vary with the national conditions, geographical, political, and economic. To a great Power, self-contained, united, and permeated with a strong spirit of patriotism, hostile invasion, even though successful, can rarely prove absolutely disastrous. The permanent annexation of an alien white race imbued with fighting instincts is not usually an object of desire to a modern conqueror. Great temporary suffering, increased burdens, and prosperity checked for a longer or shorter time, may be the only results of invasion. Prussia, crushed in 1806, was soon again a powerful State, regenerated by disaster. France, brought to her knees in 1814 and in 1871, is now stronger in every respect than at any period since 1812.

Loss of territory, and especially of external possessions, does not necessarily involve loss of strength, and of all Continental Powers to-day, only Spain,* Holland, and possibly Portugal would suffer materially by being shorn of their few colonies. The possessions of Germany which Germans refuse to inhabit, and the African adventures of Italy, bring increase of national expenditure without counterbalancing advantage. The colonies of France are not necessary to her existence as a great Power, and would, for the most part, be points of vulnerability if she were overmatched at sea.

The conditions of Great Britain differ vitally from those of all other Powers. Throughout the history of the world no other great island State has ever yet arisen to become the centre of an Empire. Japan alone offers striking points of resemblance, but the analogy is incomplete, since the island Power of the East is only now beginning to expand and to become dependent upon sea-borne commerce. Carthage and Athens in ancient times, Spain and Holland in the present era, owed their greatness wholly to maritime achievment. All fell; and Carthage, which, like Great Britain, lived by external trade, was effaced. Spain, almost insular by reason of a strong natural barrier, lost her Empire solely by failure to maintain her supremacy at sea; while Holland, never oblivious of her naval needs, and showing no decadence in the fighting power of her seamen, sank irrevocably from the position of a great Power by inability to defend her land frontier.†

Dependence on sea-borne trade for the incomes and food

* The possession of Cuba is, however, becoming a doubtful advantage to Spain.

† It is none the less true, as Admiral Colomb has stated, that Holland, in two years (1654-56) of unsuccessful naval war with Great Britain, was brought to terms without the landing of a soldier on her shores.

supply of the mass of the population at home; responsibility for the security of more than fifty scattered Colonies, containing upwards of twenty millions of fellow subjects, whose prosperity is mainly derived from commerce; further responsibility for the maintenance of law and order among 290 millions of heterogeneous people in India—such, in brief, are the conditions of the British Empire, with its 11,000,000 square miles of territory. Of its population, more than 50,000,000 are of our own race, distributed in the proportion of about 39,000,000 at home to 11,000,000 abroad. The mutual interdependence of Great and Greater Britain is now absolute. If shorn of her Colonial dominions, and her commerce, Great Britain would, in the words of the late Lord Carnarvon, be a mere "pauperized, discontented, over-populated island in the North Sea." If a hostile army succeeded in establishing a military occupation of England, the Empire would be disintegrated. France has passed through both these ordeals,* and remained a Great Power. For us there would be no resurrection. The national security may, therefore, seem to require the fulfilment of two independent conditions—naval supremacy, and the maintenance of a home army able to oppose any force that could possibly be landed on the shores of England. These two conditions are, however, intimately correlated, since the necessary standard of the military defence of an island State is dictated by the efficacy of the naval weapon. On the one hand, it is obvious that such a measure of naval strength is *conceivable* as would end all possible risk of invasion. On the other hand, in the absence of all naval defence, an island with such a coast-line as our own can be rendered safe only by maintaining an army able to oppose the whole military force which an enemy could transport by sea. Leaving out of consideration all questions of the Colonies and India, of commerce and of food supply, and assuming Great Britain to be self-supporting, these two propositions represent the extremes of policy in regard to the defence of our island. Between them lies a wide range of debateable ground, strewn with the *débris* of many controversies, and supplying periodical crops of scares, delusions, and luxuriant theories.

To the great Powers of Europe protection against invasion is an affair of armies. Each can be defended from the aggression of its neighbours by military force alone, and no naval strength, however enormous, will save the State whose army fails to repel invasion. Other Powers being neutral, however, France becomes an island in regard to Russia or Austria, and could invade or be invaded by neither except under conditions dictated on the sea. For the naval

* Three military occupations in this century.

factor would then become paramount, and while naval superiority will not guarantee successful invasion, naval inferiority will either render the attempt impossible or lead to swift disaster. In all history, no law stands out more clearly. The sea has never been and never will be a barrier against invasion; but special limitations attach to sea-borne expeditions, and there is no instance of an united people being conquered by military forces landed on their shores,* until all effective naval resistance had ceased.

The dominating influence of the naval factor is strikingly shown by the disastrous failure of the expedition of Xerxes in 480 B.C. The States of Greece were, as usual, disunited; counsels of surrender were plentiful, and Greek galleys were ranged with the Persian fleet. The oracle of Delphi, ever ambiguous, announced that a "wooden wall" would shelter the Athenians, and thus nearly 2,400 years ago the comparative advantages of pallisades (fortifications) and ships came to be eagerly discussed. Like Raleigh, St. Vincent or Nelson, Themistocles pleaded the efficacy of naval defence, and Herodotus fifty years later applauded his action. If nothing had been attempted at sea, writes the Father of History,

"what then would have followed may be readily imagined. The fortified lines proposed by the Peloponesians across the Corinthian isthmus would have been useless; for the Persian, having it in his choice to make his attack by sea, would have subdued the several States one by one . . . so that all Greece must inevitably have fallen under the Persian yoke."

The military defence of Greece broke down in spite of the devoted gallantry of Leonidas and his Spartans, and the advancing host of Xerxes occupied Athens, while his fleet, after fighting a drawn action, closed in upon Salamis. Again there was wavering on board the confederate squadron, and again Themistocles prevailed. The sea-fight off Artemisium had not redounded to the credit of the superior Persian fleet, which had subsequently suffered loss during a storm. Artemisia, the warrior queen of Caria, with true insight, represented to Xerxes that more than naval issues were at stake, and that defeat at sea implied ruin to his land forces. The day after the battle of Salamis the retreat was begun, and later the unpursued remains of the Persian fleet retransported Xerxes with 60,000 men across the Hellespont. Naval inactivity ensued, but the following year the Greek fleet crossed the Ægean, and found the enemy at Mycalé, opposite the island of Samos. The Persian ships having been drawn on shore and surrounded by fortifications, were destroyed by a successful land attack, on the very day that the troops left behind in Europe were defeated at Platœa.

* Carthage forms no exception, since the Numidians were always a danger at home, and Masinissa played a great part in her downfall.

In 415 B.C. Athens undertook a great venture across the sea—the invasion of Sicily—and became in the following year involved in the siege of Syracuse. Nicias, the Athenian commander, in a remarkable letter quoted by Thucydides, showed that he grasped the fact that the fate of the enterprise must be decided on the sea. The fleet having been defeated in a general action in the great harbour, the expedition was doomed, and 40,000 men were either killed or taken prisoners. Having regard to the resources of Athens, no modern Power has undertaken an over-sea enterprise comparable in magnitude to this, and it is to be remembered that at the very time when reinforcements were being dispatched to Sicily, a hostile Lacedomonian army was camped within fifteen miles of the Piræus. The power of Athens never fully recovered from this disaster. In 405 B.C. the Athenian fleet under Conon at Ægospotami, caught unprepared for action and with most of the crews on shore, was almost entirely captured by Lysander. The loss proved irreparable, and in 404 B.C. the Imperial city surrendered to a blockade by sea and land.

This period of less than eighty years is rich in great object lessons. Successful invasion, on a vast scale, was arrested by a single naval victory, which did not by any means involve complete disaster to the defeated fleet. A squadron, which had placed itself behind fortifications, was destroyed by a land attack. An immense expedition was ruined by a naval defeat. Finally, the capture of a fleet, due to culpable carelessness, involved the downfall of a maritime Empire. It is not by chance that these lessons repeat themselves all through the pages of history.

The contest between Rome and Carthage involved three great wars, spread over 117 years.* Captain Mahan has shown how completely the course of the immense and varied operations, as well as the final issue, was dominated by sea-power.

In the first Punic war, two great naval victories enabled the Romans to send an expeditionary force of 20,000 men across the Mediterranean to be disastrously defeated outside the walls of Carthage. A third naval victory was neutralized by the subsequent total loss, in a storm, of the victorious fleet, a catastrophe which seems to have been due entirely to the inexperience of the Roman commanders. In three months a new fleet of 200 sail was ready for sea, and the consuls for 254 B.C. succeeded in capturing Palermo; but again the fleet was almost entirely wrecked on the return voyage to the Tiber. In 249 B.C. a third fleet was built, and an expeditionary force proceeded to attack Lilybœum, the strongest Carthaginian fortress in Sicily. The Carthaginian "fleet in being" lay near at hand, and succeeded in inflicting a

* 263 B.C. to 146 B.C.

crushing defeat upon the Romans, who saved only thirty out of 220 ships, while a convoy with provisions for the troops in Sicily was wrecked at sea. A fourth fleet was built, and the Carthaginians, who had neglected their navy, were totally defeated. Lilybœum could not now be saved, and the Carthaginians, whose trade was nearly ruined, made peace, evacuating Sicily, and paying a large indemnity.

In the second Punic war, the deposed mistress of the sea undertook the huge task of invading Italy from Spain. In May, 218 B.C., Hannibal began his great march, and, after the victories of Trebia, Trasimene, and Cannæ, went into winter quarters at Capua at the end of 216 B.C. Military forces employed in Italy had so far utterly failed to stem the invasion; but "the tremendous weapon" of sea-power was in the hands of the Romans. Hannibal's hope of raising a great insurrection in the Peninsula was not realized; and a Roman squadron in the Adriatic effectually shut off all aid from Macedonia. Utilizing sea-transport the Romans were able to operate in Spain, to divert troops intended for Italy, and to delay the march of Hasdrubal. Syracuse, which had espoused the Carthaginian cause after Cannæ, was besieged and taken by Marcellus in 212 B.C., the Carthaginian fleet sent to relieve it declining an action. In 207 B.C. the Carthaginian cause in Spain was lost, and in 204 B.C. Scipio sailed from Lilybœum with a great combined force and landed in Africa. The pressure thus brought to bear upon the centre of the Carthaginian power determined the withdrawal of Hannibal from Italy in 203 B.C., and the battle of Zama ended the war. Even after this second defeat, the trade of Carthage revived; but the sea-power of Rome was no longer threatened, and the third Punic war seems to have been inspired solely by the desire to crush a commercial rival. In 150 B.C. the Numidians under Masinissa had already defeated the Carthaginians when the Roman Senate intervened at Cato's instigation. Again a Roman army crossed from Sicily to Africa, and in 146 B.C., after a long siege, Carthage fell.

The first Punic war revealed to the Romans the secret of success, and throughout the long struggle they clung persistently to the employment of naval force. Their control of the sea, as Captain Mahan points out, "did not exclude maritime raids, large or small . . . but it did forbid the sustained communications of which Hannibal was in deadly need." The Carthaginians in Southern Italy were reinforced by Hamilcar's fleet in 215 B.C., but it seems clear that Hannibal's sea-communications were too precarious to be relied upon, and the fact that Hamilcar could not face the Roman squadron blockading Syracuse bears out this view. In spite, therefore, of the enormous difficulty, it was sought to succour Hannibal

overland. The entire project of the invasion of Italy from Spain must have been due, as Captain Mahan was the first to discover, to the sense of naval inferiority brought home to Carthage in the first Punic war. Even when the wonderful enterprise was carried through, Rome, utilizing her sea-power, could, and did, strike straight at Hannibal's base, and, although the fortunes of the war in Spain were chequered, and the details remain obscure, it appears certain that off the coasts of Spain, as off those of Sicily and the Adriatic, the Roman navy was supreme. By neglect of her fleet, by trusting overmuch to her military forces, or from causes which we cannot know, Carthage failed to make any effective use of naval force during the second Punic war, and this to a maritime power, then as now, must involve certain disaster.

In the first Punic war naval supremacy hung for a time in the balance, passing ultimately to the Romans. There were great sea-fights, and at Ecnomus the combatants are stated to have numbered 300,000.* Expeditionary forces were employed on both sides: invasions and evasions occurred. In the second Punic war, naval supremacy was asserted by the Romans from the first, and the over-sea ventures of Carthage were few and ineffective. In the third, Carthage was limited to the defence of her home territory. One important condition of the contest must be noticed. Carthage was not an island State, and had no natural frontiers. On her flank lay the Numidians, powerful enemies always ready to become Roman allies. Nor was Rome mistress of an united Italy, or even a nation in the modern sense. Hannibal counted upon the disaffection of the people, and, although the Latin Colonies preserved their allegiance, the Apulians, Samnites, Bruttians, and many Greek cities of the South, hailed him as a deliverer.

In spite of all differences of political conditions, in spite of the apparently vital changes wrought by the introduction of the line-of-battle ship and the modern steamer, it is impossible to study these passages of Greek and Roman history without admitting the existence of eternal laws governing over-sea operations. The struggle of Rome and Carthage for Sicily forcibly recalls, even in details, the contest of France and England for the West Indies. Gibraltar, a fortress impregnable like Syracuse, must have fallen if Rodney's fleet, like that of Hamilcar, had failed in its mission of relief. The Athenian invasion of Sicily is paralleled by Napoleon's descent upon Egypt, and the decisive action in the harbour of Syracuse

* We are far too prone to think lightly of the naval achievements of the Ancients. The numbers of craft and of men who took part in the old sea-fights was often immensely greater than in modern days, and such a matter as the sea-transport of 140 elephants would be no child's play to-day.

presaged that in the Bay of Aboukir. The squadron of Tigranes, behind its fortifications at Mycalé, courted and incurred the same fate as that of Admiral Ting at Wei-hai-Wei, and for the same reason. The Roman attack on Lilybœum in 249 B.C. suggests that on Lissa in 1866. A lesson drawn from the Roman policy in the second Punic War might have changed the whole course of the Crimean campaign. In 1877 naval weakness imposed upon Russia a long land march and the passage of a great river and mountain chain, just as similar weakness determined Hannibal's line of operations across the Rhine and the Alps. Turkey, unmindful of the plain teaching of 2,200 years of history, has allowed her navy to decay. The one advantage she possessed in 1827 and in 1877 is now lost, and her Zama may, like that of Carthage, be fought near to the heart of her Empire. The Delphic Oracle, in 200 B.C., if its presiding deity had followed the fortunes of Athens and Rome, might, with much certitude, have thus predicted the destinies of England:—

> In tribal days she will be frequently invaded and colonized by adventurous spirits, drawn from sea-faring peoples, should such exist across the neighbouring seas. Rome, by reason of her great sea-power, will subjugate the islanders. When Rome shall decay they will become independent, and from that day their defence against over-sea invasion must rest with their navy. If ships and seamen are wanting raids and invasions will occur. Should the island people become united, unlike the fickle Greeks, so that a stout-hearted race springs up within their water walls, then they will begin to exercise sway over and across far distant seas, kept secure at home by their fleets, so that invasion can no longer be threatened unless civil dissension should arise. In the known world there is no other territory so fortunately situated. If its people learn to trust the gifts of the sea, they will win and hold an Empire mightier far than that of Athens or of Rome.

So, in resounding Greek verse, might the Priestess have spoken.

In a most interesting article,* Admiral Sir Vesey Hamilton has reviewed the invasions of England attempted or contemplated since the days of the Saxon kings. Between the menaces of Charlemagne and the elaborate projects of Napoleon lie more than 1,000 years, during which a number of petty and mutually jealous kingdoms grew into a great State. Meanwhile the galley grew into the line-of-battle ship, and the gun became the weapon by which naval actions were decided. Widely though the political and material conditions of the two periods differed, the same law prevailed. Towards the end of the eighth century, Offa, King of Mercia, began to "turn his thoughts on the proper means of securing his dominions from foreign attempts, which he soon saw could no other way be done than by keeping up a naval force. He therefore applied himself to the raising of a considerable fleet."†

* *The Nineteenth Century*, March, 1896.

† Campbell, 1779.

Abandoning all idea of invasion, Charlemagne shrewdly sought a Mercian alliance, and Offa, "after a glorious reign of thirty-nine years, bequeathed to England this useful lesson that he who will be secure on land must be supreme at sea."* "I trust and am confident," wrote Nelson, in 1801, "that if our sea-faring men do their duty, either the enemy will give over the measure (invasion), or if they persist in it that not one Frenchman will be allowed to set his foot on British soil." Behind Nelson lay long years in which the British navy had securely guarded England. Offa, the mere chief of a Saxon group, gave evidence of instinctive perception. That the Britain of the first century should fall under the sway of the great sea-power which had conquered Gaul was inevitable, and the first striking indication of the dominant influence which a mobile navy must exert over her destiny occurred two centuries later. In 287, Carausius,† the commander of the Roman fleet at Boulogne, conceived and executed the plan of becoming the master of Britain. Having gained over the fleet, he crossed the Channel, and persuading "a great part of the Roman army, and the Britons in general to embrace his party," proclaimed himself Emperor.

"His fleets rode triumphant in the Channel, commanded the mouths of the Seine and the Rhine, ravaged the coasts of the ocean, and diffused beyond the columns of Hercules the terror of his name. . . . Under his command, Britain, destined in a future age to obtain the Empire of the Sea, already assumed its natural and respectable station of a Maritime Power."‡

After ruling England for seven years, Carausius was murdered by Allectus. Meanwhile Constantius was making immense efforts to build a navy, and after capturing a portion of the British fleet at Boulogne by a land attack, put to sea, and, evading in a fog the main squadron of Allectus off the Isle of Wight, landed safely on the shores of Kent, where he burned his ships. The invading force, thus cut off, succeeded only because Constantius found everywhere "obedient subjects. Their acclamations were loud and unanimous," and they seem to have "rejoiced in a revolution which, after seven years, restored Britain to the body of the Roman Empire."§ Under such happy conditions only, are over-sea invasions, carried out by evading an undefeated fleet, rendered successful. In the existence of some such conditions, Philip II., Louis XIV., Louis XV., and Napoleon believed. On the other hand, the revolution effected by Carausius curiously resembles that accomplished by William III.

* Saxon Chronicles quoted by Campbell.

† Carausius is generally said to have been a Menapian, but "certain Scottish authors claim him for their countryman, and with great appearance of truth."—Campbell.

‡ Gibbon. § Gibbon.

From the days of Offa to our own the fleet has been the gauge of the security of England. Only when it has been neglected or trust has been reposed in other means of defence has territorial aggression occurred. Neglect of the navy and resort to fortification after the death of Offa brought over successive inroads of Danes till "the country was destroyed, all the cities and great towns demolished, and the people worn out with continual fatigue, having been sometimes compelled to fight nine or ten battles in a year."* The navy was restored by Alfred, and again the country found rest. Eight hundred years after the reign of Offa the great navy of Cromwell kept England secure, brought Holland to terms, and carried the flag into the Mediterranean; while, in 1667, Charles II. laid up his ships, and immediately the coasts were harried, and the Dutch sailed up the Thames and Medway. Civil dissension permitted the Norman Conquest;† an invitation from John's revolted barons brought a French army to England in 1216; but, as Sir Vesey Hamilton states, "modern history does not afford a single instance of a successful invasion of this country because our navy has always stood directly in the path of the would-be invader." As in the wars of Greece and Rome, however, raids have occurred —never serious except when the navy has been palpably neglected, as at the close of the reigns of Edward III. and of Charles II. Such raids have varied from the systematic harrassing of our coasts by John de Vienne,‡ to the petty escapade of Napper Tandy. They have never contemplated the landing of considerable bodies of men, except when Louis XIV. endeavoured to aid James II. in Ireland, or when the Directory sought to raise rebellion in that country with results rendered disastrous by the British navy. When, as in 1690, the fleet had been allowed to fall below a safe standard, the burning of Teignmouth, and the capture of a few trading craft in Brixham harbour were the achievements of De Tourville, notwithstanding that a deposed English king, advised by the greatest of English generals, had drawn up an elaborate plan of French invasion.§ When, as in 1757 and 1779, the British navy was temporarily overtasked, the utmost achievement in home waters was restricted to an unsuccessful

* Campbell.

† Harold had attained no hold upon England, and William was a rival claimant to his crown. The former staked all upon his army, and lost. If his navy, which had just won a great victory over the King of Norway, had been brought into the Channel and there had been an united people at his back, he must have triumphed.

‡ At a time when we were in occupation of a large part of France.

§ To be carried out by "fourteen battalions of English and Irish troops, and 9,000 French."—Lord Wolseley's *Life of Marlborough.*

attempt on Jersey, and the parade of an allied French and Spanish fleet in sight of Plymouth.

Moreover, the British navy has shown astounding recuperative power directly national effort was redirected to the sea. Undaunted by the defeat of Beechy Head in June, 1690, the fleet won the great victory of La Hogue in May, 1692, and in 1694, 1695, and 1696 the weight of the British navy bore heavily on the coasts of France. Beginning with clear signs of naval insufficiency, the Seven Years' War ended in the conquest of Canada and the firm establishment of British power in India—each a gift of the sea—while in 1759 preparations for a French invasion were met by Rodney's destructive bombardment of Havre and Hawke's great victory in Quiberon Bay. Overtasked* in the war of American Independence—a war begun in a bad cause—the navy suffered no real reverse. The menace of an inferior fleet in the Channel sufficed to avert a threatened invasion, while Rodney defeated the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent in 1780, and shattered the fleet of De Grasse off Guadaloupe in 1782. In 1793 began the heroic period of the British navy, which culminated at Trafalgar.

During eight hundred years in which the navy has stood between Great Britain and over-sea invasion, and has rigidly restricted the raids upon her coast-line, her fleets have in the rule maintained themselves on the coasts of her enemies, while British raids on a large scale have been frequent, and military operations have been carried on in every portion of the world. Until 1374 England held a considerable portion of France, and the last foothold across the Channel was not abandoned until 1558. Even in 1758, a year of relative naval weakness, expeditionary forces effectually raided St. Malo, and destroyed the docks, fortifications, and shipping at Cherbourg. During a period of only 130 years a single British regiment—the 50th Queen's Own—selected at random, has fought in Canada, Germany, Corsica, Egypt, Denmark, Spain, France, Holland, India, Russia, and New Zealand. Such a record shows clearly from what quarter over-sea invasions have proceeded. While the navy of England has guarded the coast-line, the army has been uniformly employed in offensive operations —its proper *rôle*. Escaping the disabilities under which the Continental States of Athens, Carthage, and Rome laboured, the sea-power of the Island Kingdom has had full scope. The British Empire is the splendid result.

Parity of conditions are to be found only in the case of Japan, and the historical resemblance is striking. The early records are

* In 1782 Great Britain was at war with France, Spain, Holland, the revolted colonies of North America, and Hyder Ali in the Carnatic, and menaced by the "Armed Neutrality of the North"—Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, NEW SWINDON.

vague, but it seems certain that Japan has not been successfully invaded for fully 1,600 years, and her military operations have been carried on mainly in Korea, where, from the third century onwards, the Japanese have frequently fought. Even when worsted in the great war of 1592-1598, they still retained Fusan—their Calais—and claimed rights of sovereignty for three hundred years. Their navy securing their own shores, has persistently ravaged the coasts of China.

"From the reign of Hung-wa to the end of that of Shih-tsung (A.D. 1370–1567) the seaboard provinces of China were devastated by Japanese adventurers, who not only raided the coast, but often established themselves ashore in strong positions, from which they used to sally forth to plunder, destroy, and burn. But they never lost their hold on the sea, and kept their ships either to retreat to Japan when their situation became hopeless, or remove to some other portion of the coast."*

The Mongols who had penetrated into Central Europe were utterly unable to conquer Japan, and the huge invasion of Kubla Khan in the thirteenth century suffered disaster as complete as that of Philip II. After many civil wars which for a time checked the external power of the islanders, a feudal system resembling our own tardily disappeared, and at last an united nation—like Great Britain in 1803†—confronted an ancient foe. Junks had given place to armour-clads and fast crusiers; every technical condition had been revolutionized; but the naval superiority which Japan had asserted at intervals during many centuries, remained, and the eight months' war was a series of brilliant triumphs by sea and land.‡ The course and the issues of the operations were ruled by sea-power, and the old laws received fresh illustration. Strategically the navy, at least till the battle of the Yalu, was the defensive force; the army, from first to last, was the offensive weapon. The invasion of China from a base in Korea recalls that of France starting from Lisbon, and the elaborately fortified harbours of Port Arthur and Wei-hai-Wei succumbed to a land attack supported by the navy precisely as Syracuse in 212 B.C. fell to Marcellus.

That naval force is the natural and proper defence of a maritime State against over-sea invasion is the indisputable teaching of history. The unbroken consistency of the records of hundreds of years cannot possibly be the result of accident. No theories incubated in times of peace, no speculations as to what might have happened if events had shaped themselves differently, can shake a law thus irrefragably established. There is only one

* *The China-Japan War*. Vladimir.

† For the first time.

‡ The significance of the Japanese victory is best realized by comparing the operations with those carried on by the Western Powers against China.

explanation of the fact, that of the many projected invasions of England none has succeeded for eight hundred years, notwithstanding that naval superiority has not existed at all periods, and that the military forces at home have often been utterly inadequate to resist the strength which could be brought against them, if the sea had not intervened. All the great operations of war are ruled by the measure of the risk involved, and until the defending navy has been crushed, the risk of exposing large numbers of transports to attack is too great to be easily accepted. Moreover, secure communications are vital to successful invasion, and, as Lord Wolseley has pointed out, "a modern army is such a very complicated organism, that any interruption in the line of communications tends to break up and destroy its very life." * This consideration, potent in ancient times, is now paramount. It can be modified only if effective allies are forthcoming in the country to be invaded. Unless this condition is fulfilled, invasion will not be attempted until an absolute control of the sea has been established.

Throughout our history there have been periods at which this great law has been recognized, and has formed the basis—actual if unavowed—of the national policy. At other periods, the law has been disregarded, with results always painfully apparent on the outbreak of war. No doubts or misgivings clouded the minds of the great sailors of Elizabeth when a great invasion was impending which the military resources of the kingdom were hopelessly inadequate to resist. The navy, to be employed on the enemy's coasts and not in home waters, was then regarded as the true safeguard.

"The opinion of Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Hawkyns, Mr. Frobisher and others that be men of greatest judgment (and) experience is that (the) surest way to meet with the Spanish fleet is upon their own (coast) or in any harbour of their own and there to defeat them." †

"The seas are broad ; but if we had been (on) their coast they durst not have left us in their backs." ‡

"My opinion is altogether that we shall fight them much better cheap (=on better terms) upon their own coast than here." §

"But making the question general," wrote Raleigh, "whether England without the help of her fleet be able to deter an enemy from landing, I hold that it is unable so to do ; and I therefore think it most dangerous to make the adventure. . . . But I say that an army to be transported over-sea, and to be landed again in an enemy's country and the place left to the choice of the invader, cannot be resisted on the coast of France or any other country, except every creek, port, or sandy bay had a powerful army. . . . To entertain them that shall assail us with their own beef in their bellies, and before they eat of our Kentish capons I

* *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1886.
† Howard to Walsingham, 14th June, 1858.
‡ Howard to Walsingham, 15th June, 1858.
§ Memorandum by Drake.

take it to be the wisest way ; to which his Majesty, after God, will employ his good ships in the sea, and not trust in any entrenchment on shore."

If the measures urged by Howard and all his captains had been adopted, the Armada would never have reached the Channel. There was, however, wavering among the Queen's advisers; the idea of holding the fleet close to the coast-line and supporting it by a "second line" of troops and fortifications on shore found favour; a great object-lesson was lost, and after many years it came to be believed that England was saved mainly by act of God.*

Again, at the beginning of this century, naval opinion was unanimous, and though great preparations were made on shore in order, as St. Vincent stated, " to satisfy the fears of the old women of both sexes," these fears were happily not permitted to hamper naval action. Whether Napoleon really hoped to carry out his invasion can never be known. There exists, as Sir Vesey Hamilton points out, a mass of evidence tending to prove that his only objects were to collect a great army for ulterior purposes, and by placing it on the shores of the Channel to create panic in England. It may safely be assumed, however, that if the British navy could have been crushed, he would have turned his elaborate preparations to account. In the then relative state of the two navies there was not the smallest hope of this condition being fulfilled, and a single fleet action would certainly not have provided secure communications for the invader. Thus, as often before, menace sufficed to prevent the sailing of a single transport without any necessity for fighting a great naval action, and two months before Trafalgar, Napoleon began his march to the Rhine. The splendid naval achievements during the first war of the French Revolution, the vigorous naval offensive assumed on the outbreak of the second, the long list of ships captured on the enemy's coast, the great system of fortifications which Napoleon considered necessary for his security at Boulogne—all these circumstances combine to show on which side of the Channel danger lay. Yet within a few years all were forgotten, and amazing fictions found place in popular history. Nelson had been successfully "decoyed away" by Villeneuve to the West Indies, leaving England defenceless save for her army and her fortifications. Only a series of happy chances, unlikely to recur, enabled the fleet to return just in time to win Trafalgar, a lucky accident by which the nation was narrowly saved. Such were, and still to a great extent remain, the beliefs by which policy is swayed. An interesting lecture has recently been delivered on "Fog in War"; perhaps some student of history may be found to treat of

* The fact that the Armada was hopelessly shattered before encountering any stress of weather has required recent demonstration, and is not yet universally recognized.

"Fog in Peace." If it should come to be generally realized that Nelson merely adhered to the rules of naval war and anticipated orders sent to him by the Admiralty, that the only accident was the narrow escape of Villeneuve from destruction in the West Indies, that a considerable naval force, exclusive of the blockading squadron, remained in the Channel,* and that Trafalgar, however momentous, had no more influence on the collapse of the invasion project than Lepanto, then the national policy may emerge from the fog-bank of illusions, theories, and misconceptions by which it is now obscured. Failing absolutely in his naval projects, as, under the conditions, was inevitable, Napoleon, nevertheless, succeeded in a way which he can scarcely have foreseen. His words, "Il ne faut être mâitre de la mer que six heures pour que l'Angleterre cesse d'exister"—words merely strung together on the principle which inspired his accustomed proclamations, and without the smallest basis of truth—have entailed upon Great Britain the misapplication of many millions sterling, the darkening of counsel, and national weakness not yet wholly remedied.

There have been two grave enquiries into the question of territorial defence. In 1785, within six years of a time when a superior hostile fleet sailed the Channel, a Royal Commission reported upon a project of fortifications for Plymouth and Portsmouth. The members appear to have been unanimous only in affirming that "exertions for the support of the navy" were "the first object for the safety and prosperity of the kingdom." With this unexceptionable proposition, their agreement seems to have ended. Certain data were drawn up as to the strength of an invading force, to which Captain Macbride objected as excessive. Rear-Admiral Graves "would not have it implied that I think any new system of additional land fortifications for the security of Plymouth necessary." Lieut.-General Burgoyne, Earl Percy, Vice-Admiral Millbanke, Rear-Admiral Graves, and Captain Sir J. Jervis, signed the following significant protest:—

"Our proceedings have been founded upon the supposition of the whole fleet being absent as mentioned in the second datum, and therefore that the enemy can bring over an army, with an artillery proportionate to an attack on Portsmouth or Plymouth, having (a certain time) to act in, uninterrupted by the British fleet, as mentioned in the third datum. The bare possibility of such an event we do not pretend to deny; but how far it is improbable that the whole British fleet may be sent on any service requiring so long an absence, at a time when the enemy is prepared to invade this country with (force stated) we humbly leave to your Majesty's superior wisdom, and, therefore, whether it is necessary in con-

* "We could, at that period, have concentrated sixty sail of the line, and as many, or more, frigates, in the Straits of Dover, or their vicinity, at short notice."—Sir Vesey Hamilton. Of the result of a fleet action between this force and the eighty French and Spanish battle-ships, which Napoleon proved quite unable to collect, there can be no possible doubt.

sequence of such a supposition to erect works of so expensive a nature as those proposed, and which require such large garrisons to defend them."

The estimate for the proposed fortifications, amounting to £760,097, was submitted to the House of Commons on 27th February, 1786, in the form of a resolution, declaring the plan to be "an essential object for the safety of the State, intimately connected with the naval defence of the kingdom, and necessary for enabling the fleet to act with full vigour." After a remarkable debate* the resolution, supported by Pitt with all the force at his disposal, was lost by the casting vote of the Speaker. The opposition was led by Sheridan, who, in a speech which was "the subject of much admiration,"* contended that "the opinion of the land officers was founded upon hypothetical and conditional suggestions." Nine years later the nation was involved in a war with three great naval Powers; but, in the eleven years of storm and stress which followed, it is sufficiently clear that the need of Pitt's fortifications was never manifested.‡

Forty-five years of immunity from naval war materially modified the views of the nation as to its defensive requirements. For experience gained in the tremendous ordeal of the War of American Independence, following close on to the Seven Years' War, were now substituted "hypothetical and conditional suggestions," and a unanimous Royal Commission recommended an expenditure of eleven millions sterling§ on mere fixed defences. The Commissioners even pointed out that:—

"Should any such catastrophe (defeat or disperse by storm) occur, or should the fleet, from whatever cause, be unable to keep the command of the Channel, it appears to your Commissioners that the insular position of the kingdom, so far from being an advantage for defensive purposes, might prove a disadvantage, inasmuch as it would enable any superior naval Power or Powers to concentrate a larger body of troops on any part of our coasts, and more rapidly and secretly than could be done against any neighbouring country having only a land frontier; and an army so placed could maintain its base, and be reinforced and supplied with more facility than if dependent on land communications."

No strong protest was forthcoming, for the nation had forgotten what a naval war implied. Either naval history was relegated to Saturn; or the uninterrupted communications of the Allies in the

* The extraordinary difference between the tone of this debate and that of the military discussions in the House of Commons in the present day was due to the fact that the nation in 1786 knew what war implied.

† Annual Register, 1786.

‡ A little later Fox expressed the then feeling of the nation, when arguing that the armed forces of the Crown required consideration, and "especially the navy, on which the country depends so much more to prevent invasion than on the army."

§ Lord Palmerston thus obtained about fourteen times the amount refused to Pitt.

Crimean Campaign had blinded the national imagination. Between the years 1860-61 and 1889-90 more than 17½ millions sterling were spent upon fortifications and immobile guns,* but the actual total expenditure for the Empire, due to the new departure of 1859, has been far greater. The mere money is of no account; but the change of policy entailed the loss of the ancient faiths. New theories—that naval force is untrustworthy in action, that the British navy will inevitably be "decoyed away" when needed, or dispersed or wrecked by tempests if available, and that the protection of an island State against invasion is a matter of armies and especially fortifications—obtained general credence. It naturally followed that the navy was neglected to a dangerous extent. In 1786, after a great war against a powerful combination of naval Powers, the naval estimates exceed those of the army. In accordance with the modern theory the navy estimates in recent years dropped far below those of the army, and equality was only reached in 1895-6. There have been other strange manifestation of the new spirit. So completely has history been forgotten that the tardy rehabilitation of the decayed naval strength of the Empire has involved a superfluous and irrelevant plea for the necessity for an army.† The British army has fought in every land, from China to South America, from the Himalayas to South Africa and New Zealand. It has a long and brilliant record of operations all carried on beyond the naval frontier. It has conquered for us an Empire greater than that of Rome. It has been almost continuously employed on active service throughout this century. The only service it has not been called upon to render is the defence of England against over-sea invasion. But whether the army fought in Canada, Germany, Egypt, Spain, the Crimea, or India, behind it stood the real defensive force of the nation. A sufficient navy was the necessary condition for its activity in the past, and an inadequate navy would paralyze its action in any future great war. It is childish to pretend to discern in the recent determination to rehabilitate the fleet the slightest tendency to ignore the need of an army.

The sea is no impassable barrier; but in war it is reasonable probabilities, not possibilities, which must be taken into consideration. To an invading force, whether operating by land or over-sea, secure communications are vital. The protection of these delicate and sensitive threads is, on land favoured by many circumstances. Geographical conditions may render the communications of an

* Parliamentary Return.

† A recent writer in *The Times* has unconsciously revealed the hopeless fallacy on which the modern theory of defence is based. By likening the sea to a "mountain chain," from the defiles of which invading armies issue, the climax of misconception seems to have been reached.

advancing army unassailable, or the broad front presented by that army may effectually prevent operations in its rear. At sea there is only one means of obtaining such protection. The navy of the invader must either be able to count on certain victory, if attacked, or must have previously reduced the navy of the defenders to impotence. The first condition was fulfilled in the Franco-German war, the second after Trafalgar. The superiority required in the first case must be overwhelming.* Moreover, the coast-line of an invader is a veritable mountain chain, from which he can issue only at few and known points; and he can so issue only if he has primarily made visible preparations—the collection of transports—at these points. Neglect of the study of naval history has induced difficulties of imagination in relation to operations at sea. To explain the latter it is generally necessary to seek for military parallels, and acting on this principle the problem of over-sea invasion may be thus defined:—

Between two mountain frontiers lies a plain, traversable with perfect ease at all times, and in all directions, by small or large bodies of light cavalry. While crossing it, however, all other arms cease to be fighting bodies. The frontier of the invader can be passed only at few and known defiles. The whole transport of the invading army (which cannot pass over the mountains) must be collected at the outlets of these defiles, incurring risk from the ubiquitous light cavalry during the process. The defenders' frontier, on the other hand, possesses points of ingress relatively large in number, but nevertheless limited. The light cavalry, which cannot cross either frontier, is perfectly self-supplied, carrying with it all that is needed, moving at very high speed, capable of being restrained only when caught and defeated by a force of similar nature, flexible to the last degree, and organized in units able, without preparation, to act singly or in any combination, and to disperse or reassemble at will.

Such being the elements of the problem of over-sea invasion, the invading general will surely decline to move his transports into the plain till it has been definitely cleared of hostile cavalry; while his opponent, recognizing that the frontier is distinctly unfavourable for defence, will decide to wage offensive operations in the plain where the invading army is powerless, and will make his preparations with this object. Remembering, however, that an enterprising enemy may attempt to raid his frontier, he will provide moderate depôts for the bases from which his cavalry acts, and he will hold a well-organized mobile force in readiness to oppose forays at other points.

Such would be the logical policy in regard to the defence of a Great Britain self-supporting and standing apart from her Empire.

* Naval raids are, as has been noticed, always difficult to control; and such raids, even in small force, are necessarily dangerous to great fleets of crowded transports. We shall shortly possess a flotilla of ninety "destroyers," the greater part of which will always be available in the Channel. How a fleet of transports is to be protected against such a force cannot be stated.

But the only conditions which could render invasion practicable, would at the same time imply that the vital communications of the Empire were in the hands of an enemy, that India and every colony lay open to attack in any force, that trade was paralyzed, and that the means of existence of the home population were imperilled. In a multiple sense, therefore, naval defence is now vital.

The answer to the question—Can England be Invaded?—is deeply graven on the pages of history. The national instincts and the aptitudes inherited from the pick of the sea-faring adventurers of Europe are not extinct. Geographical advantages remain, and modern naval progress has tended to enhance them. Our internal resources have greatly increased in proportion to those of our rivals. With a far inferior population, generally disunited, Great Britain won her supremacy on the sea and frustrated every projected invasion. The population of the islands now equals that of France, and a national cohesion, unknown in the period of great wars, has been happily attained. In 1800 there was not a single self-governing colony; there are now eleven centres of British power scattered over the world. In the Empire of to-day there are potentialities undreamed of in the past. Far stronger at home than when it faced the fiery ordeal of the War of American Independence, the nation has now resources abroad which are not yet fully realized. Which of all the great Powers owns free colonies able and willing to provide active aid in any national emergency? On the other hand, while at the beginning of the century there was only one land frontier to guard, there is now a second, happily the strongest in the world. Both are, however, indefensible under the conditions which render possible the invasion of England. Thus the protection of the sea communications of the Empire has become the first object, providing for defence against territorial aggression, and securing to the army the possibility of offensive operations. Raids, possible now as always, must, in the case of all positions necessary to the action of a navy, be met by moderate defences supported by mobile garrisons.

If the nation is true to its own splendid history, if the precepts of Howard, Raleigh, St. Vincent, and Nelson are permitted to inspire the national policy, and if illusions bred in times of peace are flung aside, the essential naval conditions can be fulfilled. Then, as in the past, will England be secured against over-sea invasion.

G. S. Clarke.

THE THRONE OF THUNDER.

Mungo Mah Lobeh, The Throne, or place, of Thunder, as the Natives call it, The Peak of Cameroons as the Whites call it, is the highest point on the western side of the African Continent.

The first view the voyager gets of it, who, coming from the northwards, has been coasting for weeks, along low shores, and up the stagnant rivers fringed with mangrove swamp is a thing no man can ever forget. Suddenly, right up out of the sea, the great mountain rises to its 13,760 feet, while close at hand, to westward, towers the lovely island mass of Fernando Po to its 10,190 feet; and great as is its first charm, every time you see it, it becomes greater, although it is never the same. Five times I have been in the beautiful bay at its foot, and never seen it twice alike; sometimes it is wreathed with indigo-black tornado clouds, sometimes crested with snow, sometimes standing out hard and clear as though made of metal, and sometimes softly gorgeous, with green, gold, purple, and pink vapours, tinted by the sunset. There are only two distinct mountains, or peaks, to this glorious thing that geologists brutally call "an intrusive mass"—Big Cameroon and Little Cameroon. The latter, Mungo Mah Etindeh, has not yet been scaled, though it is only 5,820 feet; one reason for this doubtless is that people desirous of going up mountains, a rather rare form of human being in fever-stricken, overworked West Africa, naturally try for the big peak; also the little peak is mostly sheer cliff, and covered with almost impenetrable bush. Behind the Cameroons mountain, inland, there are two chains of mountains, or one chain deflected, bearing the names of the Rumbi and Omon mountains. These are little known at present, and are clearly no relation of Mungo's; they are almost at right angles to it, and are, I believe, infinitely older in structure, and continuous with the many-named range we know in Congo Française as the Sierra del Crystal. In a south-west direction from Cameroons mountain, out in the Atlantic, are a series of volcanic islands, presumably belonging to the same volcanic line of activity—Principe, 3,000 feet; San Thomé, 4,913 feet; and, further away still, Ascencion, Saint Helena and the Tristan d'Acunha groups. The Cameroons mountains cover,

it is said, a base twenty miles in diameter, and some 700 or 800 miles in extent, but to the N.E. and N.N.E. this country is unexplored by white men.

Cameroons mountain was first ascended by Merrick in 1847, but he failed to reach the summit, and the first successful attempt was that of Burton, Mann, and Calvo in 1862. Herr Mann claimed to have ascended it a few days before he was joined by the others, but this Burton seems to doubt.

Since then twenty-seven white men have reached the peak, and the account I give is an account of the twenty-eighth ascent, the second successful attempt from the S.E. face. The other people, with the exception of the First Lieutenant and Doctor of the *Hyaena*, a German man-of-war stationed in Cameroons, have gone up from the sea front *viâ* Babundi.

Since my return to England I have read Sir Richard Burton's account, and as the account you will hereinafter find will be very inferior to that of this most vivid writer, I will just quote his account of the summit itself:—

"Victoria mountain, now proved to be a shell of a huge double crata opening to the South-Eastward, where a tremendous torrent of fire had broken down the weaker wall. The whole interior and its accessible beach now lay before me, plunging sheer in vertical cliff. The depth of the bowl may be 360 feet. The total diameter of the two, which are separated by a rough partition of lava, 1,000 feet. . . . . Not a blade of grass, not a thread of moss, breaks the gloom of the Plutonic pit, which is as black as Erebus except where the fire has painted it red and yellow."

I will now proceed to tell you how I got into this "Plutonic pit" through the S.E. break in it.

I left Victoria at 7.30 on the 20th of last September, in fine weather, and with a gang of miscellaneous men. Bum, the head man, was a Bassa boy, there was one other Bassa boy, two Wei Weis, one Sierra Leoneian, a Timneh boy, named Ke falla, and two natives of the mountain, Bakwiris.

Herr von Lucke, the Governor of Victoria, or more truly the Government-Staff of Victoria, for his subordinate officials were, I regret to say, almost all down with fever, came with me as far as the bridge across the Lukola river, although I besought him not, and he was himself almost convinced that he could not be in three places at one time, from the series of experiments he had energetically been carrying on for some weeks; however, man-like, instead of giving the thing up and getting ill himself, as I should have done, he must needs go and start an experiment series for four places, and see me on my way, and then, after giving me valuable advice, and my men strict injunctions to behave well, and

prophecying me a terrific cold in the head, he marched back to look after Victoria in detail at the rate of about seven miles an hour.

I, with my gang, kept up the grand new Government road. This road is quite the most magnificent of roads as regards breadth and general intention that I have ever seen in Africa, and it runs through the most superbly beautiful country. It is, I should say, as broad as Oxford Street. On either side of it there are deep open drains, to carry off the surface water, and then come banks of varied and beautiful tropical shrubs and ferns, behind which rises 100 or 150 feet high walls of grand forest, the columns—like stems either hung with flowering climbing plants or ferns, or showing soft red and soft grey shafts for sixty and seventy feet without one interrupting branch. Behind these, again, high up against the sky, are the beautiful foot hills of Mungo Mah Lobeh, coloured, in the mist-laden air, a most perfect dark, lambent blue. The whole scheme of colour is indescribably rich and full in tone. The very earth underfoot is a velvety red-brown, and the butterflies that abound show themselves off in the sunlight with their canary colour, crimson, and peacock-blue liveries to perfection.

After five minutes experience of this road after passing the bridge, I added envy to admiration in my contemplation of those butterflies, for although I do not believe that on this earth there is a more lovely road than this which, when finished, is to go from Victoria to Buea, up 3,000 feet on the face of the mountain, and although it is a noble and enterprising thing for a Government to do, considering the climate and the country, yet, at present, to obtain any genuine pleasure out of it, it would be requisite to hover in a bird or butterfly-like way, for of all the awful things to walk on, that road was the worst I have ever met This arose from its not being finished, not having its top on in fact; the first part you go over, which is finished, you could go over in a bath-chair, the rest of it makes you fit for one for the rest of your natural life, for it is one mass of broken lava rock, excellent stuff for the underwork of a road, with here and there a leviathan tree stump partially blown up with gunpowder.

When we neared the upper end of the road it came on to rain heavily, and I, noticing a little hut at the left hand side of the road made for it, and found it belonged to the white engineer, an Alsatian gentleman, who was superintending the road-making by a large gang of cheerful natives, imported from the windward coast, of course. He most kindly invited me under the shelter of his verandah, the hut built by himself consisting of one room and a verandah, and the verandah was the best part of the structure. My men were in want of water, so I waited while they went for it to a place some twenty minutes off, meanwhile talking to the engineer,

who I found had been in the employ of the Congo Free State Railway, and as I had been up this on my previous voyage to the coast, we compared experiences. I will not narrate our observations, but I was glad to hear him say he found the German authorities infinitely better people to work for.

The rain kept on with unabated violence, but I presently observed Bum sitting right in the middle of the road, on a lump of lava, totally unsheltered, so I felt ashamed at displaying cowardice in the face of the black man's aquatic courage, and besides Herr von Lucke had said I was sure to be half-drowned and get that awful cold. So it was just as well to get the operation over, and off we started. I conscientiously held up my umbrella, knowing it was useless, but the proper thing to do, and in a few minutes we came to the upper end of the road, and turned off to the right into the unbroken forest, following a narrow, slippy, muddy, root-benetted path, that was a comfort after the road. Presently we came to a lovely mountain torrent flying down over red-brown rocks in white foam—an exquisite thing, and only a shade damper than the rest of things round. Seeing this I solemnly reefed my umbrella, and gave it to Ko Falla, telling him to take care of it, as a curiosity. My relations say the most scathing things about my behaviour with regard to water; but really my conduct is founded on sound principles. I know, from a series of carefully conducted experiments on the Devonian Lynn, that I cannot go across a river on stepping stones; attempts to keep my feet out of water only end in my violently putting the rest of myself in—I therefore take charge of fate and wade. This particular stream required most careful wading too, for the rocks over which it came with much violence, were arranged in picturesque but perilous confusion. However, all went well, and we clambered up the other side, the rain, meantime, coming down heavier than ever, and the atmosphere was like that in a cucumber frame with the lights on. We were evidently dealing with foot hills, but the mist was too thick for us to see twenty yards in any direction. Out of it rose enormous palms, and cotton trees, many hung with climbing and parasitic plants, and we seemed to be passing through a ghostland forest as the great forms rose up in front of us, and faded away behind as we went on.

The rocks, which edge and strew the path, are covered with exquisite ferns, and mosses of every delicate shade of green, and here and there are touches of absolute gold-coloured moss, which look as if some ray of sunlight had lingered too long playing on earth, and had got shut off from heaven by the mist, and was waiting till it could rejoin the sun. The path was now a shallow rushing torrent, with mud-thickened water, which cascaded round the front of our ankles, and occasionally round our knees in the

hollows, and round our heels as we went downhill. Underneath the water there was about an equal mixture of mud and rock, I judged by sensations, for I never saw my boots from the time we left the Government road until we reached Buâna. From the top of these first foot hills we should have had a fine view of the sea, had we not been surrounded by an atmosphere that was 99¾ per cent. water; as it was, there was a vast white sheet, or, more properly speaking, considering its stuffy wooliness, a white blanket, stretched across the landscape to the southwest, where the sea would show.

On we went, up one hill and down another, sometimes passing through weed-grown native plantations, sometimes through stretches of high sugar-cane-like grass, which hangs across the path in a lackadaisical way, swishing you in the face, cutting you like a knife when you get it edgewise, and pouring insidious rills of water down your neck.

I do not think the whole Atlantic Ocean could have got any more water on to me than I had by this time accumulated. Every now and then I pulled up and wrung some of it out of my skirt, because it was heavy. I did not imagine anything could have come down heavier in the way of water from above than the rain, but it can; every now and again, when we had got to the top of one of the foot hills, a cold breeze would come, that chilled you to the bone, and bent the heads of the palm-trees, and they sent down water by the bucketful, with a slap at you, hitting or missing as the case might be.

We were all getting anxious to reach Buâna, for we wanted our "chop," and a little after one o'clock we came up to the big hut Bum had been singing the charms of, and to our horror found it represented by a few charred poles and roof mats. There had been a fire in that simple savage home. The path we were following is here cut by a path going east and west, and, after a consultation with the Bakwiris, we turned down to the east, down a steep slope among weedy plantations, and then up a steep little hill with a long, low hut at the top. Two European-dressed young natives came out, and I asked them if they could spare room for us, volunteering the information I would pay for it, and they readily assented, and we filed dripping in. On this hill top the wind was very chilly to us in our sodden garments, and my teeth chattered as I served out the rations to my men and gave them tobacco to buy firewood with from the owners of the house, who I found were Bible-readers for the Basel mission. As I was assured that the road on from this place to Buea was more rocky, mountainous, and altogether trying than the road we had come, and that we should get to the worst part of it after nightfall, and therefore, in all human proba-

bility "settle" there, I decided to remain at Buâna for the night, and did so, spending thereby the most wretched night I have ever spent in Africa, and sighing for the charms of the Fan villages I had left six weeks before. It was a noisy night withal, for it was market-day away down in Victoria, and fathers of families had gone down there shopping, and had not returned at a proper hour. The women in the village, foolish creatures, were evidently fearful that something had happened to them, or that they were lost, and kept up a long-drawn, melancholy coo-ooing for them the whole night through. About 9.30 one husband returned to the next door hut, in a bellicose condition, and whacked his wives, and their squeaks and squalls, instead of acting as a warning to the other ladies, seemed to stimulate them to wilder, weirder coo-ooing than ever, for their lost lords to come home and whack them too, I suppose.

The next morning we were off early. It was still pouring with rain, and we trudged along back to the four-cross path, and picked up our old one, and followed it onward. The first part of the walk was through sticky, slippery mud, intensely sticky, and intensely slippery; the path underneath it was, I found, sharply V-shaped, and the safest part was through the deepest mud. On we went, patiently, mud pulling, through the valleys, then toiling up the side of a hill, among lumps of rock, skirting the summit of the hill, and then down over more lumps of rock, into a valley again. Evidently we were moving over a succession of foot-hills, but the mist was too thick for us to get a general view of the make of things. As we went on further, the hills became more and more abrupt in form, and the valleys became mere rocky ravines, each of which, the water-worn boulders demonstrated, was occupied by a rushing torrent during the wet season, but as I went up there were only isolated pools in them, for the weather before I left Victoria, I was told, had been dry for more than a fortnight, and the rich, porous earth here soaks up an immense amount of water. The slipperyness of this finely pulverized earth was remarkable: there is an outcrop of clay round by Buâna, but that is not so bad as the velvet-red earth, when wet. One ravine I shall not forget. It had a long, slippy slide down into it and out of it, on the other side there was a perfectly glassy slope—an almost irresistible passion to plant your nose against the hill-side and wave your earthward extremities in the air seized you when you were about the middle of the slope, or close to the top. Three of my men gave way to this impulse. Of course I did not, but when I felt it coming on like a sort of fit, I threw myself into the scratchy bush that grows thickly on either side, and waited until the feeling went off, and then got out and had another try at the slide. A *very* pretty image I must have been at this time—black and red mud caked to the

knees, blood about the face and hands, and drenching wet all over.

We passed by a widening in the path, which, since we had left the Buâna plantation, lay through forest; this widening, I was told, was a bush market, and then we came to a smaller one, "where men blow," *i.e.*, rest, and we passed through an opening in the Great War Hedge of Buea. This war hedge is a very wonderful thing, the like of which I have not seen elsewhere in Africa. It is a growing stockade, some 15 feet high, the lower part wattled with bush-rope and saplings. How far the hedge extends I cannot tell you, because I could find no one who could tell me, this part of the Cameroons mountains having only very recently been opened up by the Germans, and on this same path only a twelvemonth before, they had lost a gallant and universally esteemed lieutenant in a fight with the Bueans. A cross now marks the place where he fell, but his body now lies under a beautiful monument in Cameroons. I cut through this hedge five or six times during my stay on the mountain; it was always the same well-kept dense structure, and must have been a grand protection to Buea before the Germans came and determined to open up the country this fierce tribe had kept shut up, to open pacifically if possible, but to open it up.

The temperature in this higher region was quite cool after the days of suffocating heat below, and there were quantities of native indigo with its under leaf a blackish-blue, and lovely crotons with red markings on the upper leaf and crimson linings, and great banks of bergamot and balsam, returning good for evil, and smelling sweetly as we crushed them.

Now and again we got glimpses of the beauty of the surrounding country, when the winds from the mountain came and pushed aside the mist veil, for a second, like spirit hands, and then let it fall together again.

At last, when I was least expecting it, we reached Buea. Going down a large ravine-side we found ourselves facing a rushing river, wherein a squad of black soldiers were washing clothes, assisted by a squad of black ladies, with much skylarking and uproar. I hesitated on the bank. Query—Shall I make an exhibition of myself to these good people, or to the unknown German officer at Buea? Remembering the superior position of white men, I decided to appear before him as well as possible, so stood in the river and washed my face and hands, and some of the mud out of my skirts, and then waded through and wrung out on the further bank. But what is life without a towel? The ground on the further side was cleared, and bore only a heavy crop of balsam and bergamot, and a few yards on I found myself facing a plank and corrugated-

iron little house, and a very large quadrangle surrounded by mat huts—the barrack-yard. A fine, grey-eyed, fair-haired German gentleman came forward to greet me; unfortunately I see I have not impressed him by my efforts to appear before him clean and tidy, and, hastily asking me into his spare room, he suggests an instant hot bath. Men can be trying. I declined the bath. For how, I should like to know, could I have a bath in a room that had got no door but slung army blankets, nor any windows but two pair of sketchy wooden shutters!

I was much struck by his house, and my admiration for the individual German increased. His Government had sent the man up here with seventy black soldiers a few months before, and he now had had to superintend the building of the barracks for them, after clearing the ground of dense forest, and build his own house out of mere planks and sheets of corrugated iron; and he had done these things alone, and he had done them well; he had not yet got so far as finishing fittings and window frames, but he was busy at them—and the luxurious creature had made the windows for his own room and stretched across them greased paper, and for his spare room, which he kindly placed at my disposal, he had made a washhand stand and a table. There was no looking-glass, but as a Danish lady once said anent the absence of this article in the Cavendish Laboratory, "That was no matter, for it would only a disappointment be."

After seeing my men housed, and giving them out their rations, I made a rapid change of raiment, and went out on to the verandah, and discoursed with Herr Liebertz while he made, in a very artful and professional way, a door. He was suffering from a very bad foot arising from some of the purulent matter from a sore on one of his men whom he was doctoring having got into a wound on his foot; he had nearly lost his leg or, more properly speaking, his life, for he lay thirteen days in bed, and there was no doctor nearer than Cameroons River to take the leg off if the sore had turned to gangrene. It struck me as a sharp contrast to the Niger Coast Protectorate, with its comfortable quarters and its thirteen doctors; however, he made nothing of it, and hopped about in a most energetic way, looking after his seventy soldiers, their wives and families, giving them out their rations, drilling them, and everything else, and a squad of black labourers into the bargain, and was hankering to do more. Many of his soldiers were down with bad feet in consequence of the badness of the paths here about. These soldiers are a mixture of Wei Wei's and Yorubas; they are smart men, but the Fatherland has ordained that they shall wear braces, and those unnecessary articles, for an African, as soon as they were off guard, were worn flowing free.

It was most amusing to watch them changing guard at the guard-house at the entrance to the barrack-yard. The squad going on guard would muster, salute, and all that sort of thing, and then march in a rigid manner to the guard-house until they got within twenty yards of it, where there was one of those Cameroon slides, and then flounder and flop for a few seconds down it—reform, and go on guard in grand style.

The house at Buea faces the aforesaid barrack-yard, behind which the ground rises steeply, in a great band of high forest, which runs in tongues up into the great barren grass land above. This rises like a great wall and is the south-east face of the great south-east crater of Mungo. The peak itself we could not see, because that rises again, above and beyond this largest of the seventy craters, but what we did see looked awfully steep when you knew you had to go up it. The bare neck of the crater itself is, I am told, 2,000 feet, and as I looked up at it I remembered the words of my kind friend who landed me at Victoria, Captain Davies: "Look here, now, you'd better chuck it. It's not a picnic." I was much interested in the account I had of the gallant opening up of Buea. Bush fighting in this country is dreadfully dangerous work; you are hemmed in by bush on a narrow path where you must pass in single file, a target for all invisible hidden natives crouching in the dense undergrowth, and the war hedge I have mentioned was an additional danger to the attacking party. The lieutenant and his party had, after a stiff fight, succeeded in forcing an entrance through this, and then their ammunition gave out and they had to fall back. The Bueans, regarding this as their victory, rallied, and a chance shot killed the lieutenant instantly. A further expedition promptly went up from Victoria and whipped the error out of Buea's mind and a good many Bueans with it; but they have evidently been dealt mercifully with, for their big towns, Sapa, &c., are still standing, and the natives come to and fro into the barrack-yard, and down to Buâna and Victoria markets in a perfectly contented way—a great advantage to them. I have long thought that there is a good deal of misconception at home regarding many points in this bush fighting. One is that you gain much by forbidding the importation to the natives of "weapons of precision," *i.e.*, rifles. I have been fired at by rifles and muskets, and I prefer rifles, as long as there are not too many; but given the choice of being fired at, by a bushman, with one rifle, or one musket, I do not think any experienced coaster would hesitate for a second in saying rifles; for having a weapon of precision is no advantage to you if you have not got precision yourself, and the untrained African cannot hit a haystack at forty yards, except by accident, whereas with a scatter gun, like a mus-

ket loaded with a miscellaneous collection of bits of iron pot, stones, and poisonous seeds, the chances are he will hit something, and when you get these rugged and poisonous abominations into you, there is no chance at all but what you will have a nasty, long-continuing wound.

The next morning I reconstituted my gang. Several of them were complaining of hot foot, and abdominal trouble. I kept Bum, Ke falla, Charley, and the cook, who gave himself great airs of knowing all about mountains, having been, he said, with a Government expedition up a big mountain up Cameroons river, where "If you fall down one side you die. If you fall down other side you die." The officer gave me some labourers to replace those I sent back to Victoria, and we started off, led by a black sergeant, Sasu, to make a camp at the head of the forest belt. This we succeeded in doing, after making a false start up a densely overgrown track. It poured with rain, of course, a thing we might hardly have noticed, so accustomed to this state of weather had we become, had we not had our two first thunder-storms on the mountain. Never have I seen anything like the thunder-storms Mungo makes. Great masses of blue-black cloud used to roll out over the great crater above us, flashing lightning in their van, and being too heavily loaded to go out to sea, as tornadoes should, simply sat down and burst in the forest. The sensation was not that of having a heavy storm burst over you at all. You felt you were in its engine-room, when it had broken down badly. The lightning ran about the ground in livid streams of living death, and when this was over, the rain, if you may call it rain, when it disdains to go into details of drops, makes such a roar on the forest trees that you have to shout to make yourself heard.

The forest belt is of exceeding beauty, the lower slope of it close to Buea has groves of infinitely stately great tree ferns, satin-leaved begonias, and gigantic ammoms, and the trees have a luxuriance of growth, and a size, and soft greenness of leaf I have never elsewhere seen. As we went higher the ferns grew less, and we passed into, and made our camp at, the edge of the forest, where a few steps would take you out on to the grass-land belt, between two long tongues of forest, every branch and twig whereof was festooned with long pale grey-green lichen. But where we built our fire house hut, we were just below the lichens. Imagine a vast, apparently limitless cathedral, with all its countless thousands of columns covered with the most exquisite dark-green, large-fronded moss, with here and there in it a delicate fern for decoration. The white wool mist came down from the grass land, stealing into the forest, creeping and twining round, and streaming through the columns, sweeping over us in sheets,

and wrapping us in its chill, clammy embrace, now receding, now advancing, until it closed in, and made the atmosphere all its own; but, ah me! who can tell the glory, and the weirdness and the charm, a charm that calls you every hour you are away from those West African forests.

I will not say that forest camp was comfortable, but it would have been far less so had I not recently had a grand education in bush life from the Fans, and so knew of a certain tree, the pith whereof you can always make a fire with, let it rain never so heavily, and I also knew that, although you yourself could get on all right without a shelter, your fire could not in bad weather, and must have a house built for it. My men were a set of semi-educated blacks, who had always been accustomed to be looked after, and fed like so many children, and I soon recognized that, although Bum was an honest, sober, strong fellow, he was too easy-going to keep order. In addition to this, the officer at Buea had lent me a regulation camp bed, and so imbued was this thing with the military spirit, that it exasperated me; nothing but a sincere regard for the owner, William, Emperor of Germany, restrained me from boring holes right through the bed, for the waterproof ground sheet Herr von Lucke had lent me had had a label sewn on to it, hence it leaked, and the water besides drove in under it, when it was mounted on stakes over the bed as a shelter, so the bed was half its time a water tank. "My orders are to be waterproof," said the bed, "and waterproof I'll be." I made several powerful disparaging remarks to it for its rigid adherence to duty, and tilted it over to empty its water out, repeatedly, and left it behind in the forest camp, when, on the next morning, we started to make a camp up in the south-east crater.

I had taken compass bearings, and formed a plan of attack on the great crater wall, during a temporary surcease of rain the previous evening, and we all went off in high spirits, for it was a fine, sunny day. Little good it was to us, however. We made our way through the wet, waist-high, jungle grass, over the rocky hummocks, and the still rockier watercourses between them, to the foot of the wall. When we had nearly reached this I observed a halt being made, and, coming up with the others, found "Monrovia Boy" down a hole, a deep blow hole, looking for water. I then learnt, for the first time, that we were utterly without water, and there was none to be got nearer than the stream down at Buea.

The suppression of this piece of information was evidently a trick of my men, who thought that, when I found this water palaver out, I should return, and they should go safely home, and get their pay, and live happily ever after, without facing the traditional horrors and dangers of the peak. I did not enter into this view, but saw,

unless the affair was instantly tackled, it meant failure, so I at once sent the most reliable boy down to Buea, with a note asking for five demijohns of water, and I sent three other boys back to the forest camp, one with orders to bring at once four bottles of soda water I had left there, and the others to bring up the demijohns of water to us the next day; I started up the wall, followed by Zenia and Black Boy. The others said they would come on with the soda water, and sat down.

The wall is not hard climbing. Seen from below, it looks almost vertical, but it is not, and it also looks most impressive from its enormous breadth, making an entire face to this side of the mountain.

It is covered with short, yellowish grass, through which the cinder-like lava rock protrudes. To the right and left of where I was there were two chasms, or scars, in its face, looking like gigantic quarries, and I made my way towards the left-hand one and skirted its rim. Soon the hot sun, which was reflected back by the rock, burnt my face mercilessly, and I thought, as there was lots of time, for we were only going to the crater above to camp that day, I would rest, and I did, close to another blow-hole. Zenia soon joined me, and flung himself down on the ground. "Where them Black boy live?" said I. "Black boy say he tire too much," said Zenia, and I looked down to see what had become of the rest of my Pappenheimers; there they were, still sitting, looking like little dolls in the distance below; below them again was the forest-belt on the slope of the mountain, and then Buea station looking like little doll's houses. Buea evidently stands on a shelf, and the plain round it runs along the mountain side for miles to the N.N.E and S.S.W., a strange looking bit of country, clad with low bush, out of which rise isolated great white-stemmed cotton trees; here and there curled up little blue whiffs of smoke from the native towns—towns which, beyond Sappa, to the N.E. and N.N.E., have not yet been visited by white men. Below this plain was a dense belt of forest, and below and beyond this stretched the mangrove swamps, fringing the rivers and creeks, of the Great Cameroons estuary. This scene was a typical instance of the peculiar quality of beauty you often get in West Africa, namely, colossal sweeps of colour. The mangrove swamps looked that day like one vast damson-coloured carpet, threaded with silver where the waterways ran through it, spread at the foot of the great mountain. Far away eastward are seen the abrupt, strange forms of that range of mountains, of which we have many names but little knowledge, the Rumbi, or Omon,—which I have certain reasons to believe are a continuous chain with my well-beloved Sierra del Crystal. After taking bearings of two noteworthy peaks among

them, I turned my face to the wall, and went on up, expressing a wish to Zenia that those men would hurry up, to which he sagely replied, "Softly, softly, still hurts the snail,"* The reflected sun from the rocks was trying, but the air was cool, and with a keen N.E. wind—a wind, I may remark, that seems to be always tearing across the Peak, for I find since I have read Burton on my return to England that he met it on the other face. I should not wonder if it is made here, considering the vileness of the other sorts of weather Mungo makes. I gradually made my way, now angling away to the right, until I came into a great lane, walled rather neatly with rock, as if it had been made by human hands. This ran up and down the mountain face, nearly vertically in places, at a stiff angle always, but it was easier going up the lane, because it was sheltered by the walls from the wind. When I reached the top of it, at the top of the mountain wall, I found myself facing a great rock-encumbered plain, across the other side of which rose the great, many-pointed mass of the Peak, abruptly. Three rough cones were evidently higher than their comrades. This plain was now free from mist, but mist hung, and wandered across the grey summits, and the wall, from which they rose. Anxious to look towards the sea, I made my way towards the S.W. end of the wall I had ascended, which was the highest part of it, and when I got there I was rewarded for all and everything.

Some 10,000 feet below me lay Ambas Bay, with its diadem of forested foot hills of Mungo, and its ornaments of rocky islands. The sea looked like a plain of frosted silver, and across it, out in the west, barely twenty miles distant, rose Fernando Po to its 10,190 feet, with that majestic grace peculiar to a volcanic island. To the S.E. was the glorious stretch of Cameroons estuary, with a line of white cloud lying along the course, Cameroons river, but the Bimbia, and Mungo rivers, gleamed clear. In one of the chasms of the crater wall, I have mentioned, the one furthest to the left, there was a tornado thunderstorm brewing, and seemingly hanging on to, or streaming out of, the mountain side. A soft, billowy mass of dense, cream-coloured cloud, with flashes of golden lightning playing about in it, with soft growls of thunder. As I stood, spellbound, watching, I saw the white mist steal up from the mangrove swamps, growing rose-colour in the light of the setting sun as it swept upwards over the purple, high forest. In the heavens above me was a vividly coloured rainbow, one arm of which was behind the peak, the other in the sea of mist below, and the mist rose, and rose, turning from

* An old, common native proverb, meaning, however little you hurry a snail you incommode it.

pale rose to lavender, and then, when the shadow of the great mountain fell on it, to a dull, leaden grey. It was soon at my feet, level with the top of the wall on which I stood, and then flowed over into the crater plain, and then everything was shut out, save the two summits—Cameroons close to me, and Clarence on Fernando Po. These two stood out alone, like two great mountain island masses made of iron, rising from a formless, silken sea. The space around was boundless, infinite; there was neither sound, nor colour, and nothing with definite form, save these. It was like a vision, and fascinated me as I stood with nothing but the power to gaze on it, and the feeling of gratitude at being allowed to do so, until the memory of those anything but sublime men of mine came into my wool-gathering mind, and I turned and scuttled off, like an agitated ant left alone in a dead universe, with the knee deep mist flying from my swinging skirts. I soon picked up the place I had ascended by, and went down over, with three times the rapidity, and ten times the scratches and grazes that I had got in coming up. I soon found the place where I had left Zenia, but there was no Zenia there, nor any response to my bush-call for him. So I did not wait to erect a monument to his memory, but in the rapidly fading light went on, and came upon the place where I had left the men, but there were no men; I did not erect a monument to them, though I am afraid I wished they were in a condition to require it. The air was full of white mist now, but there was enough light to see the rocks I had made note of, and the trodden down grass. Shortly after this, I found Zenia, lost on his own account, and distinctly quaint in manner. Then I remembered I had been warned that Zenia was slightly crazy, and this seemed confirmed when I found he had, earlier in the afternoon, given Black Boy my bag and taken in exchange for it a broken lantern with no candle in it, and the lid of a saucepan—a pretty outfit to spend the night with, in this country!

> "The moving moon went up the sky
> And nowhere did abide,
> Softly she was going up
> And a star or two beside."

Only she was a young, and inefficient moon, and as I have said before, it was misty, and Zenia and I had a fine, variegated set of athletic experiences before we found our entrance in the forest wall to our camp, a thing at the best of times about as easy as to find a rabbit hole; but we did it, about 11.30 p.m., and there were the men, safe and comfortable, round the forest camp fire.

I draw a veil over the rest of that night, particularly over my observations to the men. They, each and every one, said it was "not him but the other Boy who got fright too much." I will

draw a veil over the next day, which we spent waiting for the water, &c. to come up from Buea, but I shall never forget how glad we were to get it, for its absence meant not only the absence of water to drink, but the absence of food, and for me, the terrible deprivation of tea. Of course I gave the men some of my scant store of tinned food, a doubtful kindness, as it was salt-herring. However, the water came, and with the men who brought it I sent down Black Boy and Charles, who were complaining of being sick; they did not want to go, but I was firm, for I had no intention of starting a sanatorium in that crater above.

The next morning off we started again. It was fine, but when we were half way up the wall, I needless to say severely bringing up the rear of the expedition, and not going wandering off ahead, like a hen turkey, as on the previous occasion. It poured in torrents, and the bitter wind swept across the face of the mountain side seemingly intent on tearing us off, or failing that, chilling us to death where we were. However, in due course up we got into the crater, which was, this day, a swirling, seething cauldron of wind-torn mist. I really believe if my men had been left to their own devices, they would have simply sunk down and died, *more Africano*, for they were fairly stupified with the cold. I had great difficulty in urging them towards a great mass of rock, which I had observed on my previous visit, and which lies away to the left in the crater plain. However, I got them there, and then opened the two loads of beautiful, thick army blankets the German officer had kindly lent us. I wrapped one round each man, and gave them a tot of raw rum, and then tore down a lot of the scraggy, dry bush that grows, or more properly speaking has grown here, for it is dead and as dry as tinder, and getting some dry lichen from under the rock, and some matches out of my soap-box, carefully treasured in the breast of my blouse, I made a fire—it soon blazed under the shelter of the rocks, and in a few minutes the men revived, and I got them to make more fires, and then grabbed a blanket from under the outspread umbrella I had sheltered them with, and sat down, and shivered.

We spent an awful night, a night of cold, wet, miscellaneous misery, and particularly afflicted with smoke, for the wood of these stunted bushes round here is of a resinous and aromatic nature. It sounds nice, but it is not, for the smoke brings tears into your eyes, and there is too much of it. The boys gathered closely round each fire, and came near being suffocated, every few seconds one or the other of them would scramble up, and go apart, and cough out smoke like a novice in the profession of fire-eating. I made an heroic resolve—my resolves are always good, my performances never—I would keep awake all night and see

the fires were kept up, and rouse any man who might catch alight, from huddling into his fire; and reflecting that you may as well do all you can to make yourself comfortable, in a place like this, safely relying on Nature to see that you do not get sufficient luxury to really injure your moral fibre, I took my little wood chop-box, with its magnificent inscribed lid—"an Hoch wohl geborenen Frei herr von Stettin," and settled it, with much trouble and bits of rock, for there wasn't a level place the size of a six-penny piece, against what I regarded as a charming tree, a sorely stunted weather-worn tree, but just the proper angle to lean against, and covered with a cushion of soft lichen. I must have dropped off to sleep, for it was 2.15 a.m. when I woke up, and found out that wretched tree's true nature. The miserable vegetable was nothing better than a water spout. The rain had run down the moss, and into my blanket, and me, penetrating to the spine, and forming a pool to keep my feet in, in the little hollow in the rock. I arose, very stiffly, and putting a lot of wood from the pile the men had made, into Zenia and Ke falla's fire, I sat down as close to it as possible, to windward, and, pulling the blanket over my head to keep off the smoke, which I could not stand because it irritated my eyes, before dawn came I fell asleep three separate times, and on to the fire, which I should most certainly have put out like a bucket of water, had not the smother I occasioned roused Zenia and Ke falla who got me off it.

The dawn broke grey and cheerless, but the men were revived by their warm night's rest, and quite cheerful, and after giving breakfast I asked for volunteers to come up the final stage. Bum and Zenia volunteered, and we just took with us my little black bag with some food in it, and I insisted on their taking two blankets, against their will of course, for they were improvident creatures; they had, I found, sold the two blankets a-piece I had given them at Buea, so had we not had the army blankets to use we should have failed miserably.

The crater plain is a broken bit of country with rocky mounds, slightly over-grown with tufts of grass; here and there bog-like patches, with tufts of rushes, and among the rocks sorely afflicted shrubs of yellow broom, and the aromatic wood-shrub, which blooms with a lovely big yellow flower, like a large wild rose—one might think that the race of shrubs were dying out, for for one living one there are twenty skeletons which fall to pieces at a touch. The trend of the ground is down-hill at first, although you are all the time going over, or scrambling round, rocky hummocks. Then the general level is flat, and then you commence to go up again, and are soon on the peak wall.

I steered N.W.W. until we struck the face of the peak, and then comes a stiff, rough climb, and we keep as straight up as circumstances

allow, for strange ribs of rotten rock come straight down. The higher we got the more tiresome they became, crumbling into dust, so rotten and weather-eaten are they. Bum got half-a-dozen falls on his way up, and after two hours of this sort of thing, Zenia collapsed from the cold and the climbing. We made him wrap himself up, and tucked him in out of the wind among some rocks, and I and Bum went on. When we were some 800 feet or more from the summit, the icy iron-grey mist that had been lurking in all the clefts of the mountain, apparently watching us, came curling and waving round the rocks above, like some savage monster defending them from intruders, and, hitching myself on to some rocks, I took compass bearings, and careful notes of local peculiarities, to note our own path, and Zenia's position. Bum elected now to fail for the third time—he had been with two expeditions before, from the Babundi face—and he wrapped himself in his blanket, and I turned my face to the mist and went up into it. The scene was weirdly wild and desolate, the black grey dead cinder and rock showing at one's feet, and every now and again when the mist was torn and driven by the fearful wind, away on every side appeared great wild walls and peaks as black as night. After an hour I observed with joy, a bottle, an empty one—but nevertheless a great comfort, for it showed me I was on the track of the first successful expedition to reach the peak from this side, that of the First Lieutenant, and Doctor of His Imperial Majesty's Ship *Hyæna*. A break in the mist showed a great crag away to the right, and I made for it, thinking it was the right one. When a third of the way up, another break in the mist showed me that this was not the case, and that the next one was higher, and I scrambled away and got on the face of this new one, and after a hard time, got up it and saw the cairn which I am told contains a tin box wherein passes left by those who have previously ascended have been now carefully stowed by some kind-hearted German explorer, and I observed more bottles. I had no bottles to contribute to the collection, and did not interfere with the cairn, save to add a few rocks to it, and taking specimens, and putting my card among them, merely as a complimentary call on Mungo, for long ere now it must be pulp.

As the weather consisted of a hurricane raging in a fog, and there was not a view to be got in any direction, I left heartily disappointed, for my motive was by no means the legitimate motive for a mountaineer, I only went up in the hope of getting a view that would give an idea of the way the country was made towards the estuaries of the Rio del Rey and Calabar. I had often seen the summit of Mungo from Okyon, up the Old Calabar, and I hoped to be able to fill in my knowledge with the details of this end of the country.

I got down to Bum, and as the mist came round us I was in a fearful fidget about finding Zenia, but we did at last, and then I sat down among the rocks, and we three lunched on the contents of the black bag, which included a bottle of beer Herr von Liebertz had kindly sent up to me with the other stores. While we were doing this, Bum drew my attention to a strange funnel-shaped black phenomenon in the clouds away to the north-east, a water-spout I presume. We hurried on, down over the rocks, in hope of getting into the crater before the mist, and partially succeeded; but no sooner were we half way across the plain, than it closed in round us, but we had seen the camp-site clearly enough to enable us to steer for it, and reached it safely. The men had kept the fires blazing, and I instantly noted a dreadful smell of burning negro. It was cook, who was sound asleep in front of one of them, with a bit of burning wood smouldering in his hair.

I will not weary you with an account of our dilemmas and disasters during our descent, which was far worse than the ascent. The misadventures of that hardy mountaineer the cook, would alone fill a folio volume. We went down to the forest camp, stayed a night there, it poured, &c.; then down to Buea, it poured again; and then in one day's march down from Buea to Victoria, for I was not anxious to revisit Buâna, and it poured worse.

I carefully timed my own arrival to take place after dark, but before dinner, at Government House, and was delighted to find on my arrival there, by the back way, that no one was back from the Government office in town. I asked Idabea, on the spot, for tea, and that excellent steward said nothing, but rushed off; in a few seconds there was a great uproar in the room above, and water streamed through the ceiling of the dining room. "No use trifling about tea," Idabea thought, "what you want is a bath," and by the time Herr von Lucke returned I had made myself as presentable as I could, and he also had the cold intellectual pleasure of finding his prophecy realized. I had got a cold, one of the most terrific colds in the head of modern times. I cannot express my gratitude for all the kindness and assistance I received from the German officers, assistance without which, I should certainly never have got anything beyond a foot view of the Peak, and probably have died in the bargain; and I hope this recital of the tiresomeness of my men may not be taken as a sweeping accusation of West Coast natives, in general; these men were all good in their way, always cheerful, obliging, and obedient; they were fair specimens of the Coast porter; a race it is nothing less than murder for a white man to take into the bush, unless he is prepared to look after them, their food, and their feet.

MARY H. KINGSLEY.

THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION.

Before the Confederation of Canada (the Union of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, with those of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1867) the battle of the schools had been hotly fought over a large field in British North America.

Roman Catholics struggled for the recognition and teaching of their religion in public schools for the support of which they were being taxed.

Protestants claimed the same privileges in the Catholic Province of Quebec.

The result of that contest may be summed up as follows :—

In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, while the law does not expressly provide for the Separate system, yet it allows, in essentially Roman Catholic districts, Roman Catholic schools, to all intents and purposes, to work under the Public Schools Act, and to receive their share of State aid. Separate or dissentient schools have long been in full blast in Ontario and Quebec.

Manitoba became a province in 1870. In 1871 Separate schools were established there. In 1890 an Act of the Legislature repealed the Act of 1871, and raised this so-called question of the Manitoba schools.

Under these circumstances, a suspicion gains ground that the excitement among Protestants respecting Manitoba, so far as it has existence, has been engineered and directed by one not wholly disinterested from other points of view.

The chief agitator is a member of the Ontario Bar. He it was who first suggested the legislation which created the grievance on the part of the minority in Manitoba. This gentleman, strange to say, represents the case of the Government of Manitoba, both in Parliament and in the Courts. For a justification of this dual character he relies on the action of Sir Charles Russell and Sir Richard Webster in the Parnell Commission!

It is to be observed that Ontario is distinctly Protestant, yet Roman Catholic schools exist and have existed there for many years.

As early as 1843 a School Bill was adopted in that province,

whereby provision was made for the protection of children from being required to read or study in any form any religious book, or join in any religious exercise or devotion objected to by their parents; and for the establishment of Roman Catholic Separate schools where the teacher of the locality was a Protestant, or *vice versâ*.

Catholics are to-day permitted to set up a State school in a Protestant community, and Protestants in a Catholic community, or Jews or coloured people in either; but Protestants cannot "dissent" from Protestants, nor Catholics from Catholics.

The late Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, the great Conservative leader, personally preferred National and undenominational schools; but out of respect for the consciences of others, and for the sake of harmony on the question of free education for the masses, declared himself, at an early day, ready to sink his prejudices. When vindicating the old law in Ontario, Sir John Macdonald in 1856 explained that, having found it on the statute book, he did not repeal the legislation because "it was one thing to give a right or a franchise, and another thing to deprive the people of it."

He also relied upon Dr. Ryerson's opinion. Dr. Ryerson, who was the founder of the splendid system of schools in Ontario, reported that the Separate school clause did not retard the progress or the increase of common schools, but on the contrary it "widens the basis of the common school system."

In 1863, the Rev. James Fraser, afterwards Bishop of Manchester, reported to a Royal Commission upon a visit to Canada:—

"One of the most interesting features in the Canadian system is the way in which it has endeavoured to deal with what we find to be one of our most formidable difficulties—the religious difficulty.

"In Canada it has been dealt with by the use of two expedients, one by prescribing certain rules and regulations which it was hoped would allow of religious instruction being given in the schools without introducing sectarianism or hurting consciences; the other by permitting, in certain cases, the establishment of 'separate,' which are practically denominational, and, in fact, Roman Catholic schools.

"The permission, under certain circumstances, to establish separate, that is, denominational schools, is a peculiar feature of the system both of Upper and Lower Canada. Dr. Ryerson thinks that the admission of the principle is a thing to be regretted, though at the same time he considers that the advantages which it entails entirely rest with those who avail themselves of it, and he would not desire to see any coercion used either to repeal or modify them."

In the Province of Quebec, a Roman Catholic province, the Public school system was, and is, denominational. Any number of persons enjoy the right to set up what are termed dissentient schools in their own locality, and these, when established, form part of the Public school system.

In the original draft of the British North America Act, "Education, saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant or Catholic minority in both Canadas may possess as to their denominational schools at the time the Union goes into operation" was one of the subjects assigned for the jurisdiction of provincial legislatures. During the debate upon it, an amendment to the effect that the entire control and direction of Education should be left to the provincial legislatures was voted down by a very large majority. Sir John Macdonald, and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the first and second Prime Ministers of Canada after 1867, both opposed this amendment.

In 1866 the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Lower Canada presented a petition to Her Majesty, pointing out:—

(1) The existence of distinct educational systems in Upper and Lower Canada, notwithstanding their legislative union.

(2) That under the educational law of Lower Canada Protestants were liable to be taxed for the support of Roman Catholic schools, and that difficulties existed in establishing Separate schools.

(3) That the prospect of Confederation of the Provinces under a system where education should be under the control of the local legislatures had alarmed the Protestants of Lower Canada.

They prayed that their educational rights be not left to the control of the majority in the local legislature "without any guarantee whatever."

Sir (then Mr.) Alexander Galt was the representative of the Protestants in Quebec, and as such was persuaded to join the delegates who went to London to discuss and promote the Act for the Union of the Provinces. The delegates sailed for England on 7th November, 1866. On 5th December, 1866, Mr. Galt proposed the clause which, subject to drafting, became sub-section 3 of clause 93 of the B.N.A. Act of 1867.

The provisions respecting education are as follows:—

"*The British North America Act*, 1867.

"93. In and for each province the legislature (*i.e.*, the provincial legislature) may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:

"(1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right

or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the union.

"(2) All the powers, privileges, and duties at the union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.

"(3) Where in any province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the union, or is thereafter established by the legislature of the province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

"(4) In case any such provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority in that behalf, then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section."

In connection with sub-section 3, the Quebec Legislature, in 1869, enacted a law to amend the law respecting education in the Province of Quebec.

By this Act the rights of the Protestant minority were materially extended, and pledges to this effect given by Sir (then Mr.) George Cartier and his colleagues before Confederation were redeemed.

The rights of the Protestants in Quebec, therefore, as in the case of the Roman Catholics in Manitoba, to a large extent (certainly all post-Union rights), depend upon the solution of the question now before the Canadian Parliament, viz., the efficacy of an appeal to the Governor-General in Council by the minority against the act of the majority of a province affecting their educational rights.

Confederation in 1870 embraced Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario.

In that year, what are now the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories were acquired by Canada. The Catholic community of the Western Territory undoubtedly shared the views of their Church in Ontario and Quebec, and desired their people

should be educated only in schools where the influence and teachings of the Roman Catholic religion prevailed.

While State aid was absent (there being no local Legislature), a system of voluntary and denominational schools existed in what is now known as Manitoba. These schools received assistance.

The negotiations for Union between the inhabitants of Manitoba and the Government of Canada ended in the Act of 1870; section 22 containing the terms respecting education.

The section reads as follows:—

The Manitoba Act.

"22. In and for the province (*i.e.*, of Manitoba) the said legislature (*i.e.*, the provincial legislature) may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:

"(1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the province at the union.

"(2) An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of the legislature of the province, or of any provincial authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

"(3) In case any such provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority in that behalf, then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section."

An amendment proposed, when the Bill was under consideration in the House of Commons at Ottawa, raised the question of granting to the minority the right to establish Separate schools. Opposition to the clause was raised by those who insisted upon leaving the matter to be settled by the people of the province, and by those who objected on principle to sectarian schools.

The amendment was lost: yeas, 34; nays, 81.

An analysis of the vote shows that, excluding Catholic Members, there was a majority of Protestants supporting this feature of the Bill for the protection of the rights of the minority.

Mr. Mackenzie (Premier of Canada from 1874 to 1878) opposed

this clause in 1870, but in 1875, speaking in the House of Commons, said:—

"For many years after I held a seat in the Parliament of Canada, I waged war against the principles of Separate schools. I hoped to be able—young and inexperienced in politics as I then was—to establish a system to which all would ultimately yield their assent. Sir, it was found to be impracticable in operation, and impossible in political contingencies."

In the language of Lord Herschell, when delivering judgment in the case of Brophy v. the Attorney-General:—

"Those who were stipulating for the provisions of section 22 as a condition of the union, and those who gave their legislative assent to the Act by which it was brought about, had in view the perils then apprehended. The immediate adoption by the legislature of an educational system, obnoxious either to Catholics or Protestants, would not be contemplated as possible. As has been already stated, the Roman Catholics and Protestants in the province were about equal in number. It was impossible at that time for either party to obtain legislative sanction to a scheme of education obnoxious to the other. The establishment of a system of public education in which both parties would concur was probably then in immediate prospect. The Legislature of Manitoba first met on March 15th, 1871. On the 3rd of May following, the Education Act of 1871 received the royal assent. But the future was uncertain. Either Roman Catholics or Protestants might become the preponderating power in the legislature, and it might under such conditions be impossible for the minority to prevent the creation at the public cost of schools which, though acceptable to the majority, could only be taken advantage of by the minority on the terms of sacrificing their cherished convictions. The change to a Roman Catholic system of public schools would have been regarded with as much distaste by the Protestants of the province as the change to an unsectarian system was by the Catholics."

The Manitoba School Act of 1871, subsequently adopted by the local legislature, provided for a School Board with two sections, one Protestant and the other Catholic, with a Protestant superintendent and a Catholic superintendent. The management of each class of schools was left in the hands of the respective sections. Protestant and Catholic school districts were created. The legislative grant was divided.

In 1890, by an Act of the Manitoba Legislature, the two Boards were swept away, and all schools were made subject to the Department of Education, and an Advisory board, which was empowered to prescribe text books and forms of religious exercise. The legislative grant was withdrawn from every school not conducted under the Department.

This Act was attacked by the Catholics as *ultra vires* being, as alleged, contrary to the provisions of the Canadian Constitution.

Sir John Macdonald, Prime Minister, wrote a letter in 1889 to a member of the Manitoba Legislature, in which he said:

"You ask me for advice as to the course you should take upon the vexed question of separate schools in your province. There is, it seems to me, but one course

open to you. By the Manitoba Act, the provisions of the British North America Act (sec. 93) respecting laws passed for the protection of minorities in educational matters are made applicable to Manitoba, and cannot be changed; for by the Imperial Act confirming the establishment of the new provinces, 34 and 35 Vict., c. 33, sec. 6, it is provided that it shall not be competent for the Parliament of Canada to alter the provisions of the Manitoba Act in so far as it relates to the province of Manitoba. Obviously, therefore, the separate school system in Manitoba is beyond the reach of the Legislature, or of the Dominion Parliament."

In the case known as Barrett's case the Privy Council decided in 1892, greatly to the surprise of most Canadian public men, that whatever was actually intended when the Federal Act of 1870 was passed, its provisions did not prevent the Manitoba Legislature repealing the Act of 1871—there being no legislative or other "rights" existing on the part of the Roman Catholics prior to the Union which were "prejudicially affected" (Manitoba Act, 1870, sub-section 1, section 22).

The Catholics then presented an appeal to the Governor-General in Council under sub-section 2 of the Manitoba Act of 1870, contending that the Act of 1890 affected their rights, which were acquired under the provisions of Acts of the Manitoba Legislature in 1871, and subsequently.

The case of Brophy *v.* the Attorney-General, involving the right of appeal, came in due course before the Privy Council. In the judgment sustaining the appeal the Court, in 1895, observed in the reasons for judgment:—

"The sole question to be determined is whether a right or privilege which the Roman Catholic minority previously enjoyed has been affected by the legislation of 1890. Their Lordships are unable to see how this question can receive any but an affirmative answer. Contrast the position of the Roman Catholics prior and subsequent to the Acts from which they appeal. Before these passed into law there existed denominational schools, of which the control and management were in the hands of Roman Catholics, who could select the books to be used and determine the character of the religious teaching. These schools received their proportionate share of the money contributed for school purposes out of the general taxation of the province, and the money raised for these purposes by local assessment was, so far as it fell upon Catholics, applied only toward the support of the Catholic schools. What is the position of the Roman Catholic minority under the Acts of 1890? Schools of their own denomination, conducted according to their views, will receive no aid from the State. They must depend entirely for their support upon the contributions of the Roman Catholic community, while the taxes out of which State aid is granted to the schools provided for by the statute fall alike on Catholics and Protestants. Moreover, while the Catholic inhabitants remain liable to local assessment for school purposes, the proceeds of that assessment are no longer destined to any extent for the support of Catholic schools, but afford the means of maintaining schools which they regard as no more suitable for the education of Catholic children than if they were distinctly Protestant in their character.

* * * * * * * *

"As a matter of fact, the objection of Roman Catholics to schools such as alone receive State aid under the Act of 1890 is conscientious and deeply rooted. If this had not been so, if there had been a system of public education acceptable to

Catholics and Protestants alike, the elaborate enactments which have been the subject of so much controversy and consideration would have been unnecessary It is notorious that there were acute differences of opinion between Catholics and Protestants on the education question prior to 1870. This is recognized and emphasized in almost every line of those enactments. There is no doubt either what the points of difference were, and it is in the light of these that the 22nd section of the Manitoba Act of 1870, which was in truth a parliamentary compact must be read."

The hearing of the appeal of the Roman Catholic minority to the Governor-General in Council was concluded, and what is known as the Remedial Order of March 21st, 1895, was adopted.

This order contains a decision, and upon the decision a direction, requiring the Legislature of Manitoba to adopt a measure whereby the minority should have:—

(*a*) The right to build, maintain, equip, manage, conduct, and support Roman Catholic schools, in the manner provided for by the said statutes which were repealed by the two Acts of 1890 aforesaid.

(*b*) The right to share proportionately in any grant made out of public funds for the purposes of education.

(*c*) The right of exception of such Roman Catholics as contribute to Roman Catholic schools from all payment or contribution to the support of any other schools.

The Manitoba Legislature not having complied with this request, the Parliament of Canada has in March, 1896, adopted the second reading of a Bill entitled "The Remedial Act," for the purpose of carrying out substantially and as far as is practically possible at present by Federal legislation what the Order requires.

This measure was opposed by the leader of the Liberal Opposition (a Roman Catholic) in the House of Commons of Canada, and by a section of Conservative supporters of the Government who sit for distinctly Protestant Ridings.

A long discussion ended on Friday, March 20th, when the Second Reading was carried by 112 votes to 94.

Analysed by Provinces, the vote on the Second Reading shows as follows:—

	For.	Against.
Ontario	35	52
Quebec	32	29
Nova Scotia	15	6
New Brunswick	14	2
Prince Edward Island ...	2	4
Manitoba	4	1
North-west Territories ...	4	0
British Columbia	6	0
Total	112	94

The opposition to the Bill became formidable only by the action

of the Leader of the Opposition, who, it is claimed, bids for the extreme Protestant vote, believing that as a Roman Catholic leader he can still hold a large part of the Catholic vote through their idea that, if sustained in the country, he will ultimately secure to the Roman Catholic minority the rights of which they have been shorn.

Certain it is that without his opposition the resistance to the Bill would have been, so far as Parliament is concerned, helplessly weak, if not ridiculous.

The Government considers that a duty has devolved upon it, under the Constitution, to press this measure, regardless of individual preferences for any particular system of public schools. It is argued that the "Parliamentary Compact" must be faithfully observed.

The question has been discussed for years, but some of the opponents of the measure profess that further delay is advisable in the hope that the legislature of Manitoba may yet act, and so render Federal interference unnecessary.

Nothing, however, in the present Bill will interfere with any fair legislative settlement on the part of the Manitoba Assembly.

Others oppose the measure altogether, objecting to the principle of Separate schools; and others, again, because they are of opinion that no interference with the provincial legislature's autonomy should occur, unless in the case of gross and grinding injustice.

While the Bill is being pressed the Government has sent a delegation to Manitoba to ascertain whether that province will even now by legislation so act as to render further consideration in the Canadian Parliament unnecessary.

I firmly believe that the only course, under the circumstances, fairly open to the Canadian Government has been taken. It is in the interest of the Catholic minority of the Province of Manitoba, and at the same time of vital importance to the Protestant minority in the Province of Quebec as well. Above all it is a policy of *uberrima fides*.

I have a happy confidence, moreover, that in this age of toleration, there are not to be found anywhere five millions of the subjects of the Queen enjoying the right of self-government who, with these facts before them, would not overwhelmingly approve of the policy of the Remedial Legislation on the lines of the opinion and advice of the Judicial Committee of the Queen's Privy Council.

CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

MR. HARDY AS A DECADENT.

Mr. Thomas Hardy's position in literature is somewhat peculiar. Without having ever been restricted to an audience quite as select as that which kept Mr. Meredith's reputation alive for so many years till the general public found him out, he so far resembles that eminent writer that his fame has probably always been greater among his brethren of letters than among the mass of novel-readers; to these, at all events until controversies arose over the work which he produced a couple of years ago, his name said less than those of a dozen writers without a quarter of his ability. He has never been the subject of what is popularly called a "boom." We have not been used to seeing announcements of the sum "per thousand words" which proprietors of magazines have offered for his forthcoming story, nor are publishers' advertisements of his works accompanied by a statement of the numbers subscribed for by "the trade," or sold up to date. He has few conspicuous mannerisms; a certain tendency to over-elaborate terms of expression (as when he calls chalk downs "cretaceous uplands"), and somewhat far-fetched similes, being the chief defects to be found in this kind; and even these, contrary to what is sometimes observed, are if anything less frequent in his later than in his earlier work. At the same time his style is sufficiently marked to have sensibly affected more than one of the ablest among our younger story-tellers.

Except for a short period early in his career, he has never been an over-rapid producer. About a dozen novels and some short stories represent the work of a quarter of a century, for almost that time has passed since his first book, *Desperate Remedies*, appeared. It was anonymous, and created no great stir in the novel-reading world; a few persons recognized, however, in spite of some awkwardness of construction, that the author had the root of the matter in him—that he possessed in no scanty measure the powers of observation, invention, and expression which are the three primary requisites for the making of a novelist, together with a sense of humour, especially humorous appreciation of the rustic mind and its manifestation in speech, enough, if only the scene of the story had been laid in Scotland instead of "Wessex," to have made half a dozen reputations. A year later, still anonymously, appeared

MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

Under the Greenwood Tree, a charming little "Dutch picture" of country life. But neither this book nor its successor, *A Pair of Blue Eyes,* the first to which the author put his name, attracted any very great notice, though professional tasters of fiction were further convinced that a new and capable teller of stories had arisen.

The first book of Mr. Hardy's which got talked about in drawing-rooms was *Far from the Madding Crowd.* It had run through the *Cornhill Magazine,* and appeared in book form towards the end of 1874. Henceforward, though no one book of Mr. Hardy's can be said to have earned for him the popularity which we have seen attained in the same period by half-a-score of novelists far inferior to him in the first three qualities above indicated, and totally devoid of the fourth, his place as one of our foremost writers of fiction may be said to have been established. In the course of these twenty years, though eight or ten stories have come from his pen, his vein seems to be by no means exhausted. It is hardly too much to say that every successive book has shown not merely a development of his original qualities, but the acquirement or manifestation of new aptitudes. *The Return of the Native,* published in 1878, first revealed a capacity for "describing a scene and colouring it with a mood" (to borrow an apt phrase from Mr. Quiller-Couch), of which former works had shown little more than indications, though looking back one can see that it was there. This faculty of catching, as it were, the essence of a particular aspect of external things, correlating it with an aspect of the human mind, and putting it into words so as to arouse the desired emotion in the reader, is one of which it is easier to feel the presence than to define the nature. It is very capriciously distributed, being quite distinct from what is called "word-painting." Many writers who can call up a scene with great cleverness before the reader's eye seem to be quite without it. Indeed, it is possible to be a very great writer of fiction, and yet lack this particular faculty; just as it is probably possible to be an intelligent and appreciative reader and judge of fiction, and yet be unsusceptible to its operation.

Perhaps a few instances may make the position clearer; though here again so elusive is the faculty, and so dependent for its operation on the reader's own mood, either habitual, or at the moment of reading, that it would be no surprise to find that someone or other took an exactly contrary view of all, or any of them. To the present writer, however, it seems that Chaucer has the faculty—there is the whole mood of Spring in the opening of the Prologue; while Spencer, with all his power of describing, had it little or not at all. Milton had it, but not Dryden; Cowper, but not Keats; Shelley, but not Byron, though Byron tried hard for

it. These are all poets, and indeed it was probably not till the present century was well advanced, and prose fiction had become a great branch of imaginative literature, that examples of this faculty can be found in modern prose. It is not very conspicuous in Sir Walter Scott,* though his lesser namesake Michael had a double portion of it. Even in one who has never visited the tropics, certain passages in *Tom Cringle* and *The Cruise of the Midge,* read first in childhood, still retain undiminished their power of calling up a particular mood. Dickens had it; Thackeray far less. Charlotte Brontë had it, Emily perhaps even more (though this is from a vague and distant recollection); George Eliot had little or none of it.

Anyone who from this very sketchy attempt at definition and illustration can see what the faculty in question is, can hardly fail to recognize its presence in abundant measure in Mr. Hardy's work. As has been said, *The Return of the Native,* though not in all respects one of his best stories, was the first in which it was conspicuous. There are scenes in that book of which, even when the details are forgotten, the impression—the mood—is ready at the least touch of association to become perceptible again. The same may be said of certain parts of *Two on a Tower,* and even in a fuller degree of *The Woodlanders.* An anecdote may serve as an indication of the way in which the last mentioned book was able to tune the mood of at least some among its readers. Not long after it came out, two friends were walking through the country of coppices which lies on the border of Surrey and Sussex. *Apropos,* apparently, of nothing in particular (certainly there had been no mention of the book), one turned to the other, and said: "Have you——." Before he could get any further with his question, the other replied: "Yes, I have." "Well that's prompt," was the amused rejoinder. But it was all right. The sight of a heap of chips, the *débris* of some hurdle-making operation, had, by a sufficiently remote resemblance, been enough to call up with absolute certainty, in two minds still pervaded by the atmosphere of the book, a scene near its opening.

So much for Mr. Hardy as a craftsman. But it would seem, in these days, when so much emphasis is laid on the entire disconnection of art from everything but itself, and every suggestion of a moral or didactic aim on the part of the artist is so loudly repudiated, to be quite impossible for a novelist who claims to be anything higher than the merest romancer to abstain from delivering a thesis. Scott, it may pretty safely be said, never heard of "art for art's sake," yet one could hardly point to a single novel that has been produced by the professors of that doctrine, or honoured with

* As one instance of it, however, a friend calls attention to the passage in *Rob Roy,* vol. ii. chap. 16, immediately preceding the meeting with Diana Vernon, after Rob Roy's escape.

their approbation, which does not contain ten times more "preachment" than all the Waverley Novels put together. The theme, no doubt, does not vary much, but such as it is, it is enough to convert what should be a story into what is practically a dissertation. Let it be observed that this question, whether a work of fiction should teach, is quite distinct from another one, which is often apt to be confused with it, namely, that which relates to what has been called "the young person"; and both again are distinct from the question as to how far the artist ought—æsthetic, not ethic "ought"—to exercise any selection in respect of the subjects upon which he employs his art; and in anything I may have to say about Mr. Hardy's recent development, I shall endeavour to keep them quite distinct.

The first question could hardly have arisen in regard to any book written by Mr. Hardy until very recently. On the contrary, he seemed to stand aloof from his personages, watching with a kind of Olympian detachment their struggles in the web of their own actions. In the slang of modern criticism the characters have been "convincing," the events "inevitable." There has been a "moral," only as there is one to everything that happens in life; and if the general impression left by such stories as *The Trumpet Major*, perhaps the most satisfactory of all his books, or *The Woodlanders*, perhaps the most powerful, is that in the lives of most people, and especially of most good people, renunciation must always play a larger part than enjoyment, this is after all only the axiom that has been enforced by all sages and saints since the world began, to say nothing of most nurses. "You can't have everything" is a formula with which most of us have been familiar from our tenderest years; and, in truth, it lies at the base of social existence.

But to every axiom, to every formula, come periods when its authority in some field or another ceases to be taken universally for granted; and just now one of those periods seems to have set in with regard to those above mentioned. So far as they deal with the relations of men and women to each other the axiom is questioned, the formula is denied, and the "problem" results. Meanwhile literature, at all events that branch of literature which is now being considered, namely fiction, cannot but suffer. Fiction has no more to do with "problems" than *Paradise Lost* with demonstrations. In the case of ladies whose views of life are based on a hasty generalization from a limited experience of one or two among the less estimable of the opposite sex, or young gentlemen who have no experience at all save what they get from the perusal of French novels, the only harm done is at certain lowering of the standard of taste. If they did not write this sort of thing they would write nothing else. But when a man

possessing Mr. Hardy's power of observation and knowlege of human nature, conscious as he must be that upon the validity of the axiom, the authority of the formula, the whole fabric of society depends, when such a man gets caught by the fashion of the period, he turns upon society as if it were the creator of axiom and formula, instead of, in a sense, their creature, and rates it. And so we lose a good novel, and get instead what boys call a "jaw."

And, after all, extensive as Mr. Hardy's knowledge of human nature is, it is evidently incomplete, or else he has been guilty of what is surely unpardonable in a "realistic" writer, a suppression of a whole side of the truth. Life may not be "all beer and skittles," but neither is it all squalid, unredeemed tragedy; nor is it usually found that out of any dozen persons with whom we may fortuitously be brought into contact, there will not be one to whom can be attributed the possession of any elevated or generous feeling, together with sufficient resolution to act upon it. Yet in his latest story, *Jude the Obscure*, the reading of which has called forth these remarks, it may safely be said that Mr. Hardy has not given a hint showing any knowledge on his part that such people exist, and, indeed, except for a chance reference in one line—which readers may discover if they can—there is not a single mention in the whole book of any person for whose character one can feel either affection or respect. Surely such characters occasionally form an influence in the lives of the social class where Mr. Hardy finds his types. How, to take one conspicuous instance, can that be called other than one-sided realism which, in depicting such lives, totally ignores the parson? Strange as it may appear to the average "literary" mind, the parson in country districts is, as Mr. Hardy can hardly fail to know, not always either the unimportant, uninterested resident in the parish such as he appears, on the rare occasions when he does appear, in Mr. Hardy's books; nor yet the dictatorial priest whom it pleases other purveyors of fiction to imagine. When any efforts towards sanitary, social, or moral reform are made, it is ten to one that the parson is the prime mover; nor is he always the less popular or less influential therefor. If Mr. Hardy had used his eyes better when he was visiting the district whose external features he has described with a sureness and truth of touch such as hardly another living writer possesses, he would have seen a country-town which, fifty years ago was a bye-word among country-towns for decay, an asylum for criminals well-known to Bow Street runners, and has now (mainly —as the present writer may be allowed to remember—through the energy of one man, a member of the body which, if Mr. Hardy's picture be complete, plays no part in rural life) become a thriving and healthy centre of various work, directed chiefly towards the intellectual, moral, and social elevation of the class in which Mr. Hardy finds his Judes, his Arabellas, his Susannas. Or one

might refer him to the vicar of his "ceremonial church of St. Silas," whose devoted work has converted the suburb of "Beersheba" from a slum which could hardly be named in polite society to a decent artizan quarter. Surely men like these, and they are not solitary instances, are real elements that should not be ignored in anything that claims to be a faithful picture of rural life and its possibilities.

As to the second question, whether a certain instinct which forms a most important factor in human life and society should be treated by the novelist as non-existent, or existent only when kept within the bounds prescribed by recognized morality, one can only say: "Has anyone whose opinion is worth a moment's consideration ever demanded that it should, or has any writer of consequence allowed his work to be trammelled by any such demand?" Of course it is quite possible for good work to be done without the question arising.

> "In Man's life
> Is room for great emotions unbegot,
> Of dalliance and embracements, unbegot
> Ev'n of the purer nuptials of the soul,"

says Mr. Watson—a rebuke which if it were heeded would, it may be feared, reduce to utter silence some of those to whom one would suppose it to be specially addressed. On many accounts, too, it may be well to direct the thoughts of the "young person" rather to those other emotions than to this particular one.

But to require the writer of fiction to confine himself within this limit, and to produce no work that had better be excluded from the schoolroom is absurd on the face of it. Such a requirement if logically enforced would put *Othello* on the Index; and if it be not a bathos to mention other works after that, would have deprived the world of *The Heart of Midlothian, The Cloister and the Hearth,* and *Adam Bede.* Only the matter is a grave one, and should be treated with gravity and reticence, and with as little insistence on detail as possible. A writer, who if he never produced sustained work of the calibre of Mr. Hardy's, had an immeasurably surer literary judgment, has left on record his dread of being, as he calls it, "shoved toward grossness" by a love of putting things plainly.* Where Stevenson saw "peril," Mr. Hardy deliberately wades in. It is all very well to talk about writing for men and women; but there are passages in Mr. Hardy's later books which will offend men in direct proportion to their manliness, and which all women, save the utterly abandoned—and it is not among these presumably that Mr. Hardy seeks his readers—will hurry over with shuddering disgust.

* R. L. Stevenson: *Vailima Letters*, p. 174.

This brings us to the third point. Is the artist in any way limited as to his choice of subject? Is the operation of killing a pig, to take an example from *Jude the Obscure*, with every physical detail faithfully reproduced, as legitimate a theme for artistic treatment as "Mystic Uther's deeply-wounded son," watched by weeping queens in Avilion? This is an extreme case of a question which may be, and is, endlessly debated; and only one aspect of it need be considered here. Probably it will hardly be denied that on any showing the artist should take pleasure in the exercise of his art. The idea that he exercises it with any moral end in view is, as we have said, repudiated; nor indeed, though the Society for the Protection of Animals have reprinted the passage in their organ, can one for a moment suppose that Mr. Hardy wrote in the interests of that estimable body. It is hard to see what third motive is possible. Then, does Mr. Hardy really take pleasure in contemplating the process of pig-sticking? Or is there, after all, a third motive, not more "artistic" indeed than the moral one, but not contrary to the facts of the human mind, though usually manifested at a less mature period of its development? Does he simply want to show that he "doesn't care," or, as it is popularly called, "defies Mrs. Grundy"? If so, he is surely sacrificing a good deal for a cheap amusement. Whatever sport may lie in the defiance of "Mrs. Grundy" there can be nothing more certain in literature than that a tendency to dwell on foul details has never been a "note" of any but third-rate work. The broad and not always seemly humour of Chaucer, or of Shakespeare himself, stands on another footing altogether. Humour possesses a wonderfully antiseptic property, and one cannot conceive any ordinarily healthy adult mind taking any harm from the *Reve's Tale*, or the jokes of Mercutio; though a refined mind might prefer humour of another order. But with what may be called the "night-cart" side of nature humour has nothing to do; and one need not, perhaps, wonder that Mr. Hardy, having deliberately chosen to depict that side, has—only for the time, let us hope—undergone a total suppression of his once delightful faculty for genially depicting its humorous side. Let him take warning by the terrible fate of M. Daudet, who, as we were told the other day, can see no fun in *The Jumping Frog*. To such a pass has long contemplation of the details of lives like those of his Saphos and Astier-Réhus brought the creator of the chamois who drank mulled wine, and the faithful camel! As for the "champion night-men," if the phrase may be permitted, the Flauberts and the Zolas, it would be impossible, by the wildest flight of imagination, to associate them with humour in any shape.

A. J. Butler.

THE IMPERIAL NOTE IN BRITISH STATESMANSHIP.

In a nation such as ours, which is still in the full tide of swift development, we must expect to find the national outlook constantly changing. Year by year, sometimes almost month by month, we are forced to take our bearings anew. There may seem to be a lull at times in this rapid movement, but we are soon awakened from any sense of repose to find how much the face of affairs is changed; how far we have advanced; how many fresh problems we have to study; how many new conditions we have to take into account if we would understand aright our national position, or form just estimates of our wisest course of action.

We must not chafe at this necessity for perpetual vigilance—this ever-renewed demand for thought and study. It is the happy though onerous result of vigorous life, and of the action that knows no pause which characterizes our race. It is our only alternative to the stagnation which would mean the beginning of decay.

The tireless activity of colonization and commerce which is constantly enlarging the range of British interest and influence abroad must be matched by constant and careful study of the facts at home. It must be matched, too, by ceaseless education of the popular mind. By some strange spontaneity of race or instinct the national life courses along the great circles of the globe; there is nothing left for us as citizens but to endeavour to accustom our minds to take the same broad sweep.

As each voter takes his part, however roughly or remotely, in shaping or giving expression to the national will, so each ought to know, in outline at least, the changing conditions of national existence. If this is true of the ordinary voter, what shall we say of those who stand in the front of public life, the men who steer the ship of state?

Argus-eyed—facing everywhere—and ever on the watch, the ideal British statesman of to-day must be, as he keeps guard over the broad field of national interests, or studies the processes of national growth. A mind alert, receptive—ready to take and assimilate new ideas—bold to face new problems—self-relian

enough to abandon old ruts of policy in order to meet new necessities—all this is required as seldom or never before of men who hold the helm of British affairs in this eminently constructive period of our history.

But the supreme need of all is breadth of view. Our system of party and representative government militates greatly against the widest political vision. It breeds narrowness; it magnifies out of all proportion local and temporary issues; it makes the politician live for the day, and represent the interests of his own immediate neighbourhood. But the Empire is getting more and more beyond the grip of the local politician, and the political party which does not fully recognize this fact will soon lose its hold over the Empire. Statesmen, in the broadest sense of the term, we must have; statesmen, one may almost say, of a peculiar type as compared with those of any other nation, or even with those who have gone before in our own.

Keen and competent, no doubt, they must still be to feel and measure the beating of the national pulse at the centre where the life is strongest. But they must be trained to make a sweeping diagnosis; they must know how to note and treat the symptoms in the great extremities.

They must be Empire thinkers—men able to give adequate study to the world-wide questions which now confront us in such rapid succession; willing to give close attention to the aspirations and tendencies of many millions of people outside the British Islands. They ought, therefore, to be men freed as far as possible from the necessity of nursing small constituencies, or of constantly stooping to the arts of the mere politician. Individuals of the type we fortunately possess; we can scarcely as yet say that we have what the circumstances demand, a class.

A class of men of this stamp is not produced by haphazard. But it may come—there are signs that it is already coming—in response to an urgent demand. It would perhaps come more quickly if Englishmen thoroughly understood how urgent the demand already is.

It is the manufacturing boast of Britain that she can turn out the article that the world requires. With her wealth, her leisured classes unspoiled by leisure, her culture, her energy, her vast range of selection, she can turn out the men required as well as the commodities; she can produce statesmen, no less than machinery, adapted for the most complicated work.

If the great political parties of England have regard to their own interests they will take care to breed a larger class of men specially qualified to stand for them in the fore-front of Imperial affairs. Not otherwise can they command the confidence of that

vast national constituency, scattered all over the globe, which looks and means to look at Westminster as the centre of British politics, and though as yet with no direct vote in Parliament, still, from sheer force of circumstances, constantly modifies British policy.

It is well to recall the minds of English statesmen to this great unseen constituency, which from a distance watches their movements with eager and interested attention. It is well to remind them that they stand before a different tribunal, and are measured by a different standard than their predecessors of even half a generation ago. If their electoral responsibility to this constituency is not direct, their moral responsibility is as complete as any, from the nature and vastness of the interests committed to their care. It is a responsibility which they may make up their minds to have pressed upon them more and more.

As the interests of the great colonies expand, and as they have more at stake in every movement of public policy, they naturally regard with keener and more critical eyes those who wield the supreme power of the nation. The facts of the case make their right to do this inherent, and nothing can well be more certain than that Colonial opinion will hereafter count more and more in determining the reputation and fixing the standing of British statesmen. No man will be able to secure this larger suffrage unless his political thought has about it what may be called the Imperial note.

Among men in English public life a few recognize this changed condition of things clearly enough—the majority see it but vaguely —some seem to shut their eyes to it altogether. Even among those who are already in the foremost rank these last are sometimes found, strange as the fact may seem.

A general remark is best understood from a particular instance, and to tell the truth it is a very special instance which has primarily suggested the remark.

Mr. Asquith is one of the rising hopes, probably in home politics the most promising hope, of the Liberal Party. His reputation at the University, the intellectual distinction which has marked his whole career, and his practical success at the Bar and in Cabinet Office have stamped him as a man who might be expected to go anywhere in political life. He has exhibited qualities which go a long way towards marking him out as a possible aspirant at some future day to the leadership of his Party, and hence to the highest Parliamentary position of all. He has unflagging energy, a courage which is not afraid even of Party criticism, determination, independence as well as power of thought, a lucidity and brilliancy of exposition which counts for almost more than eloquence. But

when we begin to think of him in connection with Imperial, as distinguished from home politics, one is constantly compelled to ask if he does not deliberately place upon his own mind limitations which preclude him from ever being seriously thought of as the guiding spirit of a great political party which may at any time be required to direct the policy of the Empire. Those who have watched his utterances with the closest attention find it difficult to recall a single sentence that he has ever used in his position as a Cabinet Minister, or as an ordinary Member of Parliament, which would show that he even knows of the existence of a British Empire which lies outside the confines of the British Islands. There is no indication that his imagination has ever in the slightest degree been touched by those great facts of Colonial development which are steadily revolutionizing the conditions of British national life, and which must in the long run have a preponderating influence on British policy.

To that large section of the British people who are outside the United Kingdom, and who study with interested attention the new figures which appear on the horizon of English politics, a case like that of Mr. Asquith's is, to say the least, difficult to understand. They refuse to believe that a man of this temper or tendency is fitting himself to give adequate guidance to an Empire which covers one-fifth of the world. And they are right.

An Imperial Parliament, if it is to justify its name, must be imbued with an Imperial spirit, and must be a centre of Imperial knowledge. The leaders of such a Parliament must reflect the highest spirit and the fullest knowledge of the whole body. If they cannot do this they are not masters of their business; they have not caught the key-note of the national life. Whatever they may accomplish in the narrower sphere of home politics, they fall short of that which marks the Imperial statesman.

It is because he has not caught this note that in the out-lying parts of the Empire Mr. Asquith's career is regarded with a certain feeling of disappointment, and he has come gradually to be looked upon rather as an able lawyer, a powerful debater, and a clear-headed administrator, than as the coming statesman of the nation. It is just possible that this satisfies his highest ambition, and that he does not himself value the outside opinion referred to. But the friends who know his power and have hoped the greatest things for him can scarcely believe this, and they deeply regret the limitations which he places upon himself. They ask if a mind otherwise so earnest and so admirably equipped might not be roused to a consciousness of what is manifestly a defect in imagination. Study might do this, but travel would be more effectual. If Lord Rosebery would induce Mr. Asquith to make such a tour of the Empire

as the ex-Premier himself made in earlier days, and from which he returned with a new warmth of political enthusiasm and a new breadth of political vision, he would be doing a great service to his Party, while opening up new horizons to his ablest colleague. That public men of force and penetration, but lacking imagination, of whom Mr. Asquith may be taken as a type, should go and see for themselves, is all Imperialists ask. Once let them learn how large a part of the national life, and how wide a field of national hope is to them a sealed book and there need be no fear of the results.

While one refers to Mr. Asquith as a conspicuous example of the mistake which English statesmen make from the personal and party point of view, when they forget, or even seem to forget, what the Empire has now become, other names might well come within the same category. Sir William Harcourt's thought has rarely seemed to reach beyond the constituencies of the United Kingdom. Mr. John Morley's attitude towards Colonial and Imperial questions has been for the most part one of cold criticism. Mr. Gladstone's greatest weakness as a statesman lay in an insufficient conception of the expansion of the Empire, and of the vast external interests thus created for the nation.

This attitude of mind has no necessary connection with the fact that the statesmen mentioned are members of the Liberal Party, as is sufficiently proved by recalling the names of Lord Rosebery, Mr. Bryce, and the author of *The Problems of Greater Britain*. It is probably more the difference between men who have travelled widely and those who have not. But it has weakened the hold of that Party upon opinion in the outlying parts of the Empire, as every impartial observer will concede.

Save for the presence of Lord Rosebery in Mr. Gladstone's last Cabinet, the accession to power of a Government so many of whose members were manifestly indifferent to, or unacquainted with, Colonial affairs, would have been regarded by British people abroad as fraught with possible disaster. There is a good deal of reason for supposing that this same feeling was reflected not a little in the constituencies at home, so readily does opinion now project itself around the globe. This state of things—this dependence of a great party upon a single one of its leaders for the ideas which are, beyond all others, vital to national welfare—is a party mistake and a national danger.

I think it may be safely laid down as an axiom that any man who would hereafter stand in the front rank of British politics must recognize, understand, and sympathize with the Empire. It is safe to say, in addition, that the man who understands it most thoroughly, and sympathizes with it most fully, is the one best fitted to rule it.

It may be urged that all the greater leaders of national politics cannot be expected to turn their attention to Imperial matters, and that only a few should be required to give that special study to them which furnishes the equipment of knowledge needed to direct policy. I doubt if even such a limitation can be admitted. The Home Secretary who may be Premier to-morrow cannot be merely a Home Secretary without vitiating his qualification for the higher post. A British Premier getting out his maps to study for the first time where the various parts of the Empire lie may have been possible fifty years ago, but he would be an anachronism to-day. Equally is he an anachronism if his first note of sympathy with the broad Empire which looks to him has yet to be spoken. A long course of Imperial thought and training must be accepted as the necessary prelude to the highest Imperial responsibility.

All that has so far been said is curiously emphasized by recent events. The score which Mr. Chamberlain has made in political life is admitted to be one of the most decisive obtained for a long time. It cannot be doubted that his achievement is due to his success in catching the Imperial note of statesmanship of which I have spoken. In the usually hum-drum Colonial Office he has found an opportunity to prove himself the strong man who knows his own mind, who knows the popular mind, and who has the knowledge, the courage, and the capacity to express clearly and decisively the will of a great nation. This is the kind of man that nations watch and wait for when their highest work is to be done.

Nowhere has the development of Mr. Chamberlain's political thought and career been watched with closer interest than in the colonies. There was a time when there, as elsewhere, he was regarded chiefly as a municipal reformer and organizer. But he went to Egypt and studied Britain's work there, he negotiated a great colonial treaty at Washington, he visited Canada, he began to make wider studies in questions of trade and commerce. The steps by which he has gradually advanced until he has made himself one of the clearest exponents of British Imperial thought have been followed with the closest attention. In him has been recognized that openness to new ideas, and that capacity for growth which seem to be the necessary supplements even to great intellectual power if a man is to be a statesman of the Empire. May we not hope that his success will point out to others the road that leads to the fullest political career ?

Let no young politician think that one or two large names fill up in the British Empire the whole path to national distinction.

The future of British statesmanship is immense. Not in one

only, but in many directions it manifestly presents opportunities without parallel either in the present or the past. The statesmen of many European nations can hardly hope in coming years to do more than tread the old and beaten round of constitutional change, of political reform, or of social regulation. In the further progress even of the United States, now that the first exhilarating rush of rapid growth is over, there seems likely to be a vast uniformity of development somewhat deadening to interest, and tending to monotony. But before the statesmen of our British Empire lie problems as varied as they are vast—problems of the north and south—of the east and west—of almost every race and clime—of nascent as well as of ancient civilizations—of lands and peoples fresh with the dew of youth upon them, and others whose roots of law and custom and tradition stretch far back into the remotest past. For the statesmen of a people which, as yet, shows no sign of decay there ought to be in all this much that is stimulating and inspiring.

What diplomacy can be more interesting than that of a nation whose widespread territories march with those of almost every civilized and uncivilized race on the face of the globe? What training in practical politics so varied as that which can be gained in a state which includes democratic countries like New Zealand or Canada, provinces working through almost every stage of self-government, and at the same time vast communities like those of India, in which anything save a firm and kindly despotism acting on clearly defined principles seems to be out of the question?

For business genius, how large beyond all past experience are the questions of national trade, finance, and currency now coming up for practical consideration within the Empire?

In the organization of national resources—in the development of communications by sea and land—in the application of the combined resources of large communities for the accomplishment of vast enterprises, no nation has ever before offered such opportunities.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is the final court of appeal from every part of the Empire, has to-day to deal with questions of English law which come before it from Provinces such as Ontario, New Zealand, or Victoria; with Roman and Dutch law from the Cape and Guiana; with French law from Quebec and Mauritius; with Hindoo and Mahommedan law from India. How wide a range is here presented for the study of comparative law; how vast a field for the legal genius which would attempt to simplify and harmonize the jurisprudence of the nation!

In dealing with the complex social problems of the age, again—the problems of population, industry, emigration, and so on—what

unparalleled possibilities lie before a nation which, at the centre, represents the greatest accumulations of wealth and energy which the world has known; at the circumference, has the area of untilled continents on which to work out its solutions. So one might go on enumerating the widening horizons of effort and achievement which open before us.

British statesmanship has, I repeat, an immense future. But nothing is more certain than that to fulfil itself it must carry with it the Imperial note—it must deal with the Empire as a whole; it must appeal to the entire national constituency.

When it does this with knowledge and sympathy it can reckon on having all the national forces behind it. And it needs them.

Recent events have given British people a rude awakening.

The possibility of war with two great nations has led to a swift measuring of the resources available to meet imminent peril, and has driven people back upon the ultimate considerations of national life. It has been made clear that however we gained our Empire—whether by deeds of war or arts of peace—we can only hold it by our own strong arm. The Emperor William's telegram proved how little dependence we can place on European consideration. President Cleveland's Message opened the eyes of Englishmen to the fact that they cannot rely on friendliness outside their own nation, even where they most expect it. It showed in a great kindred people the existence towards Britain of an active spirit of hostility ready to flame out spontaneously and without any substantial reason.

It is an ugly fact, but nevertheless a fact manifest enough now, that the mass of American people might easily be stampeded into a war with Britain, even in face of their own better judgment. The revelation has not been a pleasant one, but it has its great compensations. It has made us understand the strength of our own national position better than ever before.

In the face of Mr. Cleveland's Message Canadian feeling became instantly and spontaneously an unit. There was absolutely no discordant note from one end of the country to the other. The formal resolutions of unswerving faith in the Empire, passed later in both the Dominion and Ontario Parliaments, merely placed on record sentiments and determinations which had found full expression long before through every channel by which the popular mind makes itself heard—the press, the pulpit, the platform. They found utterance freely wherever men exchanged their thoughts. This was with full knowledge of the fact that Canada would be the probable battle-ground on which any difference between Britain and the United States would have to be fought out.

Whether Canadian courage, in fearlessly facing the prospect of a struggle with the huge nation adjoining was justified or not, it at

least required no bluster to keep it up. Nothing struck an observer more than the grave, subdued, and at the same time absolutely resolute tone in which the question was discussed. Nor was the feeling in other parts of the Empire less decisive, though perhaps, for the moment, less significant. It must be reckoned a great triumph for so vast a State as the British Empire thus to have had demonstrated to the world the fact that it has retained the complete and unqualified allegiance of all its greater members. This means prestige, at least, if not power. Doubtless Canada and the other colonies were more willing than ready. But it is the work of national statesmanship to change willingness into readiness. There can be little doubt that the events of the last few months have created special opportunities for doing this. There will, of course, be delays and difficulties.

In the great colonies, quite as much as in Britain, the necessity for breadth of political outlook is the supreme demand of the time and must be urged as vigorously. It has been no easy thing for Canada since Confederation to entirely shake off the provincial spirit and to find statesmen able and willing to look at the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific as a whole, and to think of it also in practical ways as part of the Empire. That the same difficulty is felt in Australia is shown by the inability of the different colonies to carry out their manifest destiny of political consolidation.

But progress has been made. The number of men in public life abroad, who are strenuously thinking for the Empire, and urging preparation to give strength to the Empire, increases, and the temporary imminence of national danger has infinitely strengthened their hands. A thrill of pride ran through the Colonies as they saw the resolute stiffening of the British back-bone in the face of national peril. Equal pride was felt in the cool, clear-headed and dignified diplomacy, which gave expression to the national courage, in contrast with the petulance and bluster which evoked it.

The "splendid isolation" of the Empire, and the splendid audacity with which the Mother Country has acted in this isolated position, have produced a profound impression among British people abroad. The picture of a Britain in the future looking to her Colonies and Dependencies, and to them alone, for support in any great struggle has been suggested to men's minds. It may take long to realize, but seldom has national statesmanship had presented to it a more inspiring possibility.

Educate, educate, educate, must still, for this end, be the motto and the effort of British patriotism at this period of change and rapid development. From knowledge of national affairs we have everything to hope—from ignorance everything to fear. Education

in the large citizenship of the Empire must be made to reach all classes and conditions of men. The schoolboy who learns what the Empire means, the opportunities it affords to all, the wonderful sense of kinship and the security of citizenship which it gives over a large portion of the world, will become a truer patriot for this knowledge. The working-man who has clearly pointed out to him the conditions of national prosperity; whence are drawn the supplies of food and raw material on which he works; or where markets are to be found for his manufactured goods; who has been made to understand the means by which security is given to a commerce which is borne upon every sea, and what the safety of commerce means to him individually, is less likely to give a vote for petty local reasons when the supreme interests of the nation are at stake than he would be if left in ignorance of these questions.

A great deal has already been done in this direction. There can be little doubt that the clear and decisive note of national feeling which has rung out all round the Empire during the last few months of crisis and danger has been the result in part of the education of public opinion on national affairs which has for some time been going on. The Colonial Secretary of twenty or even ten years ago could scarcely have hoped to find behind him so great a weight of public opinion as Mr. Chamberlain has had to support him through the late crisis. He reaps the fruit of the labours of men who years ago began to realize the things which are now coming true.

This work of popular education must still go on. But popular education is not everything. Our statesmen, one and all, must learn that it is with a World Empire that they have to deal. Till they have learned this lesson even Mr. Asquith and Mr. Morley, with all their ability, cannot be looked upon as British statesmen in the widest and fullest meaning of the term.

G. R. Parkin.

Upper Canada College, Deer Park, Ontario.
April 4th, 1896.

G.W.R. MECHANICS INSTITUTION NEW SWINDON

THE UNIONIST LEADERS.

I.—LORD SALISBURY.

It should not, perhaps, surprise us that, after ten years of disappointed prophecy, the Radicals have ceased from predicting the early disruption of the Unionist alliance. So many excellent trains of reasoning have proved delusive, and events have so often and so cruelly left them in the lurch. They had hoped so much from their theory of "incompatibilities of temper" among the chiefs of the alliance; they had relied so cheerfully, at any rate for a year or two from 1886 onwards, on the notorious fact that Lord Salisbury was "a leader who could not lead," and Mr. Chamberlain "a follower who would not follow"; they had consoled themselves so thoroughly for the stability of the Unionist compact up to 1892 by the assurance that it must fall to pieces at the next General Election; they had drawn such plentiful supplies of fresh encouragement after that event from the reflection that a political organism which had flourished in the sun of power, would perish in the cold shade of opposition; they had, in fact, so often and so vainly rebuilt their ruined prophecies, that one can hardly wonder at their having no heart to reconstruct them once more on the basis of the new proposition that Liberal and Conservative Unionists, however well they might have hit it off with each other in mere Parliamentary cohabitation, could not keep house together in Downing Street. Not, of course, that this prediction has been absolutely unheard in the ranks of the Radicals. It has been put forward from a few quarters, and supported by the usual Radical analysis of the respective characters of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain; but the thesis itself has been advanced only in a half-hearted sort of way, and its supporting arguments have not been developed with any spirit. We have not been treated to any elaborate disquisitions on the mutual oppugnancies, in aim, in temperament, and in traditions of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies; nor has it been proved by Radicals, as we expected it would have been, to demonstration that, even if the latter were not the born *mauvais coucheur* that he is, it would be impossible for him, having regard either to his past or his future, to efface himself in a departmental office.

Of course, however, it is just possible that this reserve on the part of the Radical prophet has been due not so much to his conception of Mr. Chamberlain's character as to his view of the position of Mr. Chamberlain's chief. His theory may be that Lord Salisbury, and the Conservative-Unionists have been "captured," by their Liberal allies, and that the very magnitude of their electoral conquests, and of the temptation which it offers, has been fatal to the resistance of the Tory remnant. There have, indeed, been signs that this line of argument might be taken. Eight months ago, when the great Unionist victory of 1895 was an event of but a few weeks old, the enquiry, "What will they do with it?" was naturally the most "familiar in the mouths" of victors and of vanquished alike. No less naturally, too—at least with a people so demoralized as we are by long conversance with that legislative "cheap jack" competition known as "Party politics"—it was assumed by both parties that the question, what was to be "done with" the great victory, resolved itself mainly into a speculation on the future contents of the Statute Book. For what, they asked themselves, these unconscious debauchees of our Party system,—what is the use of a Parliamentary majority except to legislate, and what, it was added by some of them, is the use of a big Parliamentary majority except to carry "big" legislative measures? Lord Salisbury, having been returned to power at the head of the largest body of followers which any Prime Minister has had at his back for sixty years, might (said they) be confidently expected to "set his mark upon the history of the country," as the equivocal phrase is, by the devising and execution of some vast and heroic, but vague, policy of social legislation, which would solve the gravest economic and industrial problems of the time, diffuse prosperity and contentment among every class of the community, and, above all, "dish" the Radicals to the point of extinction as a political Party.

Such was the talk which was current in Neo-Conservative circles last autumn, and in the course of some remarks which the situation at that time suggested to me,* I ventured to submit certain reasons for regarding these calculations as chimerical. The reasons thus adduced reposed partly on a basis upon which one is always glad, whenever possible, to obtain a foundation for one's arguments—I mean "the nature of things"; and partly on an estimate of the character of persons. I endeavoured, that is to say, to show, first, that the posture of affairs abroad was such as to make too engrossing demands on the attention of the Government to allow them much leisure or energy for the elaboration of ambitious experiments in domestic legislation; and, secondly, that even were it otherwise, the present Prime Minister is the last

* *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1895.

man to engage in them. The time which has elapsed since these views were published is, of course, too short to have afforded any conclusive proof of their soundness; but it may at least be said that events so far have displayed a friendly spirit towards them. Foreign affairs have formed a subject of incessant and anxious pre-occupation to the Government almost from the moment of their accession to office; and their first Parliamentary programme, though of considerable, no doubt of undue, length, lends no shadow of justification to the theory that their legislative policy will be of the heroic order. This, at any rate, should be enough to complete that cooling process which the national mind, still ebullient last autumn with the fervent heat of one of the hottest elections on record, has ever since been undergoing, and to enable the country to contemplate its public men in general—and in particular those who have now the control of its affairs—from a re-adjusted focus, and with a calmer gaze.

So regarded, the figure of Lord Salisbury has by this time, no doubt, recovered its true outlines in the public eye; and it may be that some of those who surveyed it a few months ago under the disturbing influences of political excitement are reflecting with some confusion on the fantastic caricature of the Prime Minister which these influences seem to have conjured up. Presumably they view him now as his countrymen, in all seasons of unclouded judgment, have ever viewed him—in the exclusive aspect, that is to say, of a great Foreign Minister to whom the nation gladly turns for counsel and guidance in international affairs, and on whom it confidently relies to bear the interests and the honour of the Empire unscathed through every danger, but from whose initiative or impulse they would no more think of expecting vast experimental projects of "social legislation" than they would think of looking among the characteristic qualities of a statesman for the peculiar gifts of a promoter of companies. Moreover, it may perhaps have occurred to these awakened minds that one of the causes of Lord Salisbury's overwhelming triumph at the polls last year was the very belief of the constituencies that he is *not* addicted to legislative experimentalizing, but might be counted upon to give a wearied and disgusted nation a welcome respite from the incessant agitations of those who are. To this, and to the national conviction that the Statute Book is very well as it is, and that for some time to come the political, commercial, and industrial position of our country in the world abroad is likely to have a far closer bearing on her material prosperity than the state of her municipal laws—it is in these ideas that we must seek the main factors in that victory of the Unionists which has conferred such unprecedented power upon their leader.

Nor could events, foreseen and unforeseen, have more signally justified the wisdom of the national choice. It is, indeed, the unforeseen which have most emphatically attested it; and it is in dealing with the international difficulties which were in existence when he came into office that the Prime Minister has been least successful. His handling of the Armenian question has subjected him to the one serious and conspicuous check in a long and singularly successful diplomatic career. The word conspicuous is, in fact, peculiarly appropriate to the case; for while the check may well have been unavoidable, Lord Salisbury cannot be acquitted of the responsibility of advertising it. The Anglo-Franco-Russian negotiations which led up to—though they do not on the only public record of them explain—our defeat at Constantinople, may have a secret history which has left no traces in the Blue Books; but in its absence the precise line taken by the Foreign Secretary is extremely difficult for any outside critic to account for. It is no new thing for English, or for that matter for European, diplomacy to retire foiled by the sheer *vis inertiæ* of the Ottoman Porte. The resisting and repelling power of the "feather-bed 'twixt castle wall and heavy brunt of cannon-ball" is as nothing to it. That, of course, is among the commonest of common-places of popular knowledge, as also is the political impossibility of beating down the stolid resistance of Turkish diplomacy by the use of naval or military force. To fail in persuading and then to shrink from coercing the Turk is among the most familiar experiences of European diplomacy, and its most recent occurrence in connection with the Armenian Question, would never, but for Lord Salisbury's own public utterances, have struck the world as having inflicted on the English Government any particularly humiliating rebuff. Why Lord Salisbury delivered himself of these utterances,—why he warned the Sultan against the dangers of contumacy in language of such solemn menace that it was universally and reasonably understood as implying that the speaker saw his way to coercion in the event of his warning being disregarded,—is an enigma of the most perplexing kind. The Foreign Secretary knows his Turks well, he knows his France and his Russia well. No European statesman can be better acquainted with the fears and jealousies which agitate and divide the Continental Powers upon any prospect of a reopening of the Eastern Question. In other words, he must have known the weakness of his hand, and the gambler's temptation to "brag" upon a weak hand is a temptation by which no one has ever supposed him to be beset. Yet, in spite of all this, and in the face of the fact that Russia had months before declared in the plainest terms that she would not countenance any attempt to put physical compulsion on the Turkish Government, Lord Salis-

bury did, in November last, admonish that Government in words so distinctly minatory that to employ them without full assurance of the power to back them up by deeds seemed like gratuitously inviting the whole world to witness a defeat. Whether, as has been suggested in some quarters, Lord Salisbury had received recent encouragement to believe that that power would be forthcoming, or whether, for once in his life, he was tempted against his better judgment into taking a hand at "poker," is comparatively immaterial to my immediate purpose. For the moment I am considering facts rather than their explanations, and the fact undoubtedly is that in the matter of Armenia the Foreign Secretary has sustained the first conspicuous reverse which has befallen him during his diplomatic career.

This, however, is but one, and from the point of view of strictly British interests no very important episode in the history of our foreign relations. For the rest the country has had ample reason, even during the short period of the present Government's official life, to congratulate itself on their exchange of Foreign Ministers. Lord Salisbury succeeded to no inconsiderable inheritance of international difficulties from his predecessors; but it is the unexpected additions to them that have tried the Prime Minister's mettle. Not within living memory has any English Government been called upon, within the space of a few weeks, to deal with two such acute and dangerous crises as those which suddenly and successively confronted us in the course of December, 1895, and January, 1896. If the country had been gifted with prophetic vision it could not have more aptly chosen the moment for placing its affairs in the hands of the statesman on whom, beyond all others, it relies for the maintenance of our Imperial position. For this reliance, beyond all question, remains unimpaired. It is formed, not only on the public record of the Minister who enjoys it, but upon a sound national appreciation of his temperament and instincts—in fact, of his whole cast of character. The origin and growth of this appreciation has had a somewhat peculiar history. Lord Salisbury was close upon fifty years of age before he found his true political *métier*, or, at any rate, before the accidents of Party government enabled him to dedicate himself to it. But with every year that he has since passed in office he has more and more completely satisfied his countrymen of his "calling and election" to his favourite post. For the last fifteen years they have always thought of him as Foreign Secretary rather than as chief director, in the character of Prime Minister, of our domestic affairs.

His limitations, as well as his aptitudes, have no doubt contributed to the popular conception of his character. There has always been, or, at any rate, there has always seemed to be, a

certain effort visible in his discharge of the duties of the Party Leader. He has made concessions—adequate, perhaps, but certainly no more than adequate—to the modern demand upon a Prime Minister for platform oratory; but though he performs his duties in that regard with conscientious spirit and vigour while he is about them, it cannot but strike the observer that his performance is a matter of necessity and not of choice—that he mounts the "stump" with reluctance and descends it with relief. No doubt one of the attractions of the Foreign Office for him is that, of all the departments of the State, it is that to which popular criticism and popular demands have obtained least access, and the Minister in charge of it is the least frequently called upon to explain and justify his proceedings before popular audiences. Even in these democratic days it is possible even for a successful and trusted Foreign Secretary to feel something of that proudly inspiriting consciousness of power and that elevating sense of responsibility which nerved the will while it steadied the judgment of the men who have represented this country before the world in historic periods of the past; and one may suspect that it needs some such stimulus to Lord Salisbury's imagination to raise his interest in contemporary politics to the requisite pitch. A just conception of our Empire and of the stupendous task of directing its destiny may well stir in him the blood of his Elizabethan ancestors; and doubtless it is partly because he impresses other nations as a statesman hereditarily dedicated to the maintenance of our Imperial power and security that he wields the influence which is his. European Courts and Cabinets must know that to whatever external forces of restraint or deflection his foreign policy, like that of all English Ministers, may be exposed, there is no public man in England who stands surety for English interests and English honour under heavier recognizances of blood and name. Nor can it be doubted that, to the better informed and more educated of Lord Salisbury's countrymen, this constitutes the chief source of their contentment with his rule. It is in this aspect, and probably in this alone, that he impresses their imagination—nay, it may almost perhaps be said of many of them that it is only in this aspect that he shapes himself as a definite figure in their minds.

But never before has that figure been projected in such sharp and clear-cut outline against a background of events. It is hardly too much to say that the whole of the national history for the last four months has transacted itself within the walls of two public departments, the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office, the former engaging the exclusive attention of the public for the first part of this period, and sharing it with the latter during its second stage. The two crises through which we have passed have, each in its own

way, served to illustrate Lord Salisbury's two main characteristics as a Foreign Minister—one, the calm tenacity, the perfect temper, and the matchless controversial ability with which he pursues his diplomatic objects; the other, the swift decision and the proudly fearless spirit in which he is prepared, when challenged, to repel attack upon our interests and our honour by an appeal to arms. The Venezuela difficulty is not yet settled, and there is still a possibility—even if, as we hope is the case, there is no danger—of our Government being bounced or beguiled by bluster on the other side of the Atlantic, or by mawkish sentimentalism on this, into weak concession. But at least it must be admitted that Lord Salisbury's diplomatic management of the controversy through all its earlier phases up to and including that introduced by President Cleveland's outrageous message, and the war scare that followed it, was irreproachable. His superiority in argument and in manners was equally conspicuous, and his whole bearing throughout the dispute set an example of dignity and calmness which the country instinctively followed. It is easy to say that "nobody in England believed in the possibility of war with the United States over a frontier question in British Guiana"; but, no doubt, the same observation would be true of nineteen out of twenty sensible Americans not engaged in the discredited profession of "politics," or the irresponsible business of spread-eagle journalism. Yet this did not prevent the whole, or nearly the whole, of articulate America from echoing or approving Mr. Cleveland's menacing language. Whether two nations, neither of which really want to go to war with each other, could be worked up to actual fighting pitch by their politicians and journalists is a point which has never yet been determined; but no one wants to see the experiment too vigorously and pertinaciously tried, and it is certainly desirable, therefore, that the diplomacy and press of our own country, at any rate, should decline to assist at it. Lord Salisbury's refusal to render any such assistance was resolute, and his countrymen never felt a moment's temptation to help the American mischief-makers on their own account.

Very different, however, was the history of the other and more serious international crisis through which we have recently passed. There the Government and the country were not united in a common and sympathetic indifference to the provocation offered them. On the contrary, the feelings of the English people were on this occasion more deeply and dangerously stirred than they have been since the year 1854. It is the deliberate opinion of many men who have been close and constant observers of political events for the best part of a lifetime, that the nation has never

within living memory been urged by its natural impulses of wounded pride and indignation so close to the brink of war as it was during the days which immediately followed the publication of the German Emperor's offensive telegram to President Kruger. Other causes of international jealousy, no doubt, operated to embitter English resentment — industrial rivalry in our own country, industrial and colonial rivalry abroad. And comparatively unfelt though it had been in itself, yet the very recency of the American provocation undoubtedly tended to render this new and sudden attack upon us more exasperating than it would have been. But without attempting to assign their respective shares of influence to each of these combining causes, certain it is that their combination aroused a feeling throughout the whole body of the English people to which they have long been strangers, and of which, indeed, in the opinion of some of their critics they had ceased to be susceptible. There was a brief but unmistakable outbreak of the war-fever, and it is beyond question that, during its acute phase, the great majority of Englishmen would have welcomed an actual outbreak of hostilities between England and Germany with something like enthusiasm. By what timely recognition of, and response to, this national excitement, its tension was abated, is matter of history; but no retrospect of the crisis can fail to arouse emotions of profound thankfulness for the fact that the helm of the State was not at that moment in the hands which had so recently grasped it. Lord Rosebery is not personally wanting in the spirit which should become an English Minister at such an hour, and Lord Kimberley, one may readily believe, is at least not conscious of any deficiency in that respect. Nevertheless, there is, I think, a very strong probability that if the late Government had held the reins of power during the month of last January, we should at this moment have been blockading German ports in the Baltic, perhaps as an incident in a general European war.

For though Lord Kimberley would doubtless have penned admirable despatches to our representative in Berlin, and though he might not improbably have used commendably firm and spirited language to the representative of Germany at the Court of St. James, the one thing which we cannot conceive his advising, or imagine his chief being able to do without breaking up his Cabinet, is precisely the one thing which the situation demanded, and which Lord Salisbury and his colleagues resolved to do, and did without an hour's unnecessary delay. That is to say, we cannot for a moment picture to ourselves the immediate despatch of a flying squadron to South African waters by a Government of which, next to its chief, the most important member was the late Chancellor of

the Exchequer. Ministers might, and no doubt would, have been prepared to say anything, or to write anything that seemed appropriate to the occasion; but to *act*, and to act with the swiftness and resolution displayed by the present Government, to respond to the half-veiled threat of German military intervention in South Africa by an English naval demonstration on its coasts—is there any impartial mind in the country which can persuade itself that the late Government was capable of this? I cannot believe it. Such a step would have been pronounced by Sir William Harcourt posing as the "still strong man" to be mere music-hall jingoism; the brutality of its naked display of force would have pained and shocked Mr. Morley's sensibilities in the highest degree. Yet, beyond all doubt, the step was one necessary to the preservation of peace, and that not so much because of its admonitory effect upon the foreigner as because of its tranquillizing influence upon our own people. The instant readiness of Ministers to resent not only attack, but affront, was no less instantaneous in allaying the excitement of the nation. Feeling that their Government was in thorough sympathy with their stirred indignation they naturally felt also that the national interests and honour were safe in that Government's charge.

What would have happened under a Rosebery-Kimberley-Harcourt Administration is a question on which it is uncomfortable to speculate. Whatever such an Administration would have said or thought of the great crisis in January last, I think I may say without much fear of contradiction, that they would not have accomplished the feat with which their successors have been ruefully credited by a Radical critic. They would not "within five days have despatched a flying squadron equal in strength to the entire German navy." It is, indeed, extremely probable that they would not have replied to that suddenly hostile move on the part of the German Emperor—or rather, as there is now the strongest reason to suspect, of the German Government—by any countermove whatsoever of their own, but would have simply sat still and delivered lectures, no doubt with much spirit and eloquence, over the diplomatic chess-board; the consequence of which would have been either that the menace of German interference in South Africa would have been more or less promptly followed by interference in actual fact, or else that the English storm, whether so aggravated or not, would speedily have developed such "dangerous energy" as to sweep a halting Ministry before it into war. That the nation has been saved from this catastrophe is solely due to the swift and spirited backing which Mr. Chamberlain's vigorous diplomatic action in the Transvaal received from his chief and colleagues. The Colonial Secretary deserves all praise for the

promptitude which put the German Emperor in the wrong and ourselves in the right, but that position once attained, we have to thank the Government as a whole, and the Prime Minister as its head, for having so instantly notified our determination to defend it in arms. A nation which is thus served by those to whom it has committed its interests and honour, will go far in trusting them; and it is largely due to this that Ministers, in the face of much plausible Opposition criticism, have been able to carry the whole country with them, uninformed but unquestioning, in their adventurous Egyptian policy.

Nor can there be any doubt that the Transvaal incident has strengthened the bond of confidence between Lord Salisbury and his countrymen by the interplication with it of a strand of sympathy which it has hitherto lacked. It is a commonplace of his Radical detractors that his nature is wanting in what they are pleased to call "popular fibre." In the meaning which they intend it to convey—in the sense that is to say, that the Prime Minister is in the habit of treating "great schemes of social amelioration" with the critical solvents of the statesman instead of with the rhetorical gush of the sentimentalist—the charge is one which no true Conservative can regard with any other feeling than contempt; but there is also, no doubt, a sense in which the accusation would be a serious one, and its truth, if true, a matter to be seriously deplored. A Minister whose lack of "popular fibre" should render him slow to apprehend and sympathize with the great movements of popular feeling when deeply stirred by some instant danger to the national interests, or gross affront to the national honour, would undoubtedly labour under a grave disqualification for his office. But this power of apprehension and sympathy is the precise gift which Lord Salisbury has proved himself in most critical circumstances to possess. A dangerous situation, the dangers of which the Radical and democratic friends of the people would in all human probability have aggravated by a stolid incapacity to perceive, was grasped by this Tory and aristocratic Minister in a moment. He would not, he could not, have measured the full perils of that storm of indignation which agitated the whole people, or have realized the urgency of taking immediate steps to allay it, if his sympathy with the great masses of his countrymen from the highest to the lowest had not been instantaneous and complete. In truth he was as much at one with them, as the well-abused "oligarchy" of the pre-Reform era always were at one with them, in every great crisis of the national fortunes—as much at one with them as was Chatham in our strife with France for empire, or as was Chatham's greater son in our struggle with Napoleon for existence.

He is reported to have said that during this week of acute crisis he had but one unvarying answer for the anxious representatives of foreign Governments who called upon him to enquire whether there was any probability of this country being involved in war. His uniform answer was that he could not say; that no English Minister could say; and that those who credited any such Minister with a power of determining the issue one way or another misconceived the character of the English people. "Given a certain condition of public feeling, it would be as impossible," he assured his interviewers, "for any English Government to keep the nation out of war as it would be, if an opposite mood prevailed, to force them into it." Let us allow for a touch of politic exaggeration in words so obviously designed to impress foreign Powers with the then dangerously excited state of the national mind, and the language, after all such deduction made, will yet contain an ample residue of significance. And it is surely as frank and full a recognition of whatever there is of vital truth as distinguished from mere parasitical rhetoric in Radical tributes of homage to our "crowned democracy" as any reasonable man could desire. What it amounts to is an acknowledgment, from the statesman who makes it, that although he holds it no part of his duty to yield to every passing whim which represents itself as "the will of the people," there are vital moments in the people's history when they arise and, for a season, take their own interests and their own honour into their own hands; and that at such moments it is the part of their ruler, for the time being, to recognize that he is, and should be, but a passive instrument in their hands. To feel this is indeed to be "in touch" with the people in the true sense of the phrase, in the only sense in which it has not been debased to the uses of the wire-puller; and moderate Englishmen of either Party, or no Party, will be little moved by Radical gibes at Lord Salisbury's "antiquated aristocraticism," while they see that on that side of his public life, in respect of which his countrymen most eagerly seek and most highly value his services, he is so well abreast of his time.

H. D. Traill.

KAFFIR FINANCE.

THERE are far-sighted men in the City, but not one of them claims to have foreseen the development of that strange and fascinating phenomenon known as the "Kaffir Market." As a centre of speculation it has had no equal in the history of finance. Never before has such a maelstrom drawn together gamblers of all nations and kindreds and tongues. It seems incredible that the monstrous growth should be little more than ten years old. Johannesburg, of course, existed before then, and a number of Rand mines had even been introduced in London, but they had not got beyond a select circle whose headquarters were at Hatton Garden. There is a tradition in the American Railway market that it had the first offer of Kaffir business inside the House, but declined it rather disrespectfully. A Jewish firm of jobbers tried to run Kaffirs and Americans together; local sentiment, however, was dead against the combination. The innovators had at last to choose between the old and the new, and they decided—very wisely as it proved—to throw up Americans. They moved to the Broad Street end of the House, and started in a very modest way a novel market which has grown with the rapidity of Jonah's gourd, and now overshadows all its seniors. It covers more space than any three other markets in the House, and the pioneer firm which gave up Americans in its favour turned over last year more shares perhaps than all the American jobbers put together.

The "Kaffir Circus," which ten years ago was almost boycotted, is now the main centre of interest and attraction. Its Circean revels have proved irresistible. The most conservative of members had to yield to them in the long run, and streams of secessions from other markets continue even yet to swell the Kaffir crowd. Fortunes were made in it last year, some of which have been taken away and safely invested. The others will probably be scattered as suddenly as they were gathered. To get into a moderate connection as a Kaffir jobber was to earn two or three hundred pounds a day, with no risk and very little trouble, save having to bear the horrible din of a howling pandemonium. To be able to shout higher than anybody else was the chief, and almost the only

qualification for success. Intelligence and experience were superfluities. Where nearly all were ignorant alike about what they were dealing in, fools could "make prices" just as freely as wise men, and more so. Simply to "make prices" was to make money hand over fist, and Kaffir jobbers blossomed into plutocrats, set up their private hansoms, were welcomed into West End clubs, and flung about thousand-pound cheques as lightly as half-crown cigars. When they rose to the dignity of underwriting or syndicating new issues a single company might bring them in ten or twenty thousand pounds. In one memorable case thirty thousand shares were said to have been booked within an hour by an active firm, whose "turns" or profits must have averaged two pounds per share.

Throughout the early part of 1895 the public were ravenous for gold shares. They would snap at anything in the shape of a mine—American, Australian, and especially South African. At the outset there were only seventy or eighty Rand shares available, to choose from,and the run on them was so keen that it added fully five millions sterling per month to their market value. Between the end of March and the end of June, the hottest period of the boom, they appreciated from little more than seventy millions to nearly ninety millions sterling. These were, for the most part, *bona fide* mines, and included all the dividend-earning properties on the Rand. If the speculative mania had stopped at them not much harm might have been done, but once started it soon broke all bounds. Fresh creations had to be made at the rate of three or four companies per day in order to satisfy the demand for gambling counters. In course of the year nearly one thousand new mining companies were registered, the nominal capital of which exceeded one hundred and seven millions sterling. One-third of them were connected with South Africa, namely, 338 companies, with an aggregate nominal capital of forty-six millions sterling. Western Australia was favoured with as many more—342 companies—but their aggregate nominal capital was below the Kaffir level, being only about thirty-five millions sterling.

Nine-tenths of these new creations were, on the face of them, gambles. Scores of them were smuggled into the Stock Exchange by side doors, and could only be dealt in unofficially. Out of 960 companies, only 229 ventured to submit themselves to public criticism by advertising their prospectuses and otherwise complying with the regulations of the Stock Exchange. Of the hundred and seven millions sterling of new mining capital registered, the amount publicly advertised and subjected to Stock Exchange rules was less than a third, namely, thirty-four millions. The amateur speculator often thinks little of that distinction, but one day he may learn (to his cost) its importance. Shares fully

recognized by the Stock Exchange may be good or bad, but they have at least to be honestly dealt in. Shares not so recognized have more chance to be bad, and they may be manipulated without any check or control whatever. But somehow the so-called innocent public seem to have a fatal partiality for the shadiest cards in the pack. Brokers receive from remote corners of the Kingdom, where it might be supposed that no speculative mania could ever penetrate, orders to buy the most out-of-the-way shares which they have never before heard of themselves. The would-be purchasers cannot possibly know anything about them, but the names have struck their fancy, and one mine is as good as another to them.

Speaking from last year's experience it may be affirmed that two-thirds of the companies floated during a mining boom stand a poor chance of ever raising capital enough to break ground with. And even the other third, which give some *prima facie* evidence of good faith, begin in a very improvident way. The above-named two hundred and twenty-nine companies advertised last year confessed to a very watered capital. Fully one-half of their thirty-four millions sterling nominal was reserved as vendors' shares. The smaller half, amounting to £16,798,000, was offered for public subscription, but a large portion of it (£7,338,000) had also to go to the vendors. The balance left for working capital would, in the most favourable event, have been less than nine and a half millions sterling, or not much more than one-fourth of the whole capital on which dividends would have to be earned and paid if the company were to be a success. That is a fair statement of the financial basis on which the better class of mining companies are organized, and it may be imagined what sort of a financial basis the rotten ones have.

For every pound actually put into a joint-stock mine dividends have generally to be earned on three or four pounds, the nominal capital being invariably three or four to one of the working capital. Put this three or four pounds through a process of booming till you have it further loaded with premiums of 300 or 400 per cent., and every pound actually spent on the mine may have to earn dividends on ten or twelve pounds. That, however, is simple booming. It is not good enough for the Kaffir circus, which has invented an ingenious system of compound booming. A parent company breeds a number of babies and bŏoms them in turn, sells their shares on the top of the boom, divides the spoil among its shareholders, and finishes with a big flare up in its own shares. Typical examples of this might be selected by the dozen from last year's registration list, but one may suffice. Early in the year the parent company A was floated with a

capital of £60,000. During the spring it transferred part of its property to company B, which it floated with a capital of £140,000. In the following summer B's share was further subdivided, and a slice of it conveyed to a grandchild, C. In the interval speculative values had risen so much that this second slice was capitalized at £165,000—just four times the original valuation of the entire property.

After this preliminary glance at the philosophy of mining booms, we may now proceed to the special characteristics of the Kaffir boom. Various circumstances in the early history of the Kaffir market have impressed on it peculiarities of character it is never likely to lose. Its original association with the diamond trade infused into it a preponderating mixture of Jewish shrewdness and financial versatility. The Rand was an offshoot of Kimberley, and the diamond merchants of Hatton Garden had a considerable voice in the destiny of them both. The diamond mines were the first to draw attention to the mineral wealth of South Africa, and they furnished the means for thoroughly prospecting the Transvaal. They raised the Cape Colony from mutton and mealies to luxury and political power. Cape politicians found an entry through them into the good graces of New Court and the favour of the Colonial Office. They gave rise to the alliance between Mr. Rhodes and the Rothschilds which produced the Chartered Company, the Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, and a long series of history-making combinations.

These stood out from all previous financial ventures in the wide range of their ambition, the boldness and energy of their management and the universal interest they excited. The City and the Court were alike dazzled by them. They appealed to the popular imagination in all its wildest moods, offering a magnificent gamble combined with an imperial programme. The glamour of the new El Dorado spread to the Continent, and the Kaffir market became international. It penetrated into Cabinets and shaped a new policy for at least one European State. Who supposes that the African fever would ever have seized Germany so badly but for the diamonds of Kimberley and the gold of the Rand? Had these remained undiscovered there would probably have been no German colony in Namaqualand, no Zanzibar convention, no Transvaal crisis. If they were to disappear to-morrow, or—to keep within the limits of the conceivable—if the Bank of England were to cease monetizing gold and adding indefinitely to an already threatened glut of gold money, where would the Rand mines be? What would then become of the much coveted and courted Transvaal? How long would it take President Kruger and his valiant Boers to shrink back into their original nonentity? And when they had got

there, what would be left of German ardour and enthusiasm on their behalf?

If we go straight to the heart of this Transvaal problem it will show itself the most sordid and absurd cause of quarrel that ever arose between two great Powers. Gold gambling is bad enough as a periodic aberration of finance, but as an international feud on which millions of money are to be wasted and to which thousands of lives may be sacrificed, it is surely the climax of human infatuation. Whoever will soberly ask himself what is the real value to the world of the Rand or any other gold-field, will soon see how easily we may pay too high a price for it—not in cash only, but in human suffering and demoralization.

Let us do justice, however, to the stupendous energy which this singular movement has behind it. The Kaffir boom has eclipsed everything else of its kind, not only in magnitude, but in duration and intensity. Three reasons for that have already been incidentally mentioned—the high social and political prestige under which it was launched, the strong financial backing it enjoyed from the outset, and the widespread fascination which it exercised among all classes. Ever since there was a Stock Exchange mining booms have been of periodical occurrence. They have followed each other at intervals, and every new gold-field has had its little day, afterwards dying out or settling down into an organized industry. We had the Mysore boom in 1884 and the Queensland boom in 1887, but their frenzy was comparatively short-lived. After a year or two of wild speculation the gold mines separated themselves from the bubbles, and their shares passed into the hands of investors, while the bubbles drifted down the stream into liquidation. If the Rand had been an ordinary gold-field, under the control of ordinary financiers, it might have had the usual fate. But it was in many respects exceptional. Not only was it financed with unprecedented skill and success, but it had physical advantages altogether unique.

The Rand has, as a matter of fact, had two distinct booms. The first and smaller one laster from 1886 to about 1889, and embraced only a limited number of "outcrop" companies, that is companies whose claims were all on the outcrop or external crown of the reef. It produced a few very rich mines, such as the Robinson, Ferreira, and Langlaagte, which earn their dividends as regularly as a bank or a brewery; also many second-rate mines which having discounted their prospects too rashly overreached themselves and had to begin afresh on a new basis. The frauds and the fiascoes, a large majority of the whole, dried up, as their fate generally is in mining booms. Had the Rand, like so many of the older gold fields, remained in this first stage, it might have had fifteen or

G.W. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

twenty years of a humdrum existence, after the fashion of Ballarat or Gympie. During that period it would have produced so many thousand ounces per month and have yielded handsome returns to a select circle of professional operators, and beyond that the world might have heard little more of it. The Rand, however, had a higher destiny, and its first boom was a mere prelude to a much larger development.

About 1891 the so-called "deep level" movement began. When the older mines on the outcrop were coming within measurable distance of exhaustion, the idea occurred to mining engineers of sinking a second row of shafts to cut the reefs at lower depths. Thousands of claims were taken up on this second line, and a new group of companies was formed to work them. As the initial cost was to be heavy, large capitals were needed, and fine scope offered itself for wholesale financing. The deep level companies became favourite booming counters, and their shares were run up to fabulous premiums. One pound shares of the Rand Mines, for instance, were, at the height of the craze in September last, largely dealt in at £46. Premiums of 1,000 to 1,500 per cent. were thought little of. It was taken for granted that the deep levels would more than double the mineral resources of the Rand, and before one of them had been adequately tested they were valued in the market at a higher rate than many of the proved claims on the outcrop. They certainly furnished far greater facilities for speculation. South Africa had always been a country of magnificent distances, now it was also to be a country of magnificent depths. Forty, fifty, and even sixty years was to be the probable life of the new mines. The milling and cyaniding plants were to be on a par with the five thousand feet shafts. Everything was to be on a gigantic scale, and the dividends, though remote, when they did begin were to be princely.

But the promoters of the deep levels did not need to wait till they were in operation to make money out of them. That came to their hands very easily. They had only to mark off blocks of eighty or ninety claims from the many hundreds under their control and float them as sub-companies. In the rage for deep levels the new shares went off like hot cakes, and without moving a finger the parent company could rake in profits of five or six hundred per cent. The deep level companies do not pretend to have been superior to temptation. Most of them made hay while the sun shone—made it twice over in fact, for the fancy profits they realized out of the sub-companies enabled them to pay brilliant dividends on their own shares which the market promptly capitalized in a duplicate set of premiums. The deep level mines will do very well indeed if they earn in the next five years half as much as

was made last year by manufacturing shares and trading in them. One of the many promoting and speculating trusts acknowledged lately that it had cleared over three hundred thousand pounds on a portion of its holding in a single sub-company, and that it had still a large number of shares left.

Baby companies are the trump card of Kaffir finance. They are the great industry out of which Kaffir fortunes have been made as well as the chief source of the cent. per cent. dividends paid by the Consolidated Gold Fields, Barnato's Consolidated Mines, and other Kaffir trusts. The latter would be sorry to exchange their baby-farming profits for all the dividends earned on the Rand. Last year the total output of gold reported by the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines was 2,277,455 ounces, and its value in round numbers was eight millions sterling. The profit realized, as represented by the dividends distributed, was only £3,241,000. But one finance company, the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, claims to have made in the year ended 30th June, 1895, a profit of over two and a half millions sterling (£2,605,622). Had it come from *bonâ fide* mining it would have absorbed nearly five-sixths of the entire profits earned on the Rand. But the company make no pretence of having earned it in that way. Of the £2,605,622 gross profit, only £61,611 is said to have been derived from dividends on working mines! £2,540,918 is set down as "profits realized by sale of investments less losses written off," and £3,092 is credited to transfer fees. About 2 per cent. of the company's income was earned in South Africa, and 98 per cent. on the London Stock Exchange! In the first quarter of the current year the relative proportions were still more remarkable. On the prices of October 16th, 1895, the company's investments showed, according to the report, "a further unrealized profit exceeding £9,000,000." The dividends, estimated at the same rate as in 1894-5, had probably amounted to £16,000—only a small fraction of 1 per cent. as compared with the stock-jobbing revenue of the same period.

With such spoils dangling before his eyes, little wonder if the promoter's net was cast early and often. As the result of his activity, *nine hundred and fifty new companies* appear in the latest edition of *Burdett's Official Intelligence*. A large proportion of them have no registration in this country. The Stock Exchange committee declines to recognize them further than to grant them a special settlement under a new rule framed for the occasion, and Mr. Burdett mentions as a significant fact that out of 181 mining companies which settled under the new rule, "sixty-one had published no prospectus of any kind." Under these circumstances it has been hard enough for him to obtain information even about companies registered in England. "Un-

fortunately," he adds, "in the case of companies registered under the Transvaal laws the information available at the London offices has often been so meagre as to be practically useless. In one instance, when the London secretary's attention was drawn to a discrepancy in the company's report which he was unable to clear up, that gentleman explained that he knew practically nothing about the company's property, and so long as the public were content to buy its shares at a premium without knowing or caring to know anything about the company itself, he imagined that he and the other London secretaries would not be supplied with fuller information than they at present possessed." To this frank display of candour it need only be added that the Transvaal companies which keep themselves so carefully masked are not as a rule insignificant one-horse concerns. They include some of the most brilliant successes of Kaffir finance; companies which count their shareholders by the thousand and their capital by millions.

The severest critic of Kaffir finance cannot deny to it one notable quality, that of being up-to-date. There is nothing new or original in end-of-the-century methods which it has failed to turn to account. Fortune has favoured it in every conceivable way. When it was in low water chemistry came to its aid with the cyanide process which made mines pay that had never paid before, while paying mines paid all the more. Politics favoured it in the irresistible personality of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. The bimetallists very foolishly and unintentionally, did it a good turn by raising an alarm about an imaginary dearth of gold. The stock market was only too willing to play into the Kaffir financier's hands. Since the Baring crisis of 1890 it had been slowly dying of inanition and dry rot. Anything that promised to infuse a little new blood into it was welcome. So the boom of 1895 started off under the most brilliant auspices. What with strong leadership, vigorous touting, and a boundless substratum of popular credulity, it made quite an unprecedented splash.

Great is the Rand, but greater still are, or were, its prophets! Robinson, Rudd, Eckstein, Barnato, Beit and Company have been unquestionably the strongest combination ever formed to exploit the Stock Exchange. Previous to their time the Winchester House group had taken the palm for skill and ingenuity in the arts of the financial spider, but their short existence had ended in a cloud of bailiffs and receiving orders. On the surface nothing could have seemed more unlike than the cobweb creations of the Jabez Balfour brotherhood and the solid millions per month which were being coined on the Rand. "Banket" running fifteen pennyweights to the ton is, after all, a better material to boom than bubble trusts and American breweries; but a company-

mongering craze, however or wherever it may begin, invariably degenerates into the same old game in the end. It has its regular stages to pass through and its familiar manœuvres to play off on a greedy and by no means guileless public.

First, we have fairly honest properties presented to us which might do well enough if left to their natural development. Next we have second-rate properties, manipulated by second-rate financiers. Then come shady properties, the offspring of shady promoters, which increase in shadiness as their market widens. As the speculative fever spreads, rich reefs cannot be offered fast enough. Nature has limits even in South Africa, but the Kaffir financier has none. When raw material grows scarce he can create fresh supplies out of his own fertile brain. He can amalgamate, consolidate, reorganize, or enlarge existing companies; getting a fresh squeeze out of them every time. Even that does not exhaust his ingenuity. He may also aspire to do his own stock-jobbing, by means of specially created finance companies, trusts, and investment agencies. His crowning ambition is to set up a bank—a full-blown Kaffir bank—the objects and assets of which are to be disclosed hereafter. All that the public need know at the outset is the amount of premium on the shares and the number of millions made by the promoters on the morning of issue. Whether the bank has been registered under British or Boer law, who are to be its directors, what class of banking business it is to do, and what liability the shares are to carry—these are all insignificant details to be ascertained after the premium hunt is over.

The climax of Kaffir bluff was the invention of these so-called banks, and in strict accordance with poetic justice, the launching of them proved to be the turning-point of the craze. From the morning when "Barney's Banks" (£1 paid) were madly run up to 4¾ the pace slackened, and a few days later a sharp reaction had set in. Like the Dutch bubbles of the South Sea mania, "Barney's Banks" opened the eyes of the gamblers to a dim sense of their folly. The maddest of them saw that the mania was going too far and would soon have them over the precipice. Gold-mining is a risky enough business at the best, but when it must have banks and financial agencies and trust companies specially created for it, the only inference to be drawn is that it is preparing for the biggest smash possible to be conceived. Legitimate mining speculation requires no such adventitious aids any more than it requires its own bishops and aldermen. Banking is utterly and absolutely distinct from mining finance. The two cannot safely be combined, and what is more, the attempt to combine them can never be honestly made in the public interest. *Prima facie*, it has ulterior

motives, which can only be to convert bad mining shares into equally bad, if not worse, bank shares.

The discoverer of a gold-mine is a lucky man, and if he works it properly he may be a useful man. If he offers an interest in it to the public on a fair basis he gives them a chance of sharing his luck. It may turn out a prize, in which case his fellow-shareholders should be grateful to him. But if it should prove a blank they will have no cause to complain. They paid for an unknown chance, and they have got all there was in it. So long as a mine is worked in its own proper character, simply as a mine, speculation in it may be as honest and legitimate as speculation in railway stocks or industrial shares. But when it becomes a mere decoy for stock-jobbing, company promoting, and the least scrupulous sorts of high finance, how can it end but badly? The British public will submit only to a certain amount of fooling, no matter how cleverly it may be done. Last autumn the limit of their endurance was reached in the Kaffir market, and collapse followed as a matter of course. It was the only possible end to a twelve months' orgy of speculation. The immediate cause of the breakdown may have been the crisis at Constantinople, or it may have been anything else. When a house of cards is ready to topple over it matters little who gives it the final push.

A few years hence it may seem incredible that credulity and blind infatuation could be carried so far as they were during the past year. Without circumstantial details well authenticated it will hardly be accepted as a possibility. Nor is historical truth alone at stake. There are large practical interests involved in a thorough understanding of the craze. Previous booms were comparatively simple affairs, and the circle of their victims comparatively small. Mines were invariably capitalized in pound shares, so that in case of failure the total loss could be estimated at a glance. Each mine stood by itself, and had its own set of riggers whose rigging was quite obvious. The shares might be run up during a boom to two or three thousand per cent. premium, and in the reaction they might fall to seventy or eighty per cent. discount. No change was made, however, in their form. As they started so they continued, and when, as frequently happened, they came to a judicial end, no wheels within wheels had to be picked to pieces.

It would be fortunate for Kaffir shareholders if a similar simplicity still prevailed, but Kaffir finance has not been all these years in the hands of international experts for nothing. Consolidations, reconstructions, and re-shufflings have produced many editions of the original share. A fully developed group can masquerade in at

least half-a-dozen different disguises. Their order of evolution is generally as follows :—

First, the proprietary or development company, which acts as god-parent to the group.

Second, the mining companies proper, each having so many claims assigned to it and separately capitalized.

Third, the finance company, which wet-nurses new issues and "makes a market" in them.

Fourth, the trust company, too often used as a dustbin for unmarketable assets.

Fifth, the "guarantee syndicate," an inner ring that pays itself high premiums for assuring imaginary risks.

Sixth, the Kaffir bank, the latest and coolest device for drawing money into Kaffir speculation on false pretences.

Six thimbles and two peas in the hands of a ring of skilled professionals do not leave much chance for outsiders, however smart and wideawake they may think themselves. Not only do the insiders have the concoction of the various companies and the fixing of their original capitalization, which practically determines their future value, but they have the entire management of them. They can decide which of the half-dozen is to pay the big dividends, and which are to draw blanks. They have all the initiative, do all the manipulating, and can arrange every new scheme to suit themselves. They might even strip a company of its assets and reduce it to an empty husk before the shareholders could interfere to prevent them. The proprietary or parent company is in that respect most at their mercy. Say that it starts with so many claims to develop—a thousand it may be—and that it divides them up among four or five working companies. The usual course is to receive in payment of the claims an agreed number of the sub-company's shares. These pass into the treasury of the parent company, but there is no obligation on the directors to keep them longer than they please, and no guarantee to the shareholders that they will be kept. They may be sold, pawned, exchanged, or put in trust at the pleasure of the directors, who have invariably proxies enough to give them complete control.

With five or six sub-companies operating on the same property, endless opportunities offer themselves for favouring one at the expense of the other. The best claims may be assigned to one and the poorest to another. Working expenses and costs of management may be unequally distributed among the severa mines. The shares of one may be bulled and those of another may be beared by the inner ring. Good assets may be put into one trust, while the rubbish is shot into another. The bank may be favoured at the expense of the investment company, or *vice versâ*.

No one but the insiders themselves can ever be sure where the pea is. They play against the public with every trump card up their sleeves. If bookmakers had as free a hand as Kaffir financiers, a Derby Day would be worth millions to them. They could not possibly lose, and there would be no limit to their winnings.

The only real danger to the Kaffir bosses is that the public may get tired of so profitless a game, and give it up altogether as they have given up American railways. There is, however, not much sign of that yet. The market languishes under prolonged suspense as to the future of Johannesburg, but full confidence is still felt in a revival. Should speculators grow tired of waiting for it, they may transfer their affections from the Rand to Coolgardie or Kootenay, but that would make little difference to the wire-pullers, who probably would rather welcome the change, the English section of them in particular. The maxim at present is to put British capital in British soil, and a Kootenay or Coolgardie boom is one of the probabilities of the current year. But it is to be feared that change of location will produce little change of method. The Kaffir system of finance has taken such a strong hold of the mining market that it no longer knows geographical distinctions. It will flourish as vigorously in one mining camp as in another. Neither law nor logic can do much against it until the speculative public find it out for themselves, which they can hardly do, so long as they think more of their chance of sharing the spoil than of the risk of being despoiled. When it comes to a question of honest intention there is, we fear, seldom much to choose between the winners and the losers in the Kaffir circus.

W. R. Lawson.

A RECENT VISIT TO JAPAN.

During a recent voyage round the world I happened to come across a curious little French book entitled *Japon, Chine, Korea*, written by Lieut.-Col. Salmon, just after the beginning of the recent war. In the first chapter there occurred the following remarkable passage :—

"A splendid opportunity presents itself; China is vanquished. This immense Empire gives way under the power of Japan; the Chinese Empire is dead, so to speak; the succession to it lies open. England which can only put forty thousand men in the field cannot possibly dictate to France and Russia in China. We can divide China into several states, and establish a French Protectorate over the territory which borders on Tonquin. The English will think themselves lucky if they receive a reasonable share in this partition of China. Here then is a great question. This is why we must keep a strict eye on events and march hand in hand with Russia, which is China's neighbour on the north as we are on the south."

This extraordinary avowal is at first sight perhaps chiefly remarkable for the bitter anti-English feeling it shows, which moreover is ostentatiously displayed on the title page of the work in the words "L'Anglais c'est l'ennemi," which appear as a sort of motto. If any evidence were required of the hatred of England by a large portion of the French public, and the determination to squeeze England out by a hostile combination, surely this book by a lieutenant-colonel in the French army is sufficient. It is notable, also, for its cynical coolness and the utter want of principle displayed in the deliberate proposal to dismember China for the advantage of France and Russia. But the most striking part of it is that it exactly foreshadows what has since occurred. France and Russia saw from the beginning that Japan would win in the war. They determined to take advantage of this—to let Japan win and then confiscate the fruits of victory. Thus they refused Lord Rosebery's request when at an early stage he invited the Powers to join England and put a stop to the war, but later on when they thought the time had come they put a stop to the war

themselves. By so doing they saved Pekin from the Japanese, and they have ever since used the influence so obtained over China to extract from her what they wanted. It is true that China has not yet been dismembered, but she is rapidly tumbling to pieces, and Russia and France are dividing the pieces between them. Russia is already in Korea, and she has undoubtedly obtained large advantages in Manchuria in the north. At the same time France has got what she wants in the south; and both have made their influence permanent by guaranteeing the Chinese loan. The French Government may not be responsible for the words of Colonel Salmon, but at all events they have translated them into facts.

Meanwhile, what of England? We seem to have been left out entirely in the cold. We have not even got that "reasonable share" which the author was good enough to allow us. Ask anybody in China what they think of us there, and they will say we are utterly effaced. France and Russia, in fact, have stolen a march on us. Two years ago we were supreme in the Far East. To-day we are not even second fiddle.

Now I do not believe that the reason for this is the one given by Colonel Salmon—that we "can only put 40,000 men in the field"; though, no doubt, it is very pleasant for a French officer to think that such is the case. In my judgment there is a twofold reason—Firstly, our complete ignorance both of the strength of Japan and the hopeless rottenness of China; and, secondly, the absolute imbecility of the policy pursued by the Rosebery Cabinet.

To take the latter first. England has held the ascendancy in the Far East for generations, and, in order to maintain it, she ought to have taken a bold and strong line directly the war broke out. Two courses were open. Either she could have stopped the war herself at its initial stages—nothing could have been easier than this when the Japanese army was locked up in Korea, and the Japanese fleet was enfeebled by the hard fight at the Yaloo—or else she might have allowed the war to proceed, and then have stepped in and settled the terms of peace. In either case she would have saved China and maintained her own supremacy. Lord Rosebery took neither of these courses. Instead of stopping the war at once by British power alone, he weakly invited the other Powers to co-operate with us for this purpose. They all promptly refused, with the result that we gave them a reason for intervention, we confessed our impotence to the whole world, and at the same time grievously annoyed the Japanese, who saw that we had tried to nip their victories in the bud.

Then, at the end of the war, instead of claiming a right to revise the Treaty of Shimonoseki, we stood aside, and allowed Russia,

France, and Germany to do it, thereby once more confessing our impotence and forfeiting the good-will of China, which immediately passed under the hostile influences sketched out with such accuracy by the French lieutenant-colonel.

The other reason, however, is more important and deep-seated, and discreditable. It appears we were utterly in the dark as to the resources both of China and of Japan.

From the outset we felt certain that although Japan might win a few battles at first, the exhaustless resources of China must tell in the long run, and enable her to emerge triumphant. The English newspapers almost unanimously took this line, the English Government, as is shown by their acts, evidently believed it. I do not wish to throw stones at anyone, but I can only conclude that the Foreign Office in this, as in many other cases, was kept very badly informed. To the most superficial eye it must have been obvious that China was hopelessly rotten. I have been informed on the highest authority that at the battle of the Yaloo the Chinese fleet was unable to manœuvre because Captain von Hanneken, the German soldier who was brought in at the last moment to advise the Chinese admiral, discovered that there was no single order in the signal book that all the captains of the Chinese ships understood. The only order, therefore, given at all was one he improvised, which consisted in a general command to each Chinese ship to fire away as hard as it could at the nearest Japanese ship, which I believe they conscientiously did, but not with much effect, as nearly all the shells consisted of sand and sawdust. Yet how came it that we knew so little of the condition of the Chinese fleet as actually to believe it capable of beating the Japanese fleet? Even after the war we continued to treat China as a serious power. Yet when one is told that probably not 10 per cent. of the Chinese know there has been a war at all, and of those who do know it only about 10 per cent. are aware that they were beaten, so that to this day Chinese artists may be found depicting great victories won by the Chinese in Formosa and elsewhere, how is it possible to regard China as a serious Power? It is because we continue to do this, while others do not that we get nothing out of China, while the claims of Russia and France are satisfied to the full.

But our ignorance of Japan was still more extraordinary. Probably there is no country in which Englishmen have travelled so much in recent years, and of which so much has been written, but of the real condition of which we know so little. English writers, as a rule, have confined themselves entirely to descriptions of Japanese scenery and Japanese art—most delightful subjects, without doubt—and thus they have confirmed an idea of

Japan, for which Gilbert and Sullivan are primarily responsible, as a land of fans and flowers, of chrysanthemums, cloisonné, and Rakimonos. The fact that Japan had been arming herself, that she had been modelling herself on European methods, that she was determined to be a great Power and to have a commanding voice in the Pacific, seems to have escaped the general observation. It is true we had heard rumours of battle-ships, guns, and magazine rifles in the Far East, but they were dismissed with a sort of general notion that the Japanese were children and only playing with such things. The worst element, however, is that our Government does not appear to have taken any particular steps to understand Japan. From the time of Sir H. Parkes up to last summer, when our present excellent Minister, Sir E. Satow, was appointed, our representatives at Tokyo, admirable men as they may have been, were conspicuous for their ignorance of Japan and the Japanese. Besides this, up to the time that Captain du Boulay was sent out as *military attaché* after the Battle of Ping Yang in September, 1894, we had no military or naval *attaché* at all. Yet other nations had. Russia, France, Germany, Spain, and the United States have for years had an officer permanently attached to the Legation at Tokyo, who, by mixing socially among Japanese officers of all ranks, is able more accurately than in any other way to ascertain and inform his Government of the real state of Japanese armaments. I was told, indeed, that in the short time that Captain du Boulay was in Tokyo our embassy had learnt more about the Japanese army than it had ever known before. It is satisfactory to learn that at last a permanent British military *attaché* has been appointed at Tokyo.

So much for our attitude, if, indeed, it can be called an attitude, up to the time of the war, when naturally there ensued a sudden change. The wonderful string of Japanese victories, the utter collapse of China, and the marvellous power of organization and grasp of detail shown by the Japanese, came as a thunderbolt upon us. We immediately rushed to the other extreme, and concluded that Japan was a great Power, with a force capable of meeting Europeans as well as she met the Chinese, and consequently an entirely new factor in the East. And we suddenly found, what indeed is true, that if we want an effective buffer State between our Indian possessions and Russia, or a real counterpoise to a Russo-French combination, we must look to Japan, and not to China, on which we had so long relied.

Now I do not think it is at all proved by the war that Japan is a great Power. Certainly the war was conducted in a business-like style, but people who have lived long in Japan, told me that it was the only business-like thing they had ever known the Japanese do.

My own experience of Japanese railways certainly did not give the idea that they were a business-like people, *e.g.*, a few regiments of guards, returning in triumph from Formosa last November, upset the whole service on the Tokaido (the main line in Japan) for a week; and the general management, even in normal times, would bring discredit on, say, the South Eastern at its worst. In their general mode of life, too, I cannot say that I observed any qualities which I should describe as business-like—if you want a thing done in a hurry, they answer "tadaima," "all in a good time," which means any time between now and the new year. When sight-seeing, *e.g.*, visiting a factory, after having seen one thing, a pause invariably follows, during which one is entertained to a smoke and a cup of tea, which, though hospitable and pleasant, does not conduce to getting through the sight-seeing that day. The same characteristic was discernible even in the war. After each victory the Japanese seemed to sit down and think of the next move; witness the long delays which occurred between the declaration of war and the battle of Ping Yang, between the latter and the taking of Port Arthur, and between the taking of Port Arthur and the attack on Wei-hai-Wei. While the Japanese commanders were, so to speak, taking a cup of tea, an European enemy would have outmanœuvred them. But the fact of the war was that there was really no enemy. The Chinaman cut and run, on every single occasion, as is shown by the ridiculously small loss on the Japanese side. Including those who died from disease and all causes in any way connected with the war, the Japanese only lost 1,700 men, among whom was only one officer of high rank!

If Japan, however, is not yet proved to be a great Power she has at all events great potentialities. Alone of all Orientals she has learnt not merely to do well under European tutelage, but to dispense with European tutelage. Other Easterns—Indians, Egyptians, Chinese—can fight and manufacture if led and organized by European officers and managers. Japan has learnt to do these things by herself. Her people have not been content to follow blindly and do what they were told, they have gone deeper and learnt the reason why of our civilization, and now they are applying their knowledge. Not only is their army and navy officered entirely by Japanese, but in their principal factories, *e.g.*, the Government paper and printing works at Tokyo, and the mint at Osaka, all of which I visited, not a single foreigner is employed. This is their great strength and what differentiates them from every other Eastern nation. Add to this their great national advantages —their island position, their large and industrious population of forty millions, the cheapness of labour, the determination of the Government and the people that Japan shall be strong, as shown

by the announcement just made that their army is to be doubled and their navy raised to the combined strength of all the foreign squadrons on the Chinese station, and it is difficult not to believe that Japan has a great future both political and commercial, and impossible to overlook the influence which she now possesses in the affairs of the Far East.

The balance of Power, in fact, in the Far East has been entirely upset, and if we have failed in the past through not foreseeing this, we must quickly make up our minds now how to act under the altered circumstances. It is a question of the greatest importance to us; no less than 40 per cent. of the whole foreign trade of Japan is with the British Empire, while in Shanghai and China generally we have been supreme. Three possible courses seem open. They are: (1) alliance with Russia; (2) alliance with Japan; (3) armed and strong isolation.

I only mention the first to dismiss it. As I have shown above Russia has probably obtained all she wants already without our help, and therefore has no need of us. Indeed, I cannot help believing that Lieut.-Col. Salmon's words are very near the truth, and that France and Russia have conspired to squeeze us out if possible. Unfortunately, in the Far East they have found a third conspirator in our most keen commercial rival—Germany.

As to the second—alliance with Japan—this course is strongly urged by many people, especially as owing to our refusal to join the other Powers in revising the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the Japanese at the present moment are very friendly to us. But it is such a novel step, and so great a reversal of all our previous policy, that before adopting it we ought carefully to consider what Japan really is, and what are the aims of her statesmanship and the principles which guide her.

At the present moment the Japanese are intoxicated with glory, and certainly regard themselves as the equals of any European Power. The vanity of the people is intolerable; they will tell you that what it took European nations 300 years to learn they have learnt in thirty, that they have had, moreover, the advantage of our experience, and could therefore pick out the best points of each of us; and now they really believe their army to be as good as Germany's, man for man, and their navy as good as our own. But what is most serious is that they came off so well in the recent war that they now regard war as a most paying game. For not only was their loss as small as I have just stated, but the war indemnity far exceeded the cost of the campaign. Thus a large proportion of the people are dying for another opportunity of attacking somebody, and they have become a standing menace to their neighbours. Now, who are their neighbours? Putting aside China and Korea,

the sickly condition of either of which might at any time cause Japanese intervention, unless, indeed, Russia has already permanently occupied the latter, there are four Powers with whom Japan might at any time come into collision, Great Britain, Russia, Spain, and the United States. The inclusion of the two latter may cause some surprise, but it must be remembered that Spain has a very valuable possession in the Phillipine Islands, which has been brought all the nearer to Japan by the cession of Formosa to the latter Power; while as to the Americans, the bone of contention between them and the Japanese might certainly be Hawaii, which has a large Japanese population and upon which the United States is supposed to have some designs; besides, who knows but that the Japanese, who are the best mimics on earth, may not some day evolve, as they would dearly love to do, a Monroe doctrine of the latest up-to-date Olney pattern for the Far East, and as the Hawaian Islands lie very near the 180th parallel there might be reasonable doubts as to whether they belonged to Japan's or America's exclusive sphere. England and Russia, however, affect Japan more closely, and certainly at the present moment it looks as if the Japanese would take the first opportunity of attacking the Russians, so angry are they with the latter for ousting them from Liao-tung and Korea. Indeed, I do not doubt that had war broken out last winter between England and Russia, we should have found spontaneous allies in the Japanese, and very valuable they would have been. But this is no reason for our concluding a formal treaty of alliance with them. With all their delightful social qualities, which they know so well how to display to tourists, they are as a nation utterly wanting in stability or principle. They have practically no religion, for Shintoism as a rule of life is nothing, and nobody, as a Japanese friend said to me, attends the Buddhist temple except old women of both sexes; and they seem to have no moral standard; indeed, the only kind of standard that I could discover was that they tried to do what Europeans would think "civilized." Thus, at Port Arthur, it never occurred to them that it was wrong to murder the defenceless Chinaman, till the indignation of Europe told them so; and last autumn in Korea, though I do not charge the Japanese Government with having planned the murder of the Queen, it is difficult not to believe that they instigated * Viscount Miura to get rid of her by some means or other.

* The murder of the Queen of Korea last October is enveloped in much mystery. The celebrated Count Inouye had just returned from Korea, where he had signally failed to carry out Japanese "reforms," owing to the opposition of the Queen, a very clever woman, who undoubtedly represented Korean national feeling. The Government then sent Viscount Miura, an old man who had lately gone through a long period of religious meditation, who, however, before leaving Tokyo, openly

Take, again, their feelings towards ourselves; was ever a people so fickle? It is true that they love us almost to adoration now, simply because they hate the Russians, and we did not, like Germany and France, join with them in taking away the fruits of their victories—but a year and a half ago they hated us. Partly because they knew we had made a futile attempt to stop the war—partly, also, because they considered that our fleet shadowed theirs during the war, and, as was alleged at Wei-hai-Wei, hampered their operations, and, for a great variety of other causes, a very bitter anti-English feeling was aroused in Japan in 1894. Worse still, they had come utterly to despise us. They saw how utterly weak our policy in the Far East was, and how little trouble we took to inform ourselves about them, and they came to regard us, not unnaturally, as a corrupt, decrepit, and falling Power. Such were the expressions used by the vernacular Press in Tokyo, clearly with the Government's sanction, as they were allowed to appear, notwithstanding the Press censorship which is rigid in Japan. Three cartoons appeared in *The Yorodyn Shimbun*, a Japanese paper, partly published in the English language. In the first, England is represented as a brutal schoolmaster, tyrannizing over a little boy, who represents Japan. In the second, the schoolmaster has gone to sleep and Japan has grown a big boy. In the third, Japan has become a man, and is pulling the decrepit old schoolmaster's beard. There can be no doubt that a year ago nothing would have been more popular in Japan than a war with England. When they obtained Formosa and the Pescadores, they certainly had the idea of establishing an arsenal at the latter, with a view to threatening Hong Kong and even Singapore. And although the recent action of Russia has diverted their hatred into another channel, their present feelings may be as transient as were their recent ones. A little careful thought would soon convince their statesmen that by confining them to the islands, and thus freeing them from Continental entanglements Russia has really done the best possible thing for them. If, as a result, the Japanese determine to devote their whole energies to becoming a great sea-power with a large external commerce, to being, in fact, the England of the Far East, it is Great Britain and not Russia which will stand in their way both politically and commercially.

Many Japanese already see this, and even now are advocating an

boasted that he was a "man of action." Shortly afterwards the Queen was murdered, naval and military officers, lawyers, physicians, and other Japanese gentlemen assisting at the deed. The probability is that Miura intended to kidnap the Queen and carry her off, but in the fracas she was killed. After her death the Japanese Government successfully accomplished one reform—they put the King of Korea into European clothes!

understanding with Russia, whereby Japan would share in the spoils of China, contenting herself with island acquisitions and commercial advantages. It follows that no permanent alliance with Japan is possible, and any attempt at such would be most dangerous. The Japanese would desert us as soon as it suited their convenience to do so, and we should find ourselves once more outwitted in the Far East.

There remains, therefore, the third policy—armed and strong isolation, which, indeed, appears to be our only possible policy everywhere, and which, to my mind, is unobjectionable, provided only we are both strong and united. As regards Japan, however, it implies certain things, which ought to be done, and done at once if it is to be carried out effectively. In the first place, we must watch carefully the progress of the Japanese navy; and we ought to augment our Chinese squadron to any strength to which the Japanese bring their entire fleet. Indeed, we should go further, and in order to be safe we ought to have ships enough in the Far East to defeat a combination of the Japanese fleet with the Russian and French Chinese squadrons. Secondly, now that Japan has grown so strong, and, moreover, owns Formosa, we must have another naval and military station much further north than Hong Kong, so as to render Shanghai secure. I am informed that Chusan would best fulfil this requirement. Thirdly, Hong Kong ought to be rendered absolutely impregnable. At the present moment the whole of Victoria City, with the shipping in the harbour, could be destroyed by an enemy operating from the mainland of China opposite. We possess now a little strip of the mainland, but our boundary ought to be drawn very much further back.

I would like to add a word about our commercial interests, and how they are likely to be affected by the rise of Japan.

It is undoubtedly true that Japan has learnt, not only to fight, but also to manufacture; and with the abundance of cheap labour, and the plentiful supply of raw material close at hand which she possesses she may very well become a great commercial power and a very serious rival to Western nations. Besides this, she has the enormous advantage over gold-using countries, that she pays her labour bill in silver. I am not a Bimetallist, because I cannot see that the remedy proposed would cure the disease; but I think the Bimetallist party have clearly established the fact that the disease exists, and that the silver-using countries have an immense advantage over the gold-using countries in all manufactures, owing to the depreciation of silver. Let me take my own personal experience. In America you get not quite five dollars for the sovereign, in Japan you get nine, yet the silver dollar in Japan buys as much

as the gold dollar in America, and very nearly as much now as it did when it was worth four shillings instead of the 2s. 2d. it is about worth now. This, indeed, is a very curious phenomenon, no explanation of which I have ever been able to find in any publication on the subject. The Bimetallists assert that prices have fallen in gold-using countries because of the appreciation of gold which has resulted from discontinuing the use of silver as legal tender money since 1873; but if silver has been less employed in the West there must have been more of it available for currency purposes in the East, so that prices ought to have risen there, which, however, they have not done. Whatever the explanation may be, the result is that labour in Japan is extraordinarily cheap when reckoned in our money. In the Government works at Tokyo and at Yokosuka the men work from ten to twelve hours a day and earn from 20 to 50 sen, *i.e.*, from about 5d. to 1s. 0½d. The women work (and female labour is employed very largely) the same hours and earn from 15 to 35 sen, *i.e.*, 3¾d. to 8¾d. It is difficult to see how we can compete with this. Yet the gold party deny there is any danger to be apprehended, and the only reply yet given is that our exports to silver-using countries have increased at a greater rate than our exports to gold-using countries, so that clearly we have not suffered so far. This is no answer at all. Japan has only lately begun to manufacture, and if we have not suffered yet we certainly shall suffer. Take the cotton-spinning industry. In 1885 there were nineteen cotton mills in Japan. In 1893, forty-six. During the same period the imports of raw cotton increased in value from $809,073 to $16,151,170, and there has been a large further increase since; while the imports of manufactured cotton goods from Great Britain and Bombay fell between 1887 and 1894 from 44,120 thousands of lb. to 21,251. For the first time, too, in 1894 Japan became an exporter of cotton goods, having sent over 4,500,000 lb. of cotton, principally to China. This is a very serious matter. I can see no reason whatever why Japan should not be able in time to supply not only all the cotton goods she wants herself, but the Chinese market too, and, indeed, she could probably compete successfully with us at home. Nor need her efforts be confined to cotton—she intends immediately to establish sugar refineries in Formosa, greatly to the detriment of Hong Kong, her woollen manufactories have made a satisfactory start, while Japanese coal has driven the South Wales article out of nearly every port east of Singapore, and has penetrated itself as far as Bombay.

I do not, however, believe that our trade in the Far East is doomed by the appearance of Japan as a commercial rival. No doubt certain trades are, notably cotton. But civilization creates

endless new wants, and the extraordinary development of Japan, to which fresh impetus has been given by the war, will open up innumerable fresh openings, of which we shall take advantage if we are wise. And here once more I would remark that we ought to pay more attention to Japan, and not confine ourselves so exclusively to China as we have done in the past. Athough the population of Japan is only 41 millions and that of China over 300, the value of the foreign trade of Japan is more than half that of China. Besides which, it has increased and is increasing far more quickly than China's is. In 1885 the foreign trade of China was estimated at $229,807,000, and that of Japan at only $64,436,000, or not much more than a quarter. In 1894 the trade of China had risen to $435,311,000, and Japan to $230,728,000, or more than half. I believe that this expansion will be greatly accelerated now, and that there is a great opening for English manufacturers if they only seize the opportunity. And now I would suggest what I have suggested elsewhere that the Government ought to give a helping hand by appointing a commercial *attaché* to the Legation at Tokyo, who I feel sure would prove most useful at the present moment, when the Japanese are friendly to us, and are certainly inclined to buy from us if we will only take the trouble to adapt our manufactures to their markets. Such an official, by keeping us constantly informed at home of what articles the Japanese require, would prevent a large portion of our trade from going to foreigners, especially to the Germans and Americans, who have for years taken far more trouble than we have to secure the goodwill of the Japanese. Just as the balance of power has changed in the Far East, so has the commercial balance. Commercially as well as politically we must look to Japan, for the time being at all events, as more important than China.

A. G. Boscawen.

THE EDUCATION BILL, 1896.

A CHANGE in the law which touches interests in every city, town, and village in the country, must of itself inevitably attract public attention and arouse public feeling. And if there be added to these interests the stimulus of sectarian animosity and political partisanship, public feeling is apt to be raised to the pitch of public excitement. These are the conditions which any Minister of State must reckon with before he introduces into the legislature a measure affecting the public elementary schools of England. They have behind them a history of only half a century; yet in that space of time their interests have interwoven themselves into the texture of English customs, and into the habits of English daily life. Children, parents, teachers, managers, ratepayers, and taxpayers are all interested in the schools. Broadly speaking, therefore, what affects the schools will interest the people.

In the past half of this century the attitude of the State towards the schools has been subject to many modifications. In the early part of the century there was absolutely free trade in schools. Then came the period of State protection of Schools. This period began with the first Parliamentary Education Grant of £20,000, in 1833. State protection was then gradually merged in State regulation. The Revised Education Code of 1860 marks the completion of that change. Ten years later (1870) State regulation became State monopoly.

Concurrent with these rapid changes in the relation of the schools to the State there have been equally momentous changes in reference both to teachers, to scholars, and to instruction. When State protection of schools began religion was considered to be an integral part of education. Her Majesty's Inspectors examined the children in religious, as well as in other subjects. This attitude was entirely changed when, in 1870, State protection became State monopoly. Religious subjects then became the only part of the education of the schools in which Her Majesty's Inspectors were expressly prohibited from examining.

Again, as the State has created a monopoly of the schools, it has also created a monopoly of the teachers. The profession is hedged

about with so many protective barriers that entrance into it has become a matter of great difficulty and intricacy. This close corporation of the elementary teaching profession naturally tends to the formation of a professional opinion* on matters of educational policy which subordinates the public welfare to professional advantage. Every conference of members of this State-protected profession abounds in instances which illustrate this observation. It is claimed that the teachers, and not the community, are to decide what is to be taught, and the conditions under which instruction is to be given, together with the minimum remuneration which the community are to be permitted to award out of public and private sources for such services as are thus rendered.

Meanwhile, having created a State monopoly of schools and teachers, the State has supplied both with their raw material in the shape of scholars practically bound by the law to attend school continuously for a period of seven or eight years. In every part of the country the school attendance officer is to be found, more or less completely, driving the children into school. Thus, in order to make the State monopoly of schools and teachers effective, there has been called into existence the new profession of the school police.

Dominating the whole of this graduated monopoly, there is the centralized administration of the Education Department in London with its host of clerks at Whitehall, and its inspectors perambulating the whole country. Every detail incident to school life, from the exclusion of draughts to the introduction of air; from the teaching of the alphabet to such science and art as commend themselves to the Government mind, passes under the purview of these inspectors and clerks. Their fiat goes forth through the land with a reputation akin to that of the laws of the Medes and Persians, stereotyping forms of instruction, and restricting local freedom in the manner in which despotisms, whether created by the democracy or any lesser unit, invariably act. Two extracts from the Education Department's Instructions to H.M. Inspectors will illustrate the marked change in the attitude of the State to the schools in the period under review. "One main object of your visit," so ran the Instructions to Inspectors in 1837, "is to afford managers your assistance in all efforts for improvement in which *they may desire* your aid; but you are *in no respect to interfere* with the instruction, management, or discipline of the school, or *to press upon them any suggestions* which they may be

* If the names of the writers were attached to the articles expressing educational opinions in the newspapers, the public would have the means of testing to what extent the Press has become the vehicle for the conveyance of this professional opinion.

disinclined to receive." One cannot note without a certain sense of humour how gingerly the Inspector trod when the aim was to get his foot into the school. But once firmly established there, see how brief and business-like and matter-of-fact his "main duty" becomes. "My Lords," so say the Revised Instructions (1895), "My Lords would again remind you that all hurry or undue haste on the day of examination is incompatible with the proper discharge of your main duty—that of ascertaining, verifying, and reporting the facts on which the Parliamentary Grant is administered."

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

Such are some of the noteworthy changes which, in the space of two generations, have marked the attitude of the State towards the schools. They are not more remarkable than the corresponding changes in the attitude of parties within the State towards educational administration. Take, for example, the attitude of the political Nonconformist. He is foremost among those who would spend largely from local rates and Imperial taxes upon the kind of public elementary school,—viz., that controlled by School Boards,—which he prefers. And, perhaps, in Wales this attitude is more than usually distinctly observable. And yet when the Government grant was only £30,000 a year and under, no body of persons were more jealous of this State assistance to schools than were Nonconformists. One of Her Majesty's Inspectors at that time reported that the majority of Nonconformists in Wales looked upon Government aid "as contamination from the co-operation of the State."

In the midst of these strange fluctuations of opinion, one body of persons has, in the main, clung to a continuous and steady course of action. "A public feeling for education," an Inspector reported in 1856, "has yet to be created. In saying this, I am bound, in truth, to except one class of persons from the assertion—I mean the clergy." "The main educational work which has been effected in England" has been owing "to their zeal and labour," and is "essentially their work." What was true in 1856 holds true in 1896. It is mainly owing to the zeal and energy of the clergy of the Church of England in the cause of education that at the present time in schools allied with the Church there is to be found every year an average attendance of 1,875,000 children. If this fact be compared with the corresponding fact that the average attendance in Board Schools only amounts to 1,844,000 children, and that for a space of a quarter of a century this section of schools has had the exclusive support of local rates, which have been mortgaged to the amount of £26,000,000 to provide schools and sites, and contribute yearly about £4,000,000 to the maintenance alone of these schools, some

estimate may be formed of the amount of zeal and energy which the Church of England has continuously shown in behalf of national education.

It has, however, been apparent of late that the schools in connection with the Church of England, as well as those allied with other religious bodies, *e.g.*, the Roman Catholics, the Wesleyans, and the Jews, were being adversely affected by the unfair conditions which the state of the law, together with its administration, imposed upon them. The popular sense of this injustice was expressed in the Parliamentary election of 1895, and the return of a strong Unionist Government to power was the result of the demand for reform and the pledge of its accomplishment. The Education Bill of 1896 is the Government's solution of the educational difficulties of the time, and as such it merits a calm and unprejudiced examination. The desire of those who care, first and foremost, for the efficiency, suitability, and thoroughness of national education, should be to examine to what extent the Government proposals meet and satisfy the demand for reform.

The main lines of the Bill express the principles upon which it is proposed to undertake a complete and thorough reconstruction of our educational system. Whatever opposition the Bill may arouse, no one can reasonably complain that it fails in breadth of view or in comprehensivenesss of aim. The complete range of education, up to the stage of its University phase, comes within the scope of the Bill. Its completeness in this respect must inevitably lead to prolonged discussion and to detailed consideration; and if the discussion be of a practical and instructed character, no one, least of all the Government, will have reason to complain.

Amongst the principles of the Bill two stand prominent above the others. The first is the adoption of the principle of local freedom as against bureaucratic control; and the second is the acceptance of indirect as against direct representation of the local electorate upon the local education authority. In adopting the second principle the Government have followed the recommendations of the recent report of the Secondary Education Commission. This Commission was the contribution of the preceding Government towards the solution of that portion of the education problem. Its composition was of a peculiar and partisan type. Of seventeen Commissioners no fewer than fourteen were Radicals in politics. They unanimously reported in favour of placing Secondary Education under authorities not directly chosen by the electorate for that purpose. Apparently, the Government, in dealing in their Bill with Secondary, as well as with Elementary Education, are of opinion that a form of education authority which Radical

Royal Commissioners unanimously recommend as best suited for the purposes of Secondary Education can equally well be entrusted with the care of Public Elementary Education.

It is in still stricter keeping with the fitness of things that the new education authority to which is to be conveyed some of the functions of the present Education Department, should partake of the non-representative character of that Department. No one who approves of the Education Department in its present shape can complain of the more popular composition of the proposed education authority. In its time the Education Department, in spite of many defects, has done much good work in organizing the machinery of educational administration. But it has been apparent for many years past that its special function had ceased to exist, and that if progress were still to be made there must be a fuller reliance upon local knowledge and initiative. In commenting, in an address delivered to the London School Board in October, 1888, upon the recommendations of the recent Royal Commission on Elementary Education, I pointed out that the "fundamental omission" in the recommendations of that Commission, which vitiated many of their suggestions, was "the absence of any recommendation for a total reform in the two Government Departments, viz., the Education Department and the Science and Art Department, to which are entrusted the administration of the Parliamentary Grant, and of which the most important is the Education Department." What many thought at that time a policy too thorough for a Government to adopt is now within measurable distance of being sanctioned by Parliament. The necessity for the adoption of that policy is explained in the following extract from the same address: "Whilst the system was being organized this central control was of considerable utility, and upon the whole its influence was good. But what was suitable for the guidance of a system in its infancy may become a positive hindrance to its full development, unless it is adapted to the altered circumstances of the case. Parental control is good, but a wise parent will avoid the error and the weakness of grandpaternal interference, or meddlesomeness. We have arrived, as it seems to me, at the precise point at which central control is beginning to lose its beneficial character. Ever since the immediate administration of elementary education was committed to the charge of popularly elected bodies, and by far the largest proportion of its cost was charged upon the local resources, a change has been gradually taking place in our system of popular education to which the Education Department has failed to adapt itself. It attempts to deal with the affairs of publicly elected bodies without any apparent consciousness of the incongruity of its own position in relation to the new condition of affairs. It does

not appear to realize the fact that whatever they may be in theory, in actual practice 'My Lords' have largely become the mouthpiece of the permanent officials of a public department, whilst the local administrators of elementary education have largely lost their non-representative character, and have become the responsible representatives of their several localities. The time, in my judgment, has now arrived when larger powers must be entrusted to the publicly elected boards, and less to the central Government Department. Unless this is done, and until this is done, there can be no general advance in the whole range of popular education."

Since 1888 County Councils have been established in every county, and the Government have now the choice between two sets of elected bodies, to one of which can be committed the duty of developing more completely a workable and effective system. They have chosen the County Council as offering, on the whole, the best guarantees for the work.

It is not difficult to discover substantial reasons for the choice. In England and Wales, whilst there are 2,452 School Boards, there are only fifty-five County Councils. The county of Cornwall has a population of 320,000, and possesses 101 School Boards; Devon has a population of 630,000, and 153 School Boards; and Norfolk has a population of 460,000, and 139 School Boards. It is obvious that in such cases the counties, and not the School Boards, form the best units for an effective educational administration. The defect in the Bill is the desire to deal with all parts of the country in the same way.* No difference is made between the counties possessing county boroughs, that is boroughs with a population exceeding 50,000, and those without them. Of the forty-three English county areas, and not reckoning London, sixteen do not contain a county borough; sixteen others contain only one county borough each. On the other hand, Lancaster contains as many as fourteen county boroughs. As there are only fifty-nine county boroughs in England and two in Wales, it would not have been difficult to have taken their circumstances into account in order to ascertain whether they would not have warranted separate and distinct treatment. It is not always borne clearly in mind that rural England and urban England have each their separate needs and possibilities, and that each will best attain its own special aims when free to pursue them without the restrictive

* The Bill appears to have been drafted on the assumption that the County Council would elect the Education Authority for the entire area including the county boroughs within it. But the interpretation clause states that "unless the context otherwise requires" the expression "county includes a county borough." This interpretation makes nonsense of Sec. iii. of Clause 2, and renders Sec. *a* of Clause 10 a piece of surplusage.

influence of the other. In many cases—probably in that of three out of every four counties—the special needs of the county and the county boroughs within it are alike. But in the cases where they differ, and this is especially so in large commercial and industrial centres, a modification of the proposals of the Bill seems to be required so as to ensure that flexibility and adaptability of conditions which suit themselves to local needs.

Such a modification would considerably, and favourably, affect the attitude of large popular centres towards the Bill as a whole. The case of London especially demands separate treatment. It was dealt with separately in the Act of 1870, and it needs separate treatment in 1896. Allied with the two main principles of the Bill a third aim of the Government may be referred to here. That is the desire to ensure an economical administration of public monies raised for educational purposes in the general interests of the State as representing the taxpayer, and of the locality as affecting the ratepayers. How does the proposal of the Government succeed in carrying these principles into effect in the case of London?

London has a County Council of 118 members elected by the ratepayers in the several parliamentary divisions. In addition to the 118 elected councillors there are nineteen aldermen co-optated into the Council by the councillors, making a total of 137 members. The School Board has fifty-five members elected by the same ratepayers, the constituencies, however, not being single parliamentary divisions, but combinations of the parliamentary divisions upon the lines of the old boroughs into which London was formerly divided, and to which the present Unionist Government will, it is hoped, give full municipal institutions and definite corporate existence.

The work of administration makes very considerable demands upon the time of the members of each of these bodies. Hitherto the County Council has had little educational work to do. It inherited from a superseded authority certain industrial schools. It was endowed, as were other County Councils, with the income known as the "Beer Money." At first it used this money, not for the purpose of aiding technical education, but for the purpose of reducing the County Council rate. It spends at present only a portion of the "Beer Money" upon technical education. That expenditure is supervised by a Technical Board, formed upon the model of a joint committee, which, in connection with the School Board, has done remarkable work in promoting the practical side of education in manual work in wood and metal for boys, and in laundry work and housewifery for girls. It is composed of twenty members of the County Council and fourteen nominees of other

public and some private bodies whose headquarters happen to be in London.

This Technical Board, thus constituted by the London County Council, may therefore be taken as the type of what the new Education Authority for London, under the Bill as it stands, would be. As a member both of the Technical Board and of the School Board, and knowing the working of each, I have not the least hesitation in saying that an Education Authority, for educational purposes in London, taking its rise from the County Council, and mainly composed, as it must be, of its members, would not be an effective authority either in the matter of economical administration or of educational progress. I have never heard any especial claim to public confidence put forward, under either head, on behalf of the Technical Board—upon the comparatively restricted and automatic work on which I make no adverse comment—and until any such claim is put forward, it would be premature and immaterial to examine into the proofs.

If the scheme of the Government is adopted for London, the financial and other results will be these. The Education Authority will be the Technical Board under another name, with the addition of a non-voting, but not apparently a speechless, nominee of the Education Department or the Charity Commissioners. The London County Council will have to pay over into the fund of the new Authority the "Beer Money," a portion of which is now used in the reduction of the County Council rate. That operation will at once increase the County Council rate. Then the County Council rate will be still further increased by the cost of providing "such officers, servants, buildings, furniture, and other things as are necessary for the execution of the duties of the Education Committee," and of paying "the expenses of executing their duties."

That will amount to a considerable sum, as the County Council possess, with the exception of certain officers, none of these necessaries. It must further be noted that the Education Committee and not the County Council are to be the judges of the number and amount of these necessaries. The function of the County Council is limited to that of "raising money"; and an addition to its many opportunities of exercising such functions will be observed by the ratepayer with feelings rising in intensity from alarm to consternation.

In addition to these items of increased cost, there will be the further charges resulting from the Education Authority discharging certain duties now performed by the Education Department. These charges are now borne by the State. The net result of these changes so far as the London ratepayer is concerned, must

be a considerable increase in the rates levied for County Council purposes.

Meanwhile the School Board rate will continue just as before. There is no provision which diminishes the present rate of School Board expenditure. The Bill stereotypes the rate of expenditure for the year ended the 31st March, 1896, together with any additions which are "necessary for including the increase in annual maintenance caused by such automatic rise of salaries" as occur under the existing scale. This rate of expenditure, which many justly think to be excessive, is regarded as the normal statutory rate of expenditure. And this can be exceeded to any extent with the consent of the County Council. If there existed a Progressive County Council and a Progressive School Board, judging from past experience, there would be no difficulty in obtaining that consent. If the School Board desired to exceed the limit, and the County Council refused the request, all the pressure, which those can bring who profit by School Board expenditure, would be exerted in County Council elections as it is now in School Board elections. Meanwhile, every inducement to economical administration on the part of the School Board would be done away with. No motive would exist to keep expenditure appreciably within the statutory limit; and in the event of the limit not being sufficient for the purpose, the odium of either increasing it, or of declining to increase it, would be flung upon the County Council. At two elections—a School Board election in November, followed by a County Council election in March—an appeal would lie to the electors upon these issues. It is difficult at the present time to obtain suitable candidates at a County Council election. Hereafter the position of a candidate will be a peculiarly exacting one. In the absence of technical knowledge of educational matters, he will fall an easy and a ridiculous prey to the crowd of interested questioners who will pursue him on the electoral track. To a perplexed candidate there is a great temptation to use the rates for the purpose of smoothing everybody's way, and as a means of making everybody comfortable, except the ratepayers themselves. Their case is, indeed, a hard one. And the last thing which a thoughtful Unionist Government should do, is to add further legislative facilities for enabling one set of persons to decide what another set of persons shall pay.

Is there any corresponding educational gain in the proposed arrangement to counterbalance this positive financial loss? What are the conditions of the problem? Two public bodies only exist in this metropolitan area: one elected for professedly educational reasons, the other elected without any reference whatever to educational questions. It is desired to form out of an existing public

body a new Education Authority, in order to complete an existing system. Can there be any doubt which of the two bodies possesses the affinities, the experience, and the organization needed for this further work? To choose the School Board as the body out of which the new Education Authority should spring is obviously the natural choice to make. To choose in such circumstances a non-educational body as the natural material out of which to evolve a new Education Authority is the strangest choice imaginable.

If the new Education Authority is to exercise really useful functions it must be acknowledged as capable of exercising them by those who will work under it. If this is not so educational progress cannot take place. Since, in London, in the same area, an educational body and a non-educational body exist side by side—one having a recognized authority and the other without special experience or training—it is obvious that the natural line of development is through the existing educational machinery; and therefore it is that London needs separate and distinct treatment. To follow, with reference to London, a course of procedure adapted to other areas, and to other circumstances, is to make an idol of uniformity in legislation. The aims of the Government being to introduce simplicity into educational arrangements; to assist the harmonious development of every section of the educational system; and to give greater powers of expression and satisfaction to local requirements in the management of schools, they have proposed in the Bill a series of changes exactly adapted to carry out these views in the country at large. But the circumstances of London, and of other populous areas, vary so materially from those of the usual county areas that to apply to them treatment which may suit country districts would result in frustrating every good intention which the Government have in view.

I am not led to these conclusions by a consideration of the best interests of Board Schools alone. To serve the best interests of the Non-Board Schools of London also has always been an important aim in the educational work I have attempted to do. They have been unfairly dealt with in the past; and the efficiency which as a whole they display is a strong testimony to the skill, the energy, and the zeal with which they are conducted, supported, and sustained. What does the Bill propose in their interests alone? The abolition of rating, and of the 17s. 6d. limit, is applicable to Board and to Non-Board Schools alike. They are dealt with by the proposed Act, and do not concern the new Education Authority. But it must not be forgotten that the attitude of the London County Council in the past towards Non-Board Schools was clearly seen in the pressure which was used to increase the local assessments. It

was not a friendly but a hostile attitude. The London Non-Board Schools have nothing to gain, but everything to fear, from an Education Authority emanating from, and dominated by, a County Council with such a record as that.

But from whatever source the new Education Authority may spring, the solitary future hope of London Non-Board Schools is to take prompt and immediate advantage of the power of association contained in the Bill. This power will be one of the most potent factors of the future in completing and rendering more thoroughly efficient the organization of Elementary Education. Under this provision of the Bill the Church Schools within the Metropolitan area may form themselves into an Association, and the managers of such schools may thereupon elect a representative body. To this representative body the Education Authority must pay the Special Aid Grant due to the Associated Schools. In what manner this fund should be used is afterwards to be decided upon by the representative body and the Education Authority. If all the Church Schools combined in this manner two results would follow. On the one hand, the representative body would be able to furnish members to be co-optated upon the Education Authority, because it would bear to Church Schools a like relation to that which the School Board bears to Board Schools ; and, on the other hand, the common fund having an assured annual income of £25,000 and upwards, would be enabled gradually to bring every school up to the highest point of efficiency. Similar results would follow upon the adoption of the same principle by Roman Catholics, Wesleyans, and Jews to the benefit of the whole body of London Elementary Schools.

It is not generally perceived how critical the position of Non-Board Schools will be, under this Bill, unless they associate themselves together for common purposes of protection and improvement. Following the precedent of the Bill which abolished school fees, this Bill seriously affects the income of Non-Board Schools in the future. Just as that Bill commuted a varying charge upon parents into a fixed and uniform charge by the State, so this Bill proposes to limit for the future the rate per child of Government Grant. The grant cannot exceed in future the greater of these two sums, viz., the sum now received, or 17s. in the case of infant schools or classes, and 20s. in the case of senior schools.

Whilst the money grant is thus limited there is no corresponding limitation of possible requirements. Changes in the Elementary Code, now about to come into active operation, will absorb a considerable portion, if not all, of the Special Aid Grant of 4s. per scholar. But what of future changes? In the case of School Boards, the Education Authority, which will be the instrument of

the change, cannot through its progenitor, the County Council, resist the appeal to increase the limit of the School Board rate in order to satisfy their own requirements. But from what fund are these new requirements to be met in the case of Non-Board Schools? From an increase of subscriptions? That would be to intensify the injustice and the grievance which this Bill does nothing to remove. The present inequitable division of the public money raised for educational purposes is not remedied by the Special Aid Grant. That grant is merely a device by which the resources of the State are used to partially alleviate local injustice. But the injustice still remains that the supporter of Non-Board Schools will in the future, as in the past, be the victim of his own educational zeal and conscientious convictions. He will have to pay through the rates for a form of instruction he does not want, and again through contributions for a form of education he holds dear. The pressure of that strain has brought the present Government into office; and its continued existence and perpetuation may, in the whirligig of time, bring about its own revenges.

Perhaps it may be urged that the provision as to full religious teaching in all classes of schools may tend to destroy both the Non-Board and the Board Schools as they now exist, and lead to their transference to the new Education Authority to be conducted at their cost, without any statutory limitation of the rate, by managers appointed by that authority, either alone or in conjunction with other public bodies. I can understand a secularist approving of such a course. Under a new name he would then have universal Board Schools with but one step, and that able to be taken to a considerable extent by administrative action alone, between himself and his ideal. But those who insist upon religion as an essential of education would be taking a suicidal step in retreating from a position won at the cost of so much self-sacrifice and noble endeavour.

It is evident, from what has been already urged, that the Bill will not accomplish the reforms which are needed in our elementary school system unless certain modifications of its proposed machinery are accepted. These modifications are especially necessary in the case of London and of other large and populous centres. Here the Education Authority should have its origin in, and spring naturally out of, the existing education authorities, and not the County Councils. For this purpose, in these areas, the County Councils might be relieved of the duties imposed upon them by the Technical Instruction Acts, and of the corresponding duty of supervising the expenditure of the "Beer Money." If it be deemed necessary, let the County Council act as a check upon undue expenditure. That check will act more thoroughly the more the

County Council is kept apart from any administrative responsibility for the details of that expenditure. Make it essential that the Education Authority shall be competent to deal with all classes of public elementary and other schools. By this means the whole series of schools would be welded into a harmonious system; the use of an existing educational machinery for the further purposes contemplated by this Bill would be rendered easy; an unnecessary and costly duplication of machinery would be avoided; the interests of the ratepayers would be secured; and the steady, continuous improvement of all forms of education, adapted to the special needs of all classes of scholars, would be guaranteed.

These modifications are as necessary in the interests of secondary as of elementary education. Whilst the Education Authority is expressly prohibited from directly managing any public elementary school, it is directly empowered to establish, and apparently to manage, secondary schools. They may make enquiries, and publish them, "into the sanitary condition of the school buildings (including boarding-houses) within their county." Eton, Harrow, and Rugby are thus brought under the Education Authority, and although the Education Authority are prohibited from making "enquiries with respect to the education given" in schools which, "in the opinion of the Education Department, are of a non-local character," it is evident that the publication of enquiries into the "sanitary condition of the school buildings" opens a wide door for interference on a multitude of questions bordering on educational inspection.

Nothing in this Bill defines the relation of elementary to secondary instruction. Higher grade, which are really secondary schools, may still be established by School Boards. If, however, the School Board is not in harmony with the Education Authority, there is a broad battlefield prepared for them in the provision authorizing "the Education Department, on the application of the Education Authority, *or*" (not, be it observed, *and*) "of a School Board" to make an order transferring to the Education Authority any Board School, or department of a Board School, "providing education which, in the opinion of the Education Department, is other than elementary." Rarely, indeed, has so singular a confession been made in an Act of Parliament. Here are School Boards exercising functions under a series of Elementary Education Acts! Their duty is to provide elementary education. In the discharge of this duty they are absolutely under the control of the Education Department whose behests they obey; whose Code of Regulations defines their work; and whose Inspectors continually report upon their doings. And what is the outcome of it all? The existence of Board Schools, and departments of Board Schools, "providing

education," which may, on enquiry, turn out to be "other than elementary!" And now the same Education Department which has assisted, enabled, and urged School Boards to erect, maintain, and extend these schools, is to be the ravisher who will "make an order transferring" them from those who have them to those who want them. But there is nothing to prevent the School Board again from entering into competition with the Education Authority in this borderland of educational territory unless the School Boards, and not the County Councils, in areas where these conditions prevail, are the roots out of which the new Education Authorities grow.

Nor is anything said in this Bill about the nature of the instruction to be given in any secondary school established by the Education Authority. Are we to be so careful about the completeness of education in elementary schools and careless as to its range in secondary schools? Are the interests of the parents of public elementary school children to be so carefully guarded, and rightly so, and the interests of the parents of the children in secondary schools to be ignored? It is as important that religion should not be divorced from secondary, as it is that it should not be separated from elementary instruction. To avoid a question is not to settle it; and the new education authorities, unless they have guidance by statute on these points, will, undoubtedly, as the result of public discussion, be subject to the pressure of public opinion on the part of the electorate by whom those who will establish the new authorities will themselves be elected. Will it not be better to apply at once by law to all schools the provision in favour of liberty of conscience, which is to be applied in this Bill only to public elementary schools?

The provisions of the Bill for the better instruction of Poor Law children and for the extension of the age of school attendance are admirable illustrations of the spirit in which the Bill has been prepared. In no true sense of the word is the Bill an anti-School Board Bill or a Sectarian Bill. It is conceived in a liberal and fair spirit. Its defects are not those of intention but those of execution. When its intentions, and the machinery to carry out those intentions, have been brought into harmony, it will constitute a considerable measure of reform. Some abuses will undoubtedly still remain; but if the Bill be amended in the directions already suggested, and if its provisions are carried out in administration in the spirit in which I believe the Bill has been framed, the ground will be cleared for that still further measure of equity and of educational advance for which this Bill will prepare the way.

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G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON.

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EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

THE CUBAN CLOUD.

Of the many unsettled problems now haunting diplomacy, Cuba is by no means the least important, for the simple reason that it is nearer an acute stage than any other. The world is so small and closely-knit that any rupture between leading nations would be felt in its uttermost parts, and there is a fanciful superstition taking possession of men's minds that if once serious fighting began it would become contagious. At the sight of blood the hordes of professional warriors maintained by most nations, who have been chafing for some time at the long peace, would defy civilian control, and become masters of their various communities until they had slaked themselves, and were ready to re-enter captivity for a further term. This may be an exaggerated sensational view, but it is prevalent enough to make any critical international question worth watching, and certainly it is not easy to foresee a pacific solution of the Cuban Question. In fact, if it were not for the countless triumphs of the unexpected it might be confidently affirmed that Spain and the United States are bound to fight over Cuba. The former is fiercely resolved to stamp out the insurrection of her subjects which has baffled four army corps for nearly a year and a half, while the great majority of Americans are grimly determined

that the barren struggle shall not be prolonged indefinitely. Both nations are proud, sensitive, resolute, and fearless, while their respective conditions are conducive to a war—the one revelling in great and untried resources, and the other so desperately hard up as not to be afraid of bankruptcy. The Great Republic has been spoiling for a fight for some time, and her citizens have been watching Spanish bungling in Cuba with rising impatience, while the Spaniards are intensely irritated at the illicit support the rebels have received from the American coast, which they maintain has alone kept the movement alive. The ambition of a great democracy eager for adventure confronts an old-world monarchy with dazzling if somewhat remote traditions behind it. Both are taking up positions exceedingly difficult to withdraw from, and though President Cleveland treats the bellicose resolutions of Congress with a levity kings might envy, it is felt that before long he too will declare himself for the revolution. As there appears to be no party in Spain willing to knuckle down to America, the outlook is alarming.

EXTRAVAGANCE AND INEFFICIENCY.

Spain is said to have addressed a Note to the Powers of Europe expounding her view of the situation and inviting their moral support—for what it may be worth—in resisting the tyrannous attitude of the States. America is not popular in Europe at this moment owing to her recent excursions into foreign affairs, but the European Concert has been somewhat discredited, and, whatever individual nations may do, there will be no general action. Great Britain is on friendly terms with both countries and is keenly anxious that a war should be avoided, but she is not likely to thrust herself into the quarrel without an invitation from both. As Americans hold that "American questions are for American decision," so far from neutral mediation being sought its offer would probably be angrily resented by the States. Until lately the average Englishman classed America's attitude towards Spain with the Venezuelan Message—both being regarded as the normal accessories to a Presidential campaign and as incidents in the spirited foreign policy now coming into vogue in the United States. The unspeakable and unbroken incompetence of Spain which is steadily converting Cuba into an abomination of desolation is effecting a change in British opinion, and if Spain were wise enough to ask for British advice she would undoubtedly be counselled to treat with an insurrection she seems wholly unable to crush. She will probably elect to continue her mad career, and further preparations on a tremendous scale are being talked of in Madrid as though a mere increase to her already congested army would be of avail. Troops are useless unless they are set in motion

and properly handled, not on some stereotyped sixteenth century system, but in view of immediate local exigencies. We could never have conquered Upper Burmah had we not recognized that a guerrilla defence can only be dealt with by a superior guerrilla attack, *i.e.*, by organizing small flying columns, under captains or subalterns, to pursue and punish the enemy. The Spanish method, on the other hand, consists of concentrating great masses of men in huge camps, and no forward movement appears ever to be undertaken by a smaller force than two or three thousand men. These unwieldy bodies marching through difficult country offer every facility of attack to the rebels, who harass and retire at their leisure, being apparently immune from pursuit.

THE CAMPAIGN.

The baldest scraps of information have been published as to the course of the campaign, and English readers have been cautioned against accepting either the Spanish or American versions. *The Times'* special correspondent at Havana has consequently rendered a conspicuous service by his lucid and apparently impartial account published in the middle of May. He gives a truly hideous and hopeless picture of the condition of the unfortunate island which enjoys the title of "Pearl of the Antilles." Nature has provided it with a favourable climate and a fertile soil, able to support a considerable nation—human folly threatens it with ruin so irretrievable as to eclipse the forebodings of black-visioned pessimism. The population is between one and a half and two millions, of whom half a million are blacks or mulattoes. The thirteen largest towns contain 680,000 people, and as the island is about the size of England, the rural districts are most scantily peopled. The towns are held by the Spanish troops, which actually total 135,000 regulars and 40,000 volunteers! The rebels hold the country districts, and have about 40,000 fighting men. In spite of her overwhelming army, Spain is described as losing ground, and as reduced to the purely defensive—her *de facto* dominion being restricted to the camping-places of her soldiery. We give the following extract from *The Times* correspondent's letter, as it puts the military situation very clearly, and shows that while acting on her present lines Spain has no chance of stamping out the insurgents:—

"Enough has been said to show that the rebels roam at will throughout the length and breadth of Cuba, the only exception to this being the towns and fortified posts guarded by Spanish garrisons. I will go further than this, and say that Spain has lost control and jurisdiction in this island except in those spots where her soldiers are actually encamped. A mile distant from any of these garrison towns and fortified posts, armed rebels will be found at every turn. And this condition of affairs has only one meaning—Spain has lost the power to protect life and property in Cuba. I do not say that it is at all impossible for the mother

country to reconquer this lost ground ; but it must first be clearly understood in Madrid what the true position is here to-day, and that the merely defensive attitude now adopted is worse than useless, if not, indeed, the precursor of dire disaster. The fine and dry winter season is now ended, and that opportunity for an active campaign is lost; we are on the threshold of the notoriously unhealthy Cuban summer, with its invariable and terrible scourge of yellow fever ; the rains will set in during this present month of May, and all roads will then become practically impassable for military manœuvring. For the next six months, therefore, the Spaniards can hope to do little by force of arms ; they must wait and suffer the terrible effects of the climate and support the strain of being constantly harassed by the rebel skirmishers. For the Cubans the summer months have no terrors. They are not subject to yellow fever, nor do they suffer from exposure to wet weather to anything approaching the extent that Spaniards and other foreigners do. Day after day telegrams from Madrid are published in Havana to the effect that Ministers and other public personages express themselves as thoroughly satisfied with the way affairs are progressing in Cuba. It is time to be done with such child's play and throw aside these clumsy and puerile attempts to throw dust in the eyes of the Spanish people. It is better they should know the truth, however unpleasant and unpalatable the facts may be."

Ruin.

The economic collapse of Cuba is revealed by a few salient figures. Sugar is the chief article of export, and 60 per cent. of the population live on its production. In 1894 (before the rebellion) the total output of sugar was 1,050,000 tons. This season, up to April 30th, only 110,000 tons have been manufactured, and " the total output for the year is estimated at less than 200,000 tons," with good luck. Tobacco, the second great staple of Cuban trade, is in a worse plight than sugar. The normal production is 450,000 bales ; " this year will only see 50,000 bales in the market." In a few weeks the cigar factories in Havana will close their doors, which will throw 50,000 men and women out of work. The value of the exports from Cuba is calculated to have fallen in one year from £12,000,000 to £3,000,000. No wonder merchants are of opinion that " Cuba has received her death-blow."

Is America Unreasonable?

Such being the situation in an island not much farther from the United States than Ireland is from Great Britain, which is bound to them by considerable commercial ties, and which has excited American sympathy owing to the colossal ineptitude of Spain, Englishmen can understand the desire to interfere before the ruin and desolation are finally consummated. We should not tolerate such a scandal at our doors, and so far from America having been precipitate she appears to have been fairly patient. Certainly the President has been remarkably patient considering the pressure behind him. Spain was ten years in suppressing the last insurrection, which was far less formidable than the present, which has already lasted nearly a year and a half. Even should America, contrary to present appearances, elect to stand aside, the victory of the rebels is more probable than that of the Spanish army ; this would be followed by

a declaration of Cuban independence, and those who know the island affirm that this solution would be accompanied by a civil war between the whites and blacks. According to *The Times'* correspondent, the independent Republic of Cuba would be "a hell-upon-earth beside which Hayti would be a paradise." The only settlement of the trouble he can suggest—and it is not very promising of peace—is for Spain to grant a full measure of self-government similar to that prevailing in our great colonies under the guarantee of the United States, as otherwise it would not be accepted by the rebels, who believe they would be "dished" by Spain unless a third party became responsible for the execution of the bargain. No doubt a large party in the United States covet the possession of Cuba, but there is no machinery for administering a colony, and great objections are raised to the admission of a new state containing a large black vote. Probably the best thing for Cuba would be for the United States to take her away from Spain and hand her over to us for a twenty years' course of regenerative "Egyptian" administration, at the end of which she might enter the American Union.

A Contingency.

The shrewder Americans appear to be fully counting the cost of prosecuting their quarrel with Spain to the bitter end. They realise and are prepared for all it might involve. It is somewhat significant, we hope, of the superficial character of the hatred of the United States for Great Britain that so pronounced an anti-Britisher as Mr. M. Hazeltine should have written the words quoted below. They should be prefaced by the explanation that Mr. Hazeltine is one of the principal members of the editorial staff of *The New York Sun*, which gave much vehement backing to the Venezuelan Message. The extract is taken from an article he contributed to *The North American Review* for April, and distinctly encourages the view which is still very prevalent in England that if either of the Anglo-Saxon nations found themselves in a really tight place they might count on the support of the other. The popularity provoked in America by President Cleveland's Message was a bitter disappointment to England, and has tended to dim the cordiality of English feeling towards the States. Still, if they were seriously menaced, England would not be an idle looker-on. We append the quotation from Mr. Hazeltine's article :—"It is at least conceivable that we may be threatened by a hostile European coalition, because we have determined to discharge our debt to civilization by insisting that to the Cuban revolutionists shall not be refused the rights secured to belligerents by the rules of modern warfare. Let us suppose that in a crisis of that kind the message should be flashed under the Atlantic that in the cause of humanity

and liberty England would not suffer us to stand alone. No man could deny that such a message would be a splendid proof of the sincerity of England's friendship, and we might then in truth believe in our possession of 'kinsmen beyond sea.'"

South Africa.

By mutual good-will, resolution, and patience, the deplorable situation in South Africa could be cleared up, but whether it will be cleared up is a totally different matter. If Mr. Chamberlain and President Kruger had a perfectly free hand to effect a settlement, we have no doubt they would arrive at a lasting and honourable arrangement which would assure peace between the two white races. There are two disturbing elements which, apparently, neither negotiator is in a position to get rid of, and they will continue to create soreness and friction so long as they maintain their present favoured position. On our side the Chartered Company—against which a very strong *prima facie* case of plotting to overthrow the Transvaal Government has been established—is to maintain its administrative position in South Africa, though its armed forces have been withdrawn. The enquiry into its complicity with the attack on the Transvaal is postponed until the conclusion of the comparatively trivial incident of the Jameson trial. The Government are said to have very binding reasons for this decision which have not yet been divulged, and which would place Mr. Rhodes' conduct in an altogether different light. We trust it may be so. We are not in the least in favour of "throwing him to the wolves," but we think the great man might be asked to expound the "Elizabethan" policy which culminated in the raid. Even *The Times* thinks the Cabinet would not have unduly derogated from Mr. Rhodes' dignity in asking him for an "explanation" of the cipher telegrams. It is suggested that at the proper time we may learn that Mr. Rhodes was genuinely pitted against the German Emperor, who in collusion with the Transvaal Government was maturing a deadly blow at British prestige in South Africa when Dr. Jameson was set in motion. As, however, "truth has less than the usual attractions" to many Rhodesian partisans who make circumstantial statements about South Africa, a "German plot" will have to be most incontestably authenticated before receiving credit from a frequently deluded public. Ananias himself would have no chance of competing against some of the *canards* that have been industriously circulated since the opening of the year.

"The Plague-Spot in the Transvaal."

While the British Government is saddled with an Old Man of the Sea in the shape of the Chartered Company, President Kruger is heavily handicapped by the Hollander faction in the Transvaal. These imported aliens, who hold high office in the Transvaal Government and have

been granted a variety of oppressive monopolies, are the curse of that country. Their policy consists in exasperating the British and exciting the suspicions of the Boers. When President Kruger acts upon his own initiative he appears to be a wise, humane, and pacific statesman. When, on the other hand, he allows himself to be guided by Dr. Leyds (the principal Hollander and State Secretary) he acts as egregiously as Mr. Chamberlain would if he surrendered to the blatant folly of Sir Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett. As the latter is a Boerphobe, so the former is an Anglophobe of a dangerous type, and since his recent return from Europe he has continuously exercised a sinister influence over the President. He dissuaded Mr. Kruger from his contemplated visit to England, has induced him to adopt a *non possumus* attitude towards the Uitlander grievances, was the author of the offensive suggestions that Imperial troops were being massed on the Transvaal frontier to carry out another raid, and has been working strenuously for the savage punishment of the Reform prisoners. The editor of *The Saturday Review*, who is a philo-Boer and a very malignant anti-Rhodesian, has written a most interesting article in his paper on the Hollanders, entitled "The Plague-Spot in the Transvaal State," in which he declares, as the result of a recent visit to South Africa, that Dr. Leyds is "the most serious obstacle to a good understanding between the Transvaal and the British Government." The Vice-Secretary, Mr. von Boeschoten, is "also a Hollander and an Anglophobe," the leading paper, *The Volkstem*, is in similar hands, and the judiciary is not free from the same taint; while, "of the teachers scattered over the country, seven out of every ten are Hollanders, who hate England and all things English," and "the coming generation of Transvaal Burghers is being nurtured in a detestation of England, which is bound to bring forth evil fruit." Dr. Leyds is doing his utmost to strengthen the Hollander element, which is almost as much hated by the Boers as by the British, as they are "greedy adventurers who care nothing for their adopted country; who go to the Transvaal only to enrich themselves by any means, and in the shortest possible space of time."

HIGH TREASON AND LÈSE MAJESTÉ.

On the reassembling of the High Court in Pretoria on April 27th the four Reform leaders, Colonel Rhodes, Mr. L. Phillips, Mr. Farrar, and Mr. Hammond, pleaded guilty to the charge of high treason, and the rank and file of the Reform Committee, numbering fifty-nine, to the minor charge of *læsio majestatis*. An explanatory statement was put in by the former to the effect that, having for years agitated constitutionally for justice to the Uitlanders, only to meet with contemptuous refusal, they had resolved on a demonstration of force, and a letter was despatched, inviting Dr. Jameson's co-

operation under certain contingencies. Learning that he meditated a premature movement they despatched a special messenger, Major Heany, to stop him. This mission was unsuccessful, and on realizing that he had crossed the frontier they prepared to meet any attack from the Boers, being "convinced that the Government and the burghers would not, in the excitement of the moment, believe that we had not invited Dr. Jameson in." They resolved, at the same time, "to spare no effort to effect a peaceful settlement," and laboured to that end. They hoisted the South African Republic's flag, and bound themselves to maintain its independence. They entered into negotiation with the Executive, and the President, in a proclamation, promised "the earnest consideration of grievances"; they further endeavoured to stop Dr. Jameson, and offered to "guarantee with their persons" that he should peacefully withdraw from Johannesburg if allowed to come in unmolested. Finally, they laid down their arms mainly because they were informed by the High Commissioner that the lives of Dr. Jameson and his men "were practically in their hands." A formal sentence of death by way of demonstration followed their plea of "guilty." The remaining prisoners were condemned to two years' imprisonment and three years' subsequent banishment, as well as a fine of £2,000. The Executive Council almost immediately removed the capital penalties, and, after three weeks' further consideration (during which one of the prisoners became insane and committed suicide), amended the various sentences as follows:—The four leaders, fifteen years' imprisonment and banishment; four of the others who refused to sign a petition for clemency, two years' imprisonment, banishment, and fine; another four receive one years' imprisonment and fine; twenty get five months and fine; twenty-two, three months and fine; while nine are fortunate enough to escape with the fine of £2,000 only. The Transvaal nets £116,000 in fines altogether. Considering all that the prisoners have already gone through, that three-quarters of them were in no way implicated in the raid, that all did their utmost to nullify its effect, that they are the chief captains of the Rand industry, which has converted the Transvaal from bankruptcy to affluence, and that the supreme need of all parties in South Africa is the assuagement of angry passions, we hope that by next month President Kruger's "well-known clemency" will have further asserted itself. No one except Dr. Leyds can think the infliction of substantial terms of imprisonment in Pretoria gaol a politic act.

THE DECIPHERED TELEGRAMS.

We have now to consider the other aspect of South African politics—which is scarcely more agreeable. In speaking in the House of Commons on February 13th, shortly after an interview of two hours with Mr.

Rhodes, Mr. Chamberlain made the following statement: "I say to the best of my knowledge and belief, that everybody, that Mr. Rhodes, that the Chartered Company, that the Reform Committee of Johannesburg, and the High Commissioner were all *equally ignorant* of the intention or action of Dr. Jameson. *That is the belief which I express to the House after having carefully examined all the statements of all the parties concerned.*" This view was implicitly accepted at the time both by the very numerous body of Englishmen who are unable to subscribe to the Rhodesian Legend as well as by the noisy adherents of that *culte.* Consequently great consternation was caused at the beginning of May on the publication of a series of code telegrams (which the Transvaal Government had found among the baggage of Dr. Jameson and his officers together with a key enabling them to be deciphered), showing that Mr. Rhodes was the principal organizer of the raid, though whether he desired it to start at the particular moment it did is still a matter of doubt. These telegrams show that from the early days of December the Reform leaders, Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Beit (a director of the Chartered Company), Dr. Jameson, and the other local officials of the Chartered Company were preparing a blow of some kind against the Transvaal Government. The telegrams are worded in the lofty jargon of the company-monger, and the *coup d'état* is referred to as "the flotation of a company." After an interchange of preliminaries Colonel Rhodes wires from Johannesburg on December 21st to Charter (*i.e.*, Chartered Company), Capetown :—

"Please inform C. J. Rhodes that it is stated that Chairman* will not leave unless special letter inviting him. Definite assurance has been given by all of us that on day of flotation you and he will leave. There must be no departure from this as many subscribers have agreed to take shares on this assurance. If letter necessary it can still be sent, but it was agreed document left with J. A. Stevens† was sufficient and that you are responsible for Chairman's departure. It is very important to put this right. Reply to Lionel Phillips."

The same day Harris,‡ Capetown, wires to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg :—

"Beit has telegraphed to Lionel Phillips last night to urge start flotation new company. You must see that wire, reply when you can float in your opinion so that I may advise Dr. Jameson."

Another significant telegram passed also on the same day from "Harris" to "Jameson" Pitsani (near the Transvaal frontier):

"A. Beit has telegraphed Lionel Phillips urging instant flotation new company. I have telegraphed also to Colonel F. A. Rhodes same effect Paul Kruger Presi-

* Dr. Jameson.

† Assistant-secretary of the Chartered Company in Capetown.

‡ Dr. Rutherfoord Harris, the Secretary of the Chartered Company in Capetown, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes' right-hand man.

dent Z. A. R. is returning immediately to Pretoria I will telegraph you again to-day."

The following telegrams speak for themselves, they show that Dr. Jameson received his *original* marching orders from Capetown on 23rd and 24th December.

Harris, Capetown, December 23rd to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg :—

"A. Beit has telegraphed to Lionel Phillips assuring him that chairman starts immediately flotation takes place. No invite necessary."

Harris, Capetown, December 23rd to Jameson, Pitsani :—

"Company will be floated next Saturday 12 o'clock at night. They are very anxious you must not start before 9 o'clock and secure telegraph office silence. We suspect Transvaal is getting aware slightly."

Harris, Capetown, December 24th to Jameson, Pitsani :—

"You must not move before Saturday night. We are freely confident this will take place Saturday night. Since Dr. Wolff left feeling our subscribers greatly improved."

"Too Awful! Very Sorry!"

At the beginning of the week preceding the raid the promoters of the "new company" seem clearly to have been of one mind; and Dr. Jameson, who had been chafing for some time on the frontier, was given the word to go. Almost immediately after some hitch arose, and on December 26th Dr. Jameson was sent the two following telegrams :—

"Harris, Cape Town, December 26th, to Jameson, Pitsani :—

"Following from Colonel F. A. Rhodes, dated 26th December—Message begins:—'It is absolutely necessary to postpone flotation. Chas. Leonard left last night for Capetown'—Message ends:—'Chas. Leonard will therefore arrive at Capetown on Saturday morning. You must not move until you hear from us again. Too awful: very sorry."

"S. W. Jameson,* Johannesburg, December 26th, to Jameson, Pitsani :—

"It is absolutely necessary to postpone flotation through unforeseen circumstances altogether unexpected, and until we have C. J. Rhodes's absolute pledge that authority of Imperial Government will not be insisted on. Charles Leonard left last night to interview C. J. Rhodes. We will endeavour to meet your wishes as regards December, but you must not move until you have received instructions, so please confirm."

On the following day (27th) "Harris" again telegraphs to Dr. Jameson, saying, "You must wait patiently." The Johannesburg party were evidently anxious to postpone "flotation," and "Harris" apparently tries to keep Dr. Jameson quiet. On the 28th December "Harris" again wires :—

"You are quite right with regard to cause of delay of flotation, but Charles Leonard and Hamilton of *Star* inform us that movements not popular in Johannesburg. When you have seen Captain Maurice Heany let us know by wire what he says. We cannot have fiasco."

For reasons which have not yet been divulged, Dr. Jameson elected to go on the day originally fixed, and the following telegram passed :—

"Starr—*i.e.*, Jameson—Pitsani, December 28, to Wolff :—†

"Meet me as arranged before you leave 9 Tuesday night, which will enable us

* Dr. Jameson's brother.

† Supposed to be Dr. Wolff, one of the Reform Committee of Johannesburg.

to decide which is best destination. Make Advocate W. A. Leonard speak; make cutting to-night without fail; have great faith in P. H. Hammond A. L. Lawley and miners with Lee-Metford rifles."

The penultimate telegram of this sensational series runs as follows:—

"Jameson, Pitsani, December 29, to S. A. Jameson, Johannesburg:—

"Dr. Wolff will understand the distant cutting: British Bechuanaland police have already gone forward: guarantee already given: therefore let W. H. Hammond telegraph instantly 'all right.'"

The amazing folly of trying to get up a revolution which was "not popular in Johannesburg" is, perhaps, the first thing that strikes the reader. There is one phrase which has naturally attracted great attention. Johannesburg demands a pledge that "authority of Imperial Government will not be insisted on" by C. J. Rhodes. This appears to signify one of two things, either that Mr. Rhodes was seeking to capture the Rand in the supposed interests of the British Empire in the teeth of a local separatist movement, or else that the Johannesburgers suddenly realized that they were being made the catspaw of the Chartered Company—seeking for a dividend—to whose broad dominions they would find themselves and their property annexed. Another point on which there is some natural curiosity is the mission of Captain Heany.

New Imperialism.

On the appearance of these telegrams Mr. Rhodes' champions in the Press, who are always bursting with a zeal in which there is no trace of discretion, decided to brazen the whole thing out. We had previously been told *ad nauseam* day by day that he was in no way responsible for the raid which was entirely Dr. Jameson's affair, and the raid had been thrown to the winds. Now we learnt that the policy of the raid was a magnificent conception of statesmanship and gallantry, and Drake, Raleigh, Clive, Hastings, Cavour, Garibaldi, and other worthies were cited as forerunners of Mr. Rhodes. Some dust may thus have been thrown into people's eyes, but it would surely be far wiser of his admirers to leave such perilous twaddle alone. The British Empire can hold its head high, not because there has been successful buccaneering in an age of chronic buccaneering, but because certain qualities are identified with the British character all over the world. Our prestige in India is not due to Clive's forgery or to Warren Hastings' cruelty, it is not founded on fraud or chicane, as the New Imperialists imply. It is largely due to the exploits of "the thin red line," but it also rests upon good faith, honour, and straightforward dealing. The *sahib's* word is as good as his bond. We take it as a high compliment that when President Kruger first heard of the incursion, he flatly refused to believe it on the ground that "Englishmen are not treacherous." It is unnecessary to elaborately rebut the New Impe-

rialism which does not extend beyond the gamut of the Chartered Company and the offices of a few newspapers which have lost infinitely more than their cause has gained by their bewildering conduct. Outside these strange precincts it is universally recognized that every age has its own code of morality, breaches of which cannot be exonerated on the ground that if they had happened at some other time they would have passed muster. We are unable even to see how the wretched dogma that the end justifies the means is applicable to this case. What was the end? Were the means calculated, under any circumstances, to effect it? When it is remembered that Mr. Rhodes was Premier of Cape Colony, in which the Dutch outnumber the English; that he had been given a free hand to carry out his policy of combining the two races; that Sir Hercules Robinson (who has signal influence with the Boers) had been substituted for Lord Loch as High Commissioner, with the same object; that the whole of South Africa below the Zambesi was coming to his call, one is reduced to blank amazement:—

> "But man, proud man,
> Drest in a little brief authority,
> Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
> Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
> As make the angels weep."

THE DEBATE IN THE COMMONS.

An elaborate debate was held in the House of Commons on the situation produced by the publication of the telegrams. Sir William Harcourt made a very damaging attack upon the Chartered Company, but pointed out that we as a nation "have made and can unmake their authority." They are the "responsible representatives of the British nation" and "if their conduct is dishonourable it is we who are dishonoured, and if we are willing accomplices in that dishonour it is upon us and upon our heads that the dishonour must fall." The speech in which Mr. Chamberlain expounded the views of the Cabinet was listened to with intense interest. He insisted that for the present there must be some reserve in public discussion, and that the situation in South Africa should be looked at as a whole, without giving undue importance to its more sensational aspects. "Our first object is to preserve our position as the paramount State. The second object is to bring about a better state of feeling, union, and concord between the two great races that inhabit that country." We should always bear Canada in mind where two races less akin than the Dutch and English work and live "in perfect peace and harmony." Mr. Chamberlain pointed out how this happy state of things had existed throughout South Africa, outside the Transvaal, up to the end of last year. He proceeded to give a history of

that State, showing the rapid growth of the Uitlander population and the steady curtailment of their civic *status* by the Transvaal Government, but to go to war as some wild spirits have suggested, to force on President Kruger "reforms in the internal affairs of his State, with which successive Secretaries of State have repudiated all right of interference, would have been a course of action as immoral as it would have been unwise." We have, however, the right of every nation to make representations on behalf of our own people in another State, and, as paramount power in South Africa, responsible for the security of the whole country, a double duty is cast upon us in the matter. The Government have summoned Sir Hercules Robinson from the Cape for fuller consideration of the whole South African problem. His position is exceptional, owing to his exceptional services. He has just received an unanimous vote of confidence from the Cape Parliament; he enjoys the confidence of President Kruger; he is on most friendly terms with the Orange Free State. The Government could have no better adviser. Mr. Chamberlain contradicted the childish rumours that have been circulated by rabid Rhodesians that Sir Hercules Robinson's recall is meditated. Mr. Chamberlain believes the crux of the situation to be found in the attitude of the Dutch within and without the Transvaal towards the political outlawry of the Uitlanders. For this to develop "breathing time" is above all things required.

MECHANICS' INSTITUTION NEW WINDSOR

THE ENQUIRY. Turning to the telegrams, "of which we have no reason to doubt the authenticity" although we have no "legal proof" of it, Mr. Chamberlain stated—rather mildly we venture to think—that they showed three things: (1) That Mr. Rhodes and one, at any rate, of the directors of the Chartered Company "knew and approved" of the proceedings of the Reform Committee; (2) That the same gentlemen "knew and approved" of the preparations for the entry into the Transvaal in certain eventualities; (3) That Mr. Rhodes disapproved and "tried to stop the invasion at the moment at which it actually took place." Blunter people affirm that the telegrams show Mr. Rhodes to have been the *deus ex machina* of the whole plot, that he could have smashed it up at any moment, that his efforts to stop it were halting, that he secreted himself to avoid counteracting its pernicious consequences. Mr. Chamberlain proceeded to pronounce a panegyric upon Mr. Rhodes of the familiar kind which many think well merited, though to anyone not behind the scenes it appeared untimely. As far as the Government are concerned Mr. Rhodes remains the Managing Director of the Chartered Company, but he is in a very different position to what he was, as not an armed man can now move "without what is practically the authority of the British Crown." Beyond their present negative position towards Mr.

Rhodes, the Government propose, after the solemn farce of the Jameson trial has been concluded, to institute a further enquiry of some kind into the *status* and conduct of the Chartered Company.

£1 FOR 5-SHILLING SHARES.

Mr. Chamberlain is much impressed with the difficulty of taking over and administering Imperially the territory of the Chartered Company; but what was not beyond the capacity of the late Government with regard to East Africa and Uganda is surely not beyond the capacity of their successors in South Africa? It is true that the East Africa Company came financially to grief, but there can't be much margin between the South Africa Company and liquidation, and if its shareholders were paid off at par they would receive very handsome treatment. For although the shares stand at about £3 in the market, that is a purely fictitious figure, due to the operations of "bears" and the controlling influence of a few big plutocrats. Intrinsically the shares are not worth more than 5s., as experts seem to think there is no paying gold in Mashonaland or Matabeleland —or at any rate no gold that will pay in the lifetime of living shareholders—a heavy indemnity is due to the Transvaal, and the enormous cost of the Matabele War has to be borne, to say nothing of compensation to settlers and the construction of the railway from Mafeking to Bulawayo, and from Bulawayo *viâ* Salisbury to the Beira route. We think it would be more dignified and generous to buy the Company out than to wait for it to be wound up. Mr. A. J. Wilson, in a recent *Investors' Review*, summarizes the accounts of the Chartered Company thus—

		Income. £	Outgo. £	Deficit. £
Year ended 31st March,	1891	3,961	475,394	471,433
„ „ „	1892	15,812	394,073	378,261
„ „ „	1893	38,290	139,840	101,550
„ „ „	1894	47,656	293,350*	245,694
„ „ „	1895	124,175	299,993	175,818
		£229,894	£1,602,650	£1,372,756

Mr. Wilson sees in continually fresh issues of shares the only way of postponing further the long-threatened bankruptcy. By this means their last year closed with a nominal balance in hand of £600,000. Mr. Chamberlain has an admirable opportunity of practising on an "undeveloped" estate, and we should suggest the issue of £10,000,000 Imperial Stock at 2¼ per cent. to be devoted to opening up Charterland under the auspices of Lord Grey. No Englishman and very few Dutchmen desire to see Mr. Rhodes permanently shut out

* Including £113,488, part of cost of Matabele War, but not the million odd given for the shares of the United Concessions Company, &c.

of South Africa, but if he were wisely advised he would insist upon taking his place by Dr. Jameson's side for the present. It appears to us that either the Jameson trial should be dropped or else it ought to be made intelligible by enlarging the list of defendants, so as to include the really responsible people. If Mr. Rhodes is clear of the Foreign Enlistment Act he might travel round the world for a year or two in order to open his mind. In any case his withdrawal from South Africa for a period would probably have a good effect, and would certainly, from his own point of view, be a wise step.

A Historic Division.

The debate on the Second Reading of the Education Bill culminated in a sensational division. The discussion had been somewhat barren and dreary, save for two brilliant maiden speeches delivered by Mr. Alfred Lyttelton and Lord Hugh Cecil respectively. Mr. Alfred Lyttelton is the Admirable Crichton of the day who touches nothing, from wicket-keeping to politics, that he does not adorn. His success was anticipated, but it is none the less gratifying as the Ministerial Party is not rich in rising lawyers who can charm the House of Commons. Lord Hugh Cecil is the youngest son of the Premier: he is an earnest and single-minded churchman, and, though a singularly retiring man, he advanced a passionate plea for religious education, the daring of which was only equalled by the delight it caused to his audience. By the common tribute of friend and foe, it was a very striking parliamentary success. The division produced these amazing and, indeed, unique figures on a first class measure :—

For the Second Reading	423
Against „ „	156
Majority for the Bill	267

The normal Ministerial majority of 150 was swollen to these gigantic proportions by the adhesion of fifty odd Irish Nationalists who voted for the Bill on account of the relief it will give to the struggling Roman Catholic Voluntary Schools of England.

Log-rolling in Extremis.

The action of the Irish members in supporting the Education Bill caused an explosion of wrath in Nonconformist circles which would have very considerable consequences were the Nonconformists not a somewhat exhausted volcano. At any rate they provided a very instructive insight into the workings of that puzzling mechanism called the Nonconformist Conscience. Dr. Berry, the Chairman of the Congregational Union, announced that the vote given by the Irish had "postponed Home Rule to a day which could not be guessed." Dr. Guinness Rogers followed, saying that "the Liberal-Irish

alliance is a doubtful matter" and that "the Irish Nationalists have postponed the chances of Home Rule *sine die*," that Nonconformists will adopt a different attitude towards it, &c. Mr. Hugh Price-Hughes, not to be outdone, announced that "both Mr. Gladstone's Bills are as dead as Queen Anne," and that Nonconformists now realize that "the wit of man has not yet devised any scheme of Home Rule that will secure fair-play, equal dealing, and justice either for Great Britain or for Ulster." He appealed to the Liberal Unionists "to heal that terrible breach in the party of progress." Finally, *The Methodist Times* devoted an article to "The Death of Gladstonian Home Rule," which has never been surpassed even in the world of Stiggins. We wish we could quote it in full, but have only space to refer to it. Its exordium set forth how "Gladstonian Home Rule uttered its last sigh and died" when "Mr. Dillon, the leader of the principal section of the Irish Party, sat down, after giving his official support to the Second Reading of the Education Bill. . . . . So ends one of the most heroic, tragic, and distressing chapters in the history of England." The writer proceeds to describe how the Nonconformists originally responded "with bleeding hearts" to Mr. Gladstone's "trumpet call" on the Irish Question, owing to "the sublimity and moral grandeur of his aim." After describing the various checks and shocks their feelings have sustained when, for instance, the Irish Nationalist Party "resolved that a convicted adulterer was not unfit to be their political leader," reference is made to the occasion when they used their influence "to prevent the erection of a statue to Oliver Cromwell." Their crowning crime on the Education Bill, which only applies to England, was "a flagrant violation of the principle of Home Rule itself"; they are "organized in the interests of the Vatican," and their object is "to subject England once more to the authority of an Italian priest." The peroration consisted of an imploring appeal to the Liberal Unionists to stand once more shoulder to shoulder "in opposition to the principles which have degraded Spain, and in defence of the principles which have made England."

CASTING OFF A MILLSTONE.

For ten years the great bulk of the Nonconformists have been working heart and soul in the Home Rule cause, and they have done their utmost to persuade their fellow-countrymen of its wisdom. They have told us that it represents justice to Ireland, wisdom on the part of England, and increased strength to the Empire. On its behalf they have preached a crusade and have carried on a bitter persecution against men like Mr. Chamberlain who were unable to share their views. Either Home Rule is good for their country or it is bad. What is to be said for men who are prepared to abandon what they believe to be good for their country, because on a totally different

question the Irish members have given a vote which the mere fact of their being Roman Catholics made inevitable? Or again, what can be said for the judgment of men who after a propaganda and persecution spread over ten years, turn round and tell us they have always had their doubts as to the wisdom of Home Rule which they now find to be beyond "the wit of man" owing to the Irish support of Voluntary Schools? We rejoice at the steady disintegration of the forces of national disintegration, but we regret to see ministers of religion making such a pitiful exhibition of themselves. It is difficult to resist the belief that they adopted Home Rule simply in furtherance of their general campaign against the Church, and now that they find it a millstone they are trying to get rid of it.

TWO MILITARY MEASURES.

Long years of experience have taught us the hopelessness of expecting, even from a strong Government, any really comprehensive measure which shall enable the War Office to adjust our military organization to the growing needs of an ever-expanding Empire. The root cause of the hand-to-mouth policy which prevails is the paralyzing influence of Party Government over administrative details and the ignorance of elected Members about even the A B C of our defensive requirements, coupled as it is with an unreasonable fear of delegating power and responsibility to War Ministers or Commanders-in-Chief until after an emergency has actually arisen. Knowing this, and fully recognizing the forces which are arrayed against him, a War Minister must come before Parliament warily and with as innocent an air as he can assume. If he sufficiently apologizes to noble lords and honourable members for venturing to carry out the duties of his office he may perhaps be able to induce them to pass some much needed enactment. We have this month to record that two most useful measures have been introduced by Lord Lansdowne, the Manœuvres Bill and the Reserve Forces Bill. He would, however, be a sanguine man who should predict that either of them will become law during the present over-loaded Session. The Manœuvres Bill will enable the Regulars, Militia, and Volunteers to assemble in considerable numbers for a brief training during the autumn and receive that instruction in field operations which is of such paramount importance to all ranks of the army. Hitherto our troops have had to confine their manœuvres to limited areas of waste heatherland or uninhabited forest, *i.e.*, their training has been restricted to the very country which an invading enemy would not select for his main advance against the Metropolis. The Manœuvres Bill will enable the staff to arrange for a series of operations over an extensive district, and upon a sensible basis in peace time.

Mobilization for Small Wars.

The Reserve Forces Bill is, on the other hand, essentially a practical measure for enabling us to carry out minor expeditions within the sphere of our Imperial rule without having recourse to that pernicious practice of depleting one battalion at home in order to send another battalion from these shores in a fit state for active service. It will also obviate the necessity of hurriedly despatching "composite batallions" of selected men from a variety of corps, such as was sent in December to capture Kumassi. The plan is to give the Secretary of State for War authority to recall to the colours those reserve men who have left the ranks during the previous twelve months, viz., the men who have just completed a period of seven years' service and are thus thoroughly trained and hardened soldiers. Most of them have had the additional experience of serving in India or the Colonial garrisons, and are thus in every way qualified to take the places of the recruits of under twenty years of age who necessarily belong to the home battalion, but must be left at the dépôt to complete their training when the battalion is suddenly ordered on active service abroad. The short service system has given us a reserve of 80,000 thoroughly trained soldiers. But at present, according to the Army Act, we can only use them "in case of imminent national danger or great emergency." Lord Lansdowne proposes that we shall in future make a portion of them available and that the Secretary of State shall be empowered to call these reservists out when it appears likely that their services will be required on a contemplated expedition. His plan is sensible, and its simplicity is obvious. It will enable us to send a body of 20,000 seasoned men to any part of the world at short notice and without interfering with the organization of the remainder of the army. Of a force of 20,000 men, some 5,000 to 6,000 would be reservists. Our only objection to the scheme is that a good proportion of these reservists would be joining regiments in which they had not passed their original period of training, but this disadvantage is greatly outweighed by the increased facility of mobilization which the Reserve Forces Bill will give us.

The Coronation of Nicholas II.

The coronation of Nicholas II. took place on Tuesday, May 26th, with all the pomp, pageantry, and homage befitting the consecrating ceremony. The London newspapers have vied with one another in giving accounts of the impressive scenes and entertainments. We wonder whether there is really a public ready to digest such overflowing narratives as those which appeared in the newspapers on the day following the

coronation. No busy men could have found time to read them. The religious ceremony took place in the Cathedral of the Holy Assumption, which is the most gorgeous of the four churches situated in the Kremlin, or Citadel, of Moscow. Some five millions sterling were spent on the *fêtes*. All Russia thronged to the event, and the great Governments of the world sent embassies. Great Britain was represented by the Duke of Connaught. Magnificent and imposing as the pageant was, it possesses little superficial political importance. No one, however, can deny that it represented a tribute to the success of Autocracy; and a curious feature in it was that the French Republic, whose mission it was to abolish Monarchies and Courts in Europe, was represented by a special embassy eager to congratulate the greatest Autocrat on earth upon his coronation, and grateful for his alliance. There was, however, no politics at the ceremonial. The new young Czar we believe to be actuated by the most friendly sentiments to England. We reciprocate them cordially, and wish him a long reign. We have been, no doubt, greatly disappointed at the line taken by Prince Lobanoff on the Armenian Question. The protection he so strangely afforded the Sultan of Turkey gave the latter a *carte-blanche* in regard to his treatment of the Armenians. We have, however, no other grievance against Russia, and on such questions we shall in future act alone. If British journalists will only cease to get up scares of the "Chefoo" order, and if they will recognize that Russian expansion may be as defensible as our own, we believe a friendly relation between the two countries is possible for an indefinite period.

French Politics.

The French Radical Cabinet resigned office on April 24th. Monsieur Bourgeois was foiled in his attempt to coerce the Senate. That body stood firm and refused to vote the Madagascar credits until another Cabinet entered office. In vain the Radicals stormed and postured as the Indignant People ready to snuff the Senate out—Great Suffrage *v.* Little Suffrage, &c. This game of bluff has been tried too often. The days of Barricades are over. Monsieur Pelletan may rave, but it is Monsieur Méline who comes into power with a Moderate Ministry. Monsieur Méline is well known as the Protectionist Leader. He was Minister of Agriculture under Jules Ferry in 1883, and was President of the Chamber in 1888-89. He is not supposed to be very friendly to England, and, certainly, as editor of the *République Française*, displayed much Anglophobism. His Ministerial statement was made to the Chamber on April 30th: he declared, like most of his predecessors, that his

policy will be one of conciliation, that he will oppose all projects of a Revision of the Constitution, and will substitute for the lately proposed Income Tax a tax less inquisitorial, and which will relieve the smaller taxpayers and agriculture. He did not deny the preponderance of Universal Suffrage, but claimed that the Senate had its allotted part within it. Monsieur Méline obtained a majority of forty-three for his declaration (299 to 256).

MONSIEUR HANOTAUX'S RETURN TO POWER.

The most important appointment in the New Ministry is that of Monsieur Hanotaux to the Ministry of Foreign affairs. France and Europe are to be congratulated on this appointment. We believe, Monsieur Hanotaux to be not less capable than he is anxious to preserve the peace of Europe. He showed himself during his last tenure of office conscientiously desirous of adjusting the differences between France and Great Britain, and it is to him we owe the appointment of Monsieur de Courcel as French Ambassador to London. The *rôle* of a fair-minded man who comes as French Ambassador to London is a somewhat difficult one to play. He has to become acquainted with the side of a dispute which is unknown to the French public. The very admission that there is another side, and that its recognition implies concession, injures him in the estimation of his ill-informed countrymen. Monsieur de Courcel has fulfilled his difficult mission with tact and ability. Through his instrumentality many disputes have been settled in a friendly manner. During Monsieur Hanotaux's absence from office there has been a breach upon the Egyptian Question: it has arisen, we venture to say, entirely from the general ignorance of the French public regarding the true position in Egypt and of the responsibilites which have devolved upon England. Books such as Sir Alfred Milner's *Egypt* and Slatin Pasha's remarkable narrative might as well be published in Timbuctoo in a Tuareg dialect so little are they communicated to the French people. Of one thing we may be certain, Monsieur Hanotaux would never have been guilty of the Bourgeois-Berthelot circular on the Egyptian Question. It is not entirely beyond hope that the new Minister may frankly recognize Egypt as being within the sphere of British influence—which it is *de facto*. A settlement of this sort (*pace* Monsieur Deloncle!) would certainly be best for French financial interests, and would lead to an *entente* between the two countries which would be equally valuable to both.

A Monarchical Demonstration.

In the meantime, while a succession of fragile Ministries seem to indicate the decay of France the young Duke of Orleans—pretender to the throne—grows impatient. He does not think that the French Monarchy can be reconstructed in the future "by the affectation of inert and expectant dignity standing motionless on distant shores, because of the greatness of its traditions, and deeming itself too lofty to mix with men and things." He had his project "formed by some of my young friends of the working-men's groups to induce demonstrations of electors upon my name." There was a vacant seat in a small village constituency called Cholet which is known to be at the disposal of two staunch Royalists. His royal dignity "would not be impaired, if in some French village, even were it the humblest, the voice of the electors designated me to serve my country"—as King. These extracts are from the letter which the Duke of Orleans addressed to the Duc d'Audriffet Pasquier, President of the Royal Committee, protesting against the "cool reception" which the royal project encountered—from the members of the Committee. After this communication, the veteran Duke resigned his post as President. He could not stand the Divine Right attempting to re-enter France in so ignoble a fashion, that is to say, by going to the poll as a sham parliamentary candidate. Howsoever much the Duke of Orleans may chafe at being compelled to remain "motionless on a distant shore," he is likely to be in that position for a considerable time longer, and not improbably for the term of his natural existence, unless, indeed, some rash act involved him in a worse fate. The landing of a second-rate Pretender would meet with little support. The French Republic has not been a great success, but it has at least kept the peace for twenty-five years, and would not be lightly discarded.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.*

Not long ago a gentleman who has had much to do with diplomatic affairs, referring to the number and variety of the controversies that have taken place between the United States and Great Britain, observed that these two countries seemed to have greater difficulty in understanding each other in the same language than they have in understanding other countries in foreign languages. In the late negotiations between China and Japan at Shimonoseki, many of the documents were originally prepared in English, and it is said that Count Ito, in respect of a certain stipulation, observed that it was "clearer" in that language. Had the eminent statesman recurred to the history of the diplomatic relations of the two great English-speaking peoples, perhaps he would have modified his opinion. The Government of the United States has concluded with the Government of Great Britain upwards of twenty-five treaties or conventions, and, though they were expressed in one language, the differences that have arisen in regard to their construction seem to have been proportionately more numerous than in the case of agreements concluded with other countries in two languages. This fact is not, however, so strange as at first blush it may appear to be. The relations between the United States and Great Britain have been at once more intimate and more diverse than those between the United States and any other country; and they have also been characterized by a certain political antagonism which is to be traced to the conditions under which the two countries became dissevered.

It has often been remarked that it was a great misfortune for the English race that the colonies out of which were formed the United States of America were not permitted to establish their independence in peace. While it may be true that, taking all things into consideration, the course of the British Government was not so wantonly oppressive as many writers and speakers have been led to represent, yet it is also true that the revolutionary struggle left behind it a legacy of mutual ill-feeling which has not ceased to influence international relations to the present day. Of the Treaty

* The writer of this article occupied the eminent position of Assistant-Secretary of State in the United States Government during the Secretaryships of Mr. Bayard and Mr. Blaine.—Editor *N. R.*

of Peace the United States could not complain. It was based, as its preamble declared, on broad considerations of "reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience," and if it had been followed by commercial arrangements of a corresponding character, it might have been attended with the most beneficent results. But, after a delay of nearly a year, the preliminary Treaty was made definitive without the addition of a single stipulation, and no arrangement in respect of commerce was concluded. For this condition of things the responsibility rested with Fox, whose name is indissolubly associated in America with the defence of colonial rights. But, unfortunately, at the moment of colonial independence, his course was controlled by the spirit of faction. Joined with Shelburne in the Rockingham Ministry, when Rockingham died, Fox resigned. At this conjuncture Fox, says Sir George Cornewall Lewis, had three courses before him: (1) To remain in Lord Shelburne's Government; (2) to resign with his friends and form a separate party; (3) to coalesce with Lord North and the Tories. Of these, the last was in our judgment incomparably the worst, and this was the course Fox selected. After the downfall of the Shelburne Ministry, Pitt, who retained the leadership of the House of Commons till the Coalition Ministry was installed, introduced a Bill which declared it "highly expedient that the intercourse between Great Britain and the United States should be established on the most enlarged principles of reciprocal benefit." By this Bill it was proposed to throw open the ports of Great Britain to the United States on the same terms as to other independent states, and, as an exceptional privilege, to permit American ships and vessels laden with the produce and manufacture of their own country to enter all British ports in America, paying no other duties than those imposed on British vessels. Fox not only opposed this measure, but he secured the passage of an Act by which the regulation of the trade with America was committed to the King in Council, and under the influence of Fox this power was exercised by restricting the trade with the British possessions to British-built ships, owned and navigated by British subjects.

The first attempt to establish permanent diplomatic relations was equally unfortunate, though it was not made until two years after the conclusion of the definitive peace. So far as the sentiments exchanged on that occasion were concerned, nothing was wanting to a complete reconciliation. "I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens," said John Adams, who, after playing a leading part in the Revolution, now appeared as the first minister of the United States at the Court of London, "I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens, in having the distinguished honour to be the first to stand in your Majesty's

royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men, if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection, or, in better words, the old good nature and the old good humour between people who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, and kindred blood." "The King," said Adams, "listened to every word I said, with dignity, but with an apparent emotion. Whether it was the nature of the interview, or whether it was my visible agitation, for I felt more than I did or could express, that touched him, I cannot say. But he was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had spoken with." "The circumstances of this audience," said the King, "are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say that I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly dispositions of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their minister. I wish you, sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensibly bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to consent to the separation, but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent Power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give to this country the preference, that moment I shall say, let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood have their natural and full effect."

Adams' mission, though thus auspiciously begun, accomplished nothing. No minister was sent by Great Britain to the United States. The provisions of the Treaty of Peace remained unexecuted. The situation was complicated by the inability of the Government of the United States, under the Articles of Confederation, to compel obedience to its authority. The indisposition of the British Government to make concessions in matters of commerce was confirmed by the fact that, in spite of restrictions, the course of American trade was towards England. As early as 1786 the French Legation at Philadelphia informed its Government that the proportion of English commerce with the United States to French was as eight to one. But, on the outbreak of the French Revolution, there was a great outburst of sympathy towards France which, when the war between that

country and Great Britain was declared, rendered it difficult for the Government of the United States to maintain an attitude of neutrality. A large part of the people of the United States, besides sympathizing with France as the ally by whose aid the country had achieved its independence, looked upon the war as a contest between the principles of democracy and the principles of monarchy. But the more far-seeing statesmen of the United States looked with apprehension upon the possibility that the people might be swayed by their affections and prejudices to participate in the struggles of Europe; and, in 1794, in the midst of the excitement, Washington determined to make an attempt to adjust the relations between the United States and Great Britain by a treaty. For that purpose he sent John Jay, the Chief Justice of the United States, to England. On the 19th of November, 1794, a treaty was concluded. For a time Washington withheld it from the Senate, and, when its provisions became known, they aroused a storm of denunciation. "I have brought on myself," said Washington, "a torrent of abuse in the factious papers in this country, and from the enmity of the discontented of all descriptions therein." Nevertheless, after the lapse of fifteen months from the date of its conclusion, the treaty was ratified and came into effect. In February last the centennial of its proclamation was celebrated in the city of New York with enthusiasm.

Had it not been for the Napoleonic wars, it is scarcely doubtful that the basis of intercourse laid in the Jay Treaty would have been gradually broadened by stipulations inspired by mutual interest and mutual good-will. Jay himself, in whom, as in Adams, the resentments of the Revolutionary period were succeeded by kindlier dispositions, felt that he had laid the foundations of future amity. "I daily became more and more convinced," said Jay, before his departure from England, "of the general friendly disposition of this country towards us. Let us cherish it. Let us cultivate friendship with all nations. By treating them all with justice and kindness, and by preserving that *self-respect* which forbids our yielding to the influence or policy of any of them, we shall, with the Divine blessing, secure peace, union, and respectability." But soon afterwards began the long struggle which ended with the downfall of Napoleon and the triumph of Great Britain. In this long contest the rights of neutrals were at first little respected; they were at length completely sacrificed.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing in connection with the war between the United States and Great Britain of 1812 is the fact that it did not occur five years earlier. If its declaration had finally been delayed for six weeks, it would not have been issued at all. Deceived by Napoleon, and exasperated by the apparent

futility of protests, President Madison brought himself to the point of recommending hostilities just at the moment when the British Government was on the point of suspending the orders in council and adopting a conciliatory policy. By many American writers the war of 1812 has been called the second war for independence, but the expression is euphemistic. While the conduct of the American navy was highly creditable, the most successful of the few engagements on land of which a candid American historian can boast was fought two weeks after the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace; and the peace was concluded on the basis of *status quo ante bellum*. But the Napoleonic wars came to an end, and with them slumbered questions of belligerent right.

It was not till 1830 that a permanent direct trade in American bottoms was established between the United States and the British possessions in America. This was an important step towards conciliation, but it was prevented from having its full effect by disputes as to boundaries and the fisheries. Canadians, we are told, think that their interests have been sacrificed to considerations of Imperial policy. In the United States, on the contrary, there is a general impression that the expectation of Imperial support has often led the colony to pursue a policy which would not otherwise have been adopted. But, however the fact may be, questions growing out of the contiguity of the British possessions in North America to the United States have repeatedly formed the subject of controversy. In 1846 the dispute as to the Oregon boundary brought the two nations to the very verge of hostilities. This dispute involved the possession of a domain of 600,000 square miles, lying between the parallels of 42° and 54° 40′ north latitude, and comprising the territory now included in the States of Oregon and Washington and the province of British Columbia. The declaration in the Democratic platform in 1844 that the title of the United States to the whole of this territory was "clear and unquestionable" was repeated by President Polk in his inaugural address, and was in substance affirmed by him in his first annual message. But by a treaty concluded on the 15th of June, 1846, the territory was almost equally divided, and the boundary was adjusted on the line of the 49th parallel of north latitude, which was deflected at the sea so as to leave the whole of the island of Vancouver in the possession of Great Britain.

Between the years 1850 and 1860 various questions of controversy were either settled or put in the way of adjustment, and the statesmen of the two countries could look forward to the gradual growth of more cordial relations when the Civil War in the United States broke out. When this struggle ended the relations between the two countries wore a grave aspect, which, in the course of the

next four years, became still more menacing. The controversies which had arisen in the half century intervening since the war of 1812 had furnished the occasion of sharp contention, but they did not have their origin in the deep and pent-up feelings of national injury, such as that which the depredations of Confederate cruisers, fitted out in British ports, produced in the mass of the people of the United States. Nor did the question growing out of the Civil War constitute the only subject of dispute between the two Governments. The controversy as to the San Juan Water Boundary, which was in train of settlement before the war began, was now revived. Moreover, on the 17th of March, 1865, before the war had yet been concluded, notice was given to the British Government, pursuant to a joint resolution of Congress, of the intention of the United States to consider the Reciprocity Treaty of June 5th, 1854, in relation to Canada, as terminated, in accordance with its provisions, at the expiration of twelve months from the date of the notification. The termination of this treaty brought the two Governments face to face with old differences, which had at times proved to be exceedingly troublesome, and, as if further to complicate the situation, there came the outbreak of Fenianism, dragging with it the vexed question of expatriation, which had formed a subject of contention in the disputes that led up to the war of 1812. Had the unfriendly influences in England which Lord Palmerston had for many years done so much to foster and create, and the bitterness of feeling in the United States represented by Mr. Sumner's speech against the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty, been permitted to prevail, the result can scarcely be a matter of conjecture. The occasion was one that demanded the highest statesmanship, and happily it was not wanting. It may almost be said that the turning of a hand might have precipitated a conflict; but, as on many prior occasions, the statesmen of the two countries had the wisdom to look beyond the influences and passions of the hour, and to maintain the permanent interests which it was incumbent upon them to preserve.

The brief narrative which I have attempted of certain historical events explains the existence in the United States of that feeling of antagonism to Great Britain which so often finds expression in the press and in political speeches. It is the legacy of past controversies, and as such should be deprecated and resisted. That it is now as widespread and intense as it was in former times I do not believe, for, while there may be occasional evidences to the contrary, there are also evidences of a growing popular conviction that the essential interests of both countries, as well as their obligations to civilization, demand that they shall not permit enmity to prevail between them. Nor should it be forgotten that in the

many controversies that have taken place between the United States and Great Britain since the war of 1812, there has always been found in the end a sound public opinion in favour of the amicable adjustment of differences. While it may be true that the settlement of the Oregon question in 1846 was facilitated by the prospect of hostilities between the United States and Mexico, there was a sober public opinion in the United States, as well as in Great Britain, that was utterly opposed to war between the two countries. This feeling was not inspired merely by sentimental considerations, nor were those who shared it confined to one political party. It proceeded from the general conviction among thoughtful men everywhere that war between the two countries, unless as a last resort for the defence of clear national rights and vital interests, would be a disgrace to their statesmanship, and a crime against civilization. "Who is the man," said Mr. Webster, in a speech at Faneuil Hall on the Oregon question, "at the head of either Government who will take upon himself the responsibility of bringing on a war between two nations like Great Britain and America upon a question of this kind, until he is prepared to show that anything and everything that he could do has been done to avoid such a terrible ultimate result? If a British Minister under whose administration a war should ensue on this question cannot stand up in Parliament and show that it is not his fault—cannot show that he has done everything which an honest and sensible man could do to avert the conflict, I undertake to say that no power or popularity can uphold his shaking position for an hour. And in the same sense and spirit I say, that if in this country any party shall, before we are aware of it, plunge us into a war upon this question, it must expect to meet a very severe interrogatory from the American people—must expect to prepare itself to show that it has done all that it could, without any bias from the pride of success or the love of war—all that it could do to keep the nation safe from so great a calamity, with the preservation of its rights and honour." Even in the darkest days of the Civil War there were many thoughtful men in America, as well as in England, who had the confidence to believe that the two Governments would ultimately reach a mutual understanding. In March, 1863, an eminent merchant of New York, at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, said: "While I deplore the agency of Great Britain in permitting vessels like the *Alabama* and *Oreto* to go forth to destroy our commerce, I have that faith in the British Government that when it understands all that is justly felt on this side of the water, the evil will be corrected." It was this feeling, shared by men of intelligence on both sides of the Atlantic, and especially represented in the United States by Hamilton Fish, who became

Secretary of State under President Grant, that led to the settlement of differences by the Treaty of Washington—a treaty which adjusted all pending disputes and left the two countries for the first time in their history without a boundary dispute.

In the quiet condition of Anglo-American relations following the adjustment of the Behring Sea question, the civilized world has lately been startled by the appearance of a question which, though by no means new, suddenly became the subject of acute international controversy. It is superfluous to say that I refer to the question of the boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela. Of this question little or nothing was known either in the United States or in Great Britain until a very recent period outside of their Foreign Offices. That it had suddenly become the cause of something very like a quarrel doubtless was, as has often been declared, a matter of complete surprise to most persons in Great Britain. But in America the case was somewhat different. While there were not many persons who were prepared for, and while there were certainly very few who could have anticipated just such an outbreak as occurred, yet an intelligent observer of events in the United States could not have failed to remark the possibility of future complications.

In October, 1894, there appeared a pamphlet entitled *British Aggressions in Venezuela; or, the Monroe Doctrine on Trial;* by William L. Scruggs, Jurisconsult for the Government of Venezuela, late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Columbia and to Venezuela. Though I have rarely seen a reference to this pamphlet in the public journals, it was, I believe, the actual source of most of the information that was disseminated by the Press on the boundary question; and in 1895 a second and revised edition of it was published, with the omission from the author's title of the words, "Jurisconsult for the Government of Venezuela." The appearance of this pamphlet is of historical importance, since it marked the beginning of a systematic popular agitation of the boundary question as a subject involving the Monroe Doctrine. While the precise boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana had not, said this pamphlet, been definitely fixed by treaty, it was inferable, from historical facts; and "the persistent aggressions of the stronger Power upon the jurisdiction of the weaker had reached a point where they directly threatened the dismemberment of one of the Spanish-American Republics, and indirectly menaced the sovereignty and territorial integrity of at least two others." The true boundary, it was maintained, was the river Essequibo. In January, 1895, a joint resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Livingston, a Member from Georgia, in which it was proposed that arbitration

"be earnestly recommended to the favourable consideration of both the parties in interest." The debates on the resolution show that it was adopted merely as a suggestion; indeed, it was amended in the Senate so as to bear purely a suggestive form. But, after the adjournment of Congress, the agitation in the Press increased rather than diminished; and many articles were published demonstrative of the soundness of the Venezuelan position, and with maps exhibiting graphic illustrations of the aggressions on Venezuelan territory.

In this way a very general conviction was produced that, by the exercise of superior power, a gradual absorption of Venezuelan territory was taking place; and this conviction was confirmed in the popular mind not only by the refusal of the British Government to accept unrestricted arbitration, but also by its refusal to submit to arbitration any territory within the Schomburgk line. In the latter circumstance there was more to warrant the popular impression than in the former. The Schomburgk line, whatever may be its historical justification, was drawn *ex parte;* and it was not treated by Her Majesty's Government as definitive till 1886. But as to the question of unrestricted arbitration, the popular inference was more plausible than sound. While it is true that the Schomburgk line was *ex parte,* the claim of Venezuela to the Essequibo as a boundary was confessedly arbitrary. In a memorandum communicated by Mr. Andrade, the Venezuelan Minister at Washington, to the Secretary of State, Mr. Gresham, on the 31st March, 1894, and published in the volume of the foreign relations of the United States for that year, the boundaries of the captaincy-general of Venezuela in 1810, to which the Republic of Venezuela now lays claim, are described as follows: "On the north, the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean *beyond the eastern bank of the Essequibo;* on the south, the Marañon or Amazon River; on the west, the viceroyalty of Sante Fé; and on the east, Dutch Guiana, which, by the convention of August 13th, 1814, signed in London by His British Majesty and the United Provinces of Netherlands, came to be the British Guiana of the present time." Such is the description; but, says the memorandum, "out of moderation and prudence, however, she (Venezuela) has contented herself with claiming the Essequibo line as that dividing Venezuelan Guiana from British Guiana." From this statement, which I happened to read soon after its publication, I derived the impression, which was confirmed by the examination of maps and historical writings, and especially of Spanish maps, that the claim of Venezuela to all the territory west of the Essequibo was based not upon occupation, but upon the theory that Spain and her successors could, by virtue of original discovery and the Papal Bull of 1493

assert title to all the territory of the Guianas which they had not by treaty alienated to other Powers, though such powers had occupied and maintained possession of the territory through all the vicissitudes of more than three centuries of conflict in Europe and in America. In this view of the matter I could easily comprehend the "prudence," if not the "moderation," which induced the Venezuelan Government to refrain from pressing an indefinite claim to territory "beyond the eastern bank of the Essequibo." It is a matter of common knowledge that Spain's claims to territory in America merely by virtue of original discovery and the Papal Bull, were utterly disregarded by other nations. Spain and Portugal themselves, though they were the intended beneficiaries of the Papal Bull, did not observe its provisions. Great Britain and France fitted out expeditions of discovery, and took possession of territory in defiance of it. The very treaty of Münster of 1648, between the Spanish and the Dutch, provided, in language strictly reciprocal, that the contracting parties should "continue in possession of such lordships, cities, castles, fortresses, commerce, and countries in the East and West Indies, as also in Brazil, and upon the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America respectively, as the said Lords, the King, and the States respectively hold and possess"; and it by anticipation confirmed to the Dutch "the forts and places which the said Lords the States shall hereafter chance to acquire and possess without infraction of the present treaty." In other words, the treaty acknowledged the principle of possession—the rule of the *uti possidetis* derived by international law from the Roman law—the principle that has been adopted as the great solvent of boundary disputes, especially in South America. In the passage heretofore quoted from the memorandum of the Venezuelan Minister of 1894, it is stated that the captaincy-general of Venezuela was bounded in 1810 on the south by "the Marañon or Amazon River." An examination of the map will disclose that there now lies between the southern boundary of Venezuela and the Amazon a large tract of territory in the possession of Brazil, almost as large as the present republic of Venezuela. How came this to be? The answer may be found in the first article of the treaty between Brazil and Venezuela of November 25, 1852, by which the high contracting parties "agree upon and recognize as a basis for the determination of the frontier between their respective territories, the *uti possidetis*, and in conformity with this principle they declare and define the boundary line." Nor is the effect of possession confined to the particular settlements that may be made. On the contrary, in the determination of territorial rights in America certain general principles were acknowledged, one of which was

"that when any European nation takes possession of any extensive sea-coast, that possession is understood as extending into the interior country, to the sources of the rivers emptying within that coast, to all their branches and the country they cover, and to give a right, in exclusion of all other nations, to the same." Such was the language used by Messrs. Pinckney and Monroe, the representatives of the United States, in discussing with Don Pedro Cevallos, the Minister of State of Spain, the boundaries of Louisiana; and it since has been adopted by many eminent writers on the law of nations. It was this principle that gave to Brazil the basin of the Amazon. And, if I had been required to express an impartial opinion on the subject, I should have said that the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana should be directly settled on the basis of the *uti possidetis*, at the time of the transfer of Dutch Guiana to Great Britain, and, if the parties could not agree as to what that possession was, then by an arbitration on the same basis.

The diplomatic correspondence between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Olney, and the Message of President Cleveland to Congress, it is not within the scope of my present purpose to discuss. But, as an American, and as one who has had some knowledge of President Cleveland's devotion to duty and his desire to promote international justice and goodwill, I deem it proper to say that it is impossible to believe that he has at any time wished for any other than a peaceful settlement of a vexatious controversy. It is obvious that to the invocation of the vague and undefined, but very powerful, sentiment commonly called the Monroe Doctrine, are in large measure to be ascribed the excitements and misunderstandings that have attended the recent discussion of a question which, if it had been treated on its merits in the first instance, might not have been, and certainly ought not to have been, hard to solve. That it will ere long be adjusted honourably and satisfactorily, the possession of that practical commonsense of which Englishmen and American alike boast, does not permit us to doubt.

I have already adverted to the fact that in the many controversies that have taken place between the United States and Great Britain in the last eighty years, there has always been found in the end a sound public opinion in favour of the amicable adjustment of differences; and it is in this way that, in spite of adverse influences, the ties of mutual interest and of a common civilization have been made manifest. The identification in their fundamental institutions of the principles of liberty and law has confirmed in the minds of the people of both countries the idea of legality, which has led them to resort to judicial methods, rather than to methods of violence, for the settlement of their differences. Thus they

have already afforded, in the conduct of their relations, the most conspicuous illustrations in modern history of the practicability and beneficence of international arbitration. May they not take yet another and a greater step in that direction by the establishment between them of a permanent arbitral tribunal? On the 14th of February, 1890, the Senate of the United States passed a concurrent resolution, which was adopted by the House of Representatives on the 3rd of the following April, by which the President was "requested to invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments, which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency, may be referred to arbitration, and be peaceably adjusted by such means." On the 16th of July, 1893, a responsive resolution was passed by the House of Commons, "cordially sympathizing with the purpose in view," and expressing the hope that Her Majesty's Government would "lend their ready co-operation to the Government of the United States upon the basis of the foregoing resolution." Since that time it is understood that negotiations have been in progress between the two Governments for the establishment between them of a permanent arbitral system. With a view to promote the accomplishment of this end, many meetings have lately been held in the United States; and at a national conference at Washington, on the 22nd and 23rd of April, which was attended by representative men from all parts of the Union, the following resolutions were adopted:—

"This national conference of American citizens assembled at Washington, April 22, 1896, to promote international arbitration, profoundly convinced that experience has shown that war, as a method of determining disputes between nations, is oppressive in its operation, uncertain and unequal in its results, and productive of immense evils, and that the spirit and humanity of the age, as well as the precepts of religion, require the adoption of every practicable means for the establishment of reason and justice between nations, and considering that the people of the United States and the people of Great Britain, bound together by ties of a common language and literature, of like political and legal institutions, and of many mutual interests, and animated by a spirit of devotion to law and justice, have, on many occasions, by resource to peaceful and friendly arbitration, manifested their just desire to substitute reason for force in the settlement of their differences, and to establish a reign of peace among nations; that the common-sense and enlightened public opinion of both nations is utterly averse to any further war between them; that the same good sense, reinforced by common principles of humanity, religion, and justice, requires the adoption of a permanent method for the peaceful adjustment of international controversies, which method shall not only provide for the uniform application of principles of law and justice in the settlement of their own differences, but shall also by its example and its results promote the peace and progress of all peoples, does hereby adopt the following resolutions:

"(1.) That in the judgment of this conference, religion, humanity, and justice,

as well as the material interests of civilized society, demand the immediate establishment between the United States and Great Britain of a permanent system of arbitration, and the earliest possible extension of such a system to embrace all civilized nations ;

"(2.) That it is earnestly recommended to our government, as soon as it is assured of a corresponding disposition on the part of the British government, to negotiate a treaty providing for the widest practicable application of the method of arbitration to international controversies ;

"(3.) That a committee of this conference be appointed to prepare and present to the President of the United States a memorial respectfully urging the taking of such steps on the part of the United States as will best conduce to the end in view."

It may be observed that these resolutions speak merely of a "permanent system" of arbitration. Such a system may be established either by the creation of a permanent tribunal, or by the adoption of a permanent plan for the constitution of special tribunals as occasions for them may arise. As between these two methods, the former, in my opinion, possesses manifest advantages. The creation of a tribunal in which the people of both countries had confidence would not only tend to secure for the system popular support, but it would also avoid the difficulties that often attend the selection of arbitrators in the midst of a controversy. The creation of a permanent tribunal would also tend to produce uniformity of decision, and thus contribute to the development of international law. As to the jurisdiction of such a tribunal, it is generally conceded that the contracting parties would not agree beforehand to refer all matters in dispute between them. There are, however, certain subjects which are on all hands admitted to be eminently proper for arbitration. These subjects might be expressly included without prejudice to any others which the contracting parties might from time to time agree to refer, and without expressly including any. I make these suggestions merely for the purpose of exhibiting some of the practical aspects of the proposal to establish a permanent system of international arbitration.

J. B. Moore.

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION NEW SWINDON

JUSTICE TO EGYPT.

In an article published in the April number of this Review—most of which was written before the Soudan expedition was announced—I gave my reasons for thinking that it was England's duty to remain in Egypt, for the present, at any rate. Those reasons were founded on the good work England and her sons have been doing in Egypt, and on the duty which lay upon her to accomplish a half-completed work. But, before that article was sent to press, the Soudan expedition had been determined on by the English Ministry; steps were being taken to carry the design into immediate execution; and the cost was, by the direction of the English Government, to be saddled on Egypt. Under these circumstances, I expressed my doubt whether such a course would not, in the absence of further explanations, inflict serious evils upon Egypt; whether it would not neutralize the benefits which English administration has conferred upon Egypt; and whether it would not consequently do away with the only good reason England has for remaining in Egypt. Those doubts have not been removed by any action or speech of the Government, and I shall be obliged if you will allow me to tell you why.

I do not wish to argue the general question of the Soudan expedition. The question I wish to have answered is: What is the interest of Egypt in this expedition?—for, unless it is made for the sake of Egypt, England is not justified in spending the hard-earned economies of Egypt upon it; in throwing away Egyptian lives; and in suspending all the useful works which are the life-blood of Egypt, and which alone justify our continuance in the country.

Now, there are various reasons given on behalf of the Government. Mr. Curson is, of course, a subordinate, and does not speak as a member of the Cabinet; but Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Salisbury between them speak with all the authority of the Government.

What do they tell us? It is not easy to compress Mr. Chamberlain's speech into a nutshell; but the following is an endeavour to state his meaning fairly: "We do not know, or cannot or will not tell you how far we mean to go; but we mean to go as far as our

power of overcoming resistance enables us to go: where we go there we mean to stay, and that will be our frontier. The immediate cause which has put us in motion are the Italian disasters; but our real object is to give Egypt a good frontier instead of a bad one, and in so doing we expect to satisfy and please the patriotic feeling of Egyptians."

The vagueness of the plan has struck everyone, and it is specially remarkable as coming from a man of so clear an intelligence. Is it unfair—is it not only just to those who proclaim such a plan, especially in the light of subsequent developments, to credit their intelligence with the intention of reconquering the whole of the Soudan as far as the sources of the Nile; and to debit them with the apprehension that if they were to announce this intention at once, they might so frighten the public as to prevent the first plunge? But, however this may be, the vagueness of the Government plans makes it all the more difficult to form an opinion on the soundness of the reasons they allege for their advance. Let us take them as they stand. And first as to the case of Italy, which was much laboured by Mr. Chamberlain. He put it as if the cause of Egyptian civilization were the cause of Europe against Africa, of the white civilized races against black savages. Now, if the cause of Italy at Kassala had had the importance thus attributed to it, it is at least remarkable that our advance should have been from Wady Halfa, rather than from Suakim; and as regards the Italian case generally, it would have carried more conviction to many of us if we had been told that it was essential to the foreign policy of England in Europe to support the Triple Alliance, than to be told that it was our object to support white civilization against black savagery. What would Mr. Chamberlain say, for instance, if the question were not between the black savages of Central Africa and Italians, but between the Dervishes of the Soudan on the one hand and the white civilization of the Belgians, and behind them of the French, on the Congo and Bahr el Ghazal? Is it, in short, the Dervishes of whom the Government are afraid, or is it of some other European Power on the Upper Nile? The point is all important to the question I have raised, for if our object is not to subvert expiring Mahdism but to anticipate other European Powers on the Upper Nile by establishing English influence there, the cause is an English cause upon which it is unjustifiable for England as a trustee for Egypt to spend Egyptian blood and Egyptian treasure.

But, says Mr. Chamberlain, we are to give Egypt a new and a better frontier. Assouan and Wady Halfa are unsafe; the Dervishes make raids on the villages south of Korosko; and it is necessary for the security of Egypt to advance the frontier to—Heaven knows where—for our Government does not. Now, in answer to this it

may be sufficient to point out that ever since the defeat of the Dervishes at Toski, Egypt has been perfectly safe from anything but an occasional raid upon one or two remote frontier villages; that these raids have nothing whatever to do with the security of Egypt properly so-called which lies below Assouan; and that as late as the 5th February last, after the date of the last raid, Lord Cromer, the best judge on such a question, treated them as of no practical importance. I know myself by personal experience that in January last the Nile between Assouan and Wady Halfa was perfectly safe for ordinary travellers; and when I am told that a subsequent concentration of Dervishes made it unsafe and rendered it necessary to restrict the liberty of travellers, I would ask what becomes of the assertions so constantly made by the best informed advisers of the Government, that the Khalifa's Government is collapsing under the weight of its own iniquities, and so far from being able to invade Egypt will not be able to oppose a firm front to its Egyptian invaders. And I would further ask whether the orders for restricting the liberty of travellers made in the beginning of this year were due to any real danger, and whether they were not rather anticipatory of the determination to advance? But in truth, this talk of an improved frontier is the purest nonsense, unless it means the entire subjugation of the Soudan. The frontier of Assouan and Wady Halfa has during the greater part of the long history of Egypt been its natural and trustworthy frontier—the frontier of Pharaohs, of Ptolemies, of Romans, of Arabian and Turkish conquerors, and, in late years, of the Anglo-Egyptian Government. It has the navigable Nile and a rich country behind it; it has hundreds of miles of impracticable desert in front of it. When Mr. Chamberlain says that we have set aside the Wady Halfa frontier by proceeding to Murad Wells, he must surely know that these wells are merely an outpost in the desert of the Wady Halfa frontier which it is necessary to occupy, because it is the only place where water can be procured by the Dervishes within striking distance of the Nile. Those who would improve the position of the frontier garrison by placing the desert between themselves and their resources, are bound to tell us why and where they intend to place the frontier. And this the Government not only do not tell us, but ostentatiously proclaim their inability to do so. Wherever the frontier is placed, so long as there is savagery around and beyond it, there must be danger of raids and attacks, and to tell us that we are to quit a tried and safe frontier for one—Heaven knows where; to be defended, Heaven knows how—is to make large drafts on our credulity.

But then we are to please and satisfy the public opinion of Egypt. What public opinion, we may ask? Is it the opinion of Egyptian officers and officials? Or is it the opinion of Cairo as expressed in

their French newspapers? Or is it the opinion of the owners and tillers of the soil—of the Fellaheen, and how is any such opinion obtained? When, we may further ask, did this public opinion of Egypt assume such importance? Do we consult the opinion of Cairo when that opinion is, as is often the case, opposed to what we think desirable? And how about the opinion of those who are interested in public works, and especially in the irrigation works which are the life-blood of Egypt and which will inevitably be stopped by this squandering of Egyptian savings on the sands of the Soudan?

The following is an extract from the correspondent of *The Times*, dated Cairo, April 11th, which throws some light on this part of the question :—

"A Government Circular has been issued to every department enjoining in the strongest terms the strictest economy in expenditure in consequence of the military requirements of the Dongola expedition. This means practically the starving of growing departments by the refusal of further grants and a consequent check to administrative development. Even *viremente*, or transfers of savings in one department for the development of another, are forbidden. Naturally, every precaution must be taken in view of a possible formidable embarrassment of Egyptian finances."

But, says Mr. Chamberlain, "the funds to be used for the Soudan War are to come from a fund which we are not permitted to use in *any other way* for the benefit of Egypt." But are we permitted to use them in *this way?* Is not the question now under litigation? And if we succeed in getting permission so to use them, is it not because we have, in some way or another, induced Germany to back us in doing so? In other words, we can break like Samson through the meshes of the *Caisse* when we wish to thrust Egypt into a policy of war and invasion; but we lie helplessly entangled, when urged by our representatives in Cairo to make those peaceful improvements which are vital to the well-being of the inhabitants. Under such circumstances can anyone who has the real interests of Egypt at heart be satisfied with such reasons for our present policy as are given in the speech of Mr. Chamberlain?

Lord Salisbury's view, as stated in his speech to the Primrose League on the 29th April, is on totally different lines. He says that we are bound to stay in Egypt until we have "restored" what he calls "the frontiers of Egypt," or, as he oddly enough expresses it, until we have made Egypt, as measured by the Nile, twice as long as it is. I will not quarrel with a phrase which makes the Soudan an essential part of Egypt. But what shall we say, what will France and Europe say of the reasoning which makes us conquer the Soudan in order that we may be able to quit Egypt with a good conscience? If there is one thing clear from history it is that when Egypt governed the Soudan, the Soudan was a curse to Egypt; and that the Egyptian Government was a curse to

the Soudan; not so bad, perhaps, as the tyranny of the Mahdi—but so bad, that it invited and encouraged that tyranny; so bad, that it disgusted every European who went there. The truth is that Egypt is incapable of governing herself, and much more incapable of governing the Soudan. If the Government of the Soudan is not to be the disgrace and scandal which it was under Egyptian rule, it must, as Mr. Chamberlain admitted, be conducted by such Englishmen as those who have hitherto controlled the Government of Egypt. In other words, so far from the conquest of the Soudan enabling us to quit Egypt, as suggested by Lord Salisbury, the hold which England now has of Egypt must be clenched and perpetuated by the additional responsibility of governing the Soudan.

The opinion to which most Englishmen would attach the greatest weight is that of Lord Cromer, and on this subject we have a positive allegation in one direction by Major Griffiths in the May number of the *Fortnightly;* and an equally positive and much more detailed statement in the opposite direction by Mr. Wilfred Blunt in the May number of the *Nineteenth Century*. Lord Cromer is a man of too much experience in the public service to wear his opinions on his sleeve, especially if they are not entirely at one with those of his superiors—and a cautious man will hesitate before giving implicit belief to either of the above statements. But we are not precluded from drawing inferences from official utterances; and we have the undisputed fact that so late as February last Lord Cromer, in his official report, treated the question of the Soudan frontier, in spite of the then recent raid, as one of no immediate urgency; that there were no despatches from Lord Cromer on the subject of the advance at the time when it was determined on by the Government at home; and that the Government decline to produce the telegrams they have received from Lord Cromer on the subject. If we are wrong in drawing the natural inference from these facts it is easy for the Government to set us right.

There are, I am aware, many other reasons which have been given for reconquering the Soudan. Some of them concern Egypt, *e.g.*, the control of the Upper Nile so as to prevent any civilized Power from controlling and diverting the low water supply; the trade of Egypt with the Soudan; and the use of the Soudan as a recruiting ground for the Egyptian army. Much has been said on all these subjects by the supporters of the Government, but as they form no part of the Government case as stated by its own members, I forbear from touching them. Others do not concern Egypt, or if they concern Egypt, concern Egypt through England, *e.g.*, the advancement of humanity by the suppression of savagery in the Soudan, the support of the Triple Alliance by helping Italy: the

fear of French or Russian influence on the Upper Nile, and the expediency of keeping open a possible extension of English influence from the Nile to Uganda and other parts of Central Africa. But these have not been openly adopted by the Government as reasons for their policy; and it is clear that if adopted they would not justify us in making Egypt pay the cost. They are matters for the Taxpayers of the United Kingdom, not for the Fellaheen of Egypt.

In making these observances, I have confined myself to the question with which I started, viz., whether any case has been shown by the Government which justifies England in using the hardly-earned savings of the Egyptian Government and the lives of the Egyptian Fellaheen in the present expedition against the Soudan; and for sacrificing to this indefinite expenditure of blood and money all prospect of peaceable improvements in Egypt; and this question seems to me to have received no satisfactory answer from any responsible Minister of the Crown. If I am right, it does not follow that the expenditure is wrong. But it does follow that the Government are either bound to give more satisfactory reasons than they have hitherto done for the course they are pursuing, or to come to Parliament boldly and ask the British taxpayer to meet the expense which, so far as we now understand them, they are throwing on Egypt. When they do this, and not till then, we shall have the justice and expediency of the expedition fully and fairly argued in this country. If they continue to carry on this enterprise at an unlimited cost to Egypt, without showing that Egypt will reap equivalent benefit, their action will show that they have forfeited for England the character which English administrators have won for England in Egypt: that they have wasted the blood and the money of Egypt in adventures as unjustifiable as those of the Turkish Pashas; and, whilst riveting the bonds in which England holds Egypt, they will have forfeited the only title which justifies England in remaining there.

I by no means allege that this is the case. I only say that it may be the case for anything which the Government has stated to the contrary, and that it rests with them to show their hand much more fully than they have yet done, if they wish to justify their position and to prove that they are not guilty of the incredible meanness of indulging in an English Jingo policy at the cost of the unfortunate Fellaheen.

FARRER.

NOTE.—Allow me to correct a slip of the pen in my previous article. I said that our former policy with respect to Turkey led us to support Mehemet Ali against the Porte. It should of course have been "led us to support the Porte against Mehemet Ali."

ARTHUR YOUNG.

THE name of Arthur Young suggests to most readers a discussion of the causes of the French Revolution. The importance of the famous *Travels in France* is in fact sufficiently shown by the frequent references of the most competent writers, both French and English. Mr. Morley, for example, declares that Young's evidence is of more value than all the speculations of Burke and Paine, and Mackintosh—the English protagonists in the great controversy of the time. Young, again, had a great deal to say upon the state of Ireland in his day, besides being a leading authority upon agricultural development in England. No one, however, need fear that this article will lead them into profound economical, or political, or historical discussions. For the present purpose, I have rather to protest against a too probable inference suggested by these topics. Young's connection with them may probably lead those who know only his name to put him down summarily in the great class bore; to assume that he was a ponderous professor of the dismal science or an early example of that most estimable but not always lively species, the highly intelligent politician who travels in vacation time, storing his mind with useful information to be radiated forth in lectures and essays, and excite the admiration of parliamentary constituencies. Young, no doubt, deserves that kind of glory in a high degree. What I wish to do is to call attention to the fact that he was also a human being—or what in our disagreeable modern slang is called a "personality"—of great interest. He was not a walking blue-book, but a highly sensitive, enthusiastic, impulsive, and affectionate man of flesh and blood, whose acquaintance one would have been glad to cultivate. His last biographer congratulates the world upon the fact that he did not, as he was tempted to do, become a clergyman or a soldier. In either capacity his peculiar talents would no doubt have been comparatively wasted. As a soldier, he would probably have been known only by some ingenious but futile expedition. Had he taken orders he might have rivalled the charm of some of his amiable contemporaries, Gilbert White, of Selborne, for example, and would have been a model clergyman of the good old patriar

chal type; but he would hardly have made a mark upon theological speculation. Yet, his actual career, however appropriate to his talent, was such as to draw a certain shade over his personal qualities; and, as unfortunately he was not commemorated at his death in an adequate biography, they have, perhaps, not been sufficiently recognized. That any recognition is possible is due in great part to Miss Betham-Edwards, who prefixed a short memoir to the last edition of his *Travels in France* (1892). Miss Betham-Edwards did her duty excellently; she not only appreciated his qualities but had access to unpublished sources, including diaries and letters of great interest. Unluckily the necessary limits of a preface have prevented her from doing more than drawing a sketch, lifelike as far as it goes, which tantalizes the reader by brief glimpses of possible filling up of details. I depend upon her statements for most of what follows, so far as it is not drawn from his own writings. I hope only to introduce a few more readers to a personal acquaintance whom I have found to be very charming.

Arthur Young was born on 11th September, 1741. He was the son of a respectable prebendary, who was chaplain to Speaker Onslow, and both squire and rector of the parish of Bradfield, near Bury St. Edmunds. His mother, whose maiden name was Cousmaker, was the descendant of a Dutchman who had followed William III. to England. Miss Betham-Edwards suggests that the pleasant rural district in which Young passed his infancy may account for his love of scenery. Something more would be required to explain whence a man, descended from Dutch and East Anglian ancestry, derived the mercurial temperament which we do not generally associate with either country. Both father and mother, however, were handsome and intelligent, and we do not know enough of the laws of heredity to account for the appearance of this brilliant contrast to the ponderous squires of Suffolk and the three-breeched merchants of Holland. Anyhow, Arthur Young showed his qualities early. He learnt little at his school, Lavenham, partly, he thinks, because he became so much a favourite with his teacher as to be spared the usual discipline. When he was about ten, however, he was already "writing a history of England," and at thirteen learning to dance and falling in love with the beautiful daughter of a village grocer. He was taken from school at an early age and apprenticed to a mercantile firm at King's Lynn. There he again fell in love, his first idol being the black-eyed daughter of a partner in the firm, who was taking music lessons from Burney, then organist of Lynn, and father of the future Mme. d'Arblay. He was already writing pamphlets and getting them published, receiving payment in "books," but apparently learning nothing of his proper business. At any

rate, on his father's death in 1759, he left Lynn "without education, profession, pursuits, or employment," and for want of other occupation took a farm belonging to his mother at Bradfield. To improve his prospects, he married at the age of twenty-four (in 1765) a Miss Martha Allen of Lynn, neither the first nor second object of his adorations, which apparently it would not be easy to enumerate. He might, it would seem, have made a better choice. Mrs. Young is said to have been shrewish, and Young certainly regretted his precipitancy. The lady was sister-in-law of Mrs. Stephen Allen, Burney's second wife, and stepmother of Miss Burney who has left some characteristic touches. Young confided to Miss Burney a few years later, either from confidence in her prudence, she says, or from his general "carelessness of consequences," that he was the "most miserable fellow breathing," and that "if he were to begin the world again, no earthly thing should prevail with him to marry." On the whole, one might expect that a youth, who is bound to an uncongenial wife and proposes to make his living by farming, chiefly because he knows as little of any other employment as he does of agriculture, has made an unpromising start in life. But those who may have made such a prophecy had not taken into account Young's marvellous elasticity. He was one of the men who, if in the depths of depression at one meeting, are sure to be at the height of exhilaration at the next. Nothing could permanently suppress or daunt him. Compensations were sure to turn up. If his wife was occasionally a thorn in his flesh, he was at least a most affectionate father. His own farming operations were as little successful as though his lot had been cast in the worst days of depression; but they entitled him to set up almost at once as an authority upon the theory of agriculture. He made tours and published accounts of his observations. The result of his own experience was, as he puts it, "nothing but ignorance, folly, presumption, and rascality" (the rascality, we hope, in spite of the grammar, was that of his neighbours); but he learnt to judge of other people's farms, and his books were of most singular "utility to the general agriculture of the kingdom." He failed at his native place, after a short time, and immediately took a larger farm, and had to pay £100 to another man to take it off his hands, when his successor made a fortune out of it. At a third farm he spent nine years, with the sensation of having been all the time "in the jaws of a wolf."* He had, he says, tried 3,000 experiments; and must therefore be reckoned wise if we may invert Darwin's criterion that a fool is a man who never tried an experiment. There is, however, such a thing as being wise for others instead of

* There is some discrepancy between the facts as given by Miss Betham-Edwards and in Young's account in the *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. xv.

for oneself. Whether Young's general views were sound is more than I know. They were at least stimulating. He was becoming well-known to agricultural reformers, and from 1773 to 1776 he travelled in Ireland, where he was, for a short time, agent to Lord Kingsborough's estates in County Cork. Whatever was the result to Lord Kingsborough, Young's experience was embodied in a book upon Ireland second only in value to the French travels. He settled again at Bradfield upon his mother's property, and there, after a time, started a new project. Next to the farming, without experience, one of the most promising roads to ruin that can be suggested is starting a solid periodical. Young accordingly in 1783 set up the *Annals of Agriculture*, which was to be the organ of all benevolent men and good farmers. It certainly succeeded in so far as it attracted notice; and it is worth turning over, not only for Young's own articles, but because it contains contributions from many of the most distinguished men of the time upon important topics. The poor-laws, for example, are discussed by Jeremy Bentham and Sir F. Eden, the author of the leading book upon the subject. Another contributor who conceals himself under the modest name of "Ralph Robinson, farmer at Windsor," is said to have been no less a person than George III. himself.* Young, however, has still to complain of his financial results. His circulation only amounts after seven years to 350; and he is still engaged in the familiar employment of flogging a dead horse. The *Annals* only just paid their way; but they spread his fame. His name on the title-page is followed by a list of titles which shows that he had received honours in France, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland. Among his admirers was the philanthropic Duke de Liancourt—the Anglomaniac French nobleman who announced to Louis XVI. that the fall of the Bastille was not a revolt but a revolution. On Liancourt's invitation, Young made his famous French tours from 1787 to 1790.

The travels are deservedly very famous, but they have hardly been popular in proportion. They owe such popularity as they achieved to the advice of a very sensible friend. The tour in Ireland, said this adviser, had no great success, because it was chiefly a "farming diary." It was filled with elaborate statistics and tables of prices which presupposed a strong appetite for information in the reader. The right plan to gain readers was to put down the notes made at the moment as they occurred to him. The book might lose in solidity, but would gain in vivacity. Young

* Bentham, I may note, firmly believed that his favourite scheme had been discouraged by George III. because the King had been his anonymous antagonist in a newspaper controversy. The letters of Junius, it is also said, have been ascribed to the same author. But I have my doubts in both cases.

fortunately took this advice, which deserves to be recorded as one of the few known instances of advice by which an author has actually profited. It was, in fact, singularly appropriate, for Young was essentially a man whose first impressions were the most valuable, as well as the most amusing. It is often better to know what a man thought than to know what he afterwards thought that he ought to have thought. "I was totally mistaken in my prediction," as he quaintly remarks in a note to his travels, "and yet, on a revision, I think that I was right in it." That is, the facts which really happened were those which, at the time, were the most unlikely to happen. Few historical facts are more interesting than the motives and expectations which prompted the originators of movements really calculated to produce opposite results. Young, too, was better at observation than at reflection. When he revised his old journals and cut out the personal elements, he was substituting a set of statistical diagrams for a concrete picture; and he filled the vacant space by economic speculations of very inferior merit. Miss Betham-Edwards, indeed, declares, as it is natural for an enthusiastic biographer to declare, that Young instinctively anticipated Adam Smith, and Mill, and Cobden, and all the pundits of economy. He was, if I may be pardoned for saying so, much too charming a person to deserve that equivocal praise. He is delightful by reason of his vivacity, his amiable petulance, and unconscious inconsistencies. The wisest philosopher, if he honestly put down his first thoughts, would be always contradicting himself. We get the appearance of consistency only because we take time to correct, and qualify, and compare, and extenuate, and very often we spoil our best thoughts in the process. What would Mr. Ruskin lose if he cared for consistency? The price of suppressing first thoughts may be worth paying by a man whose strength lies in logic, but with a keen, rapid, impetuous observer like Arthur Young we would rather do the correcting for ourselves. His best phrases are impromptu ejaculations. "Oh, if I were Legislator of France for a day," he exclaims, at the sight of estates left waste for game preserving, "I would make such great lords skip again!" These sentiments, he assures the reader, were "those of the moment," and he was half inclined to strike out many such passages. It was because they were "of the moment" that they are so impressive. Had he omitted them he would have taken off the edge of his best passages, though he might have expressed his later views more correctly.

This temperament, I need hardly argue, is not the ideal one for a political economist. His views should be expressible in columns of figures, and he should never let a vivid impression guide him till he has reduced it to tangible statements of profit and loss. He

must deal in sober black and white, and be on his guard against the brilliant shifting colours which are apt to generate illusions as to the real proportions of the objects of vision. Young, indeed, was a sound economist—and that, no doubt, is what Miss Betham-Edwards means—in so far as he was a thorough Freetrader. The "whole system of monopoly," he declares, "is rotten to the core, and the true principle and vital spring and animating soul of commerce is LIBERTY!" That, however sound may be the doctrine, is the utterance of an enthusiast, not of a sober, logical reasoner. He was animated by the spirit of the contemporary philosophy. The great object of his idolatry was Rousseau. In his French travels he visits the tomb of that "immortal" and "splendid genius," whose "magic" is teaching French mothers to nurse their children, and French nobles to love a country life. He denounces the "vile spirit of bigotry" which hunted Rousseau during his life as though he had been a mad dog. At Chambery he turns even from his economical speculation to something still more interesting, the cause of the "deliciously amiable" Mme. de Warens, and described "by the inimitable pencil of Rousseau." He sought for information about the lady and could only discover that she was "certainly dead." In fact, as he produces a certificate of the occurrence of that event some thirty years before there seems to be no reason for doubting it. With this enthusiasm Young found a keen interest in the writings of the French economists, whose theory of the surpassing importance of agriculture was more congenial to him than Adam Smith's rival doctrines. One of the most amusing episodes in his French travels records his visit to the scene of the labours of the great Marquis de Turbilly. The reader who is ashamed of not remembering the name may be comforted by finding that even in his own country the great man's memory had faded within twelve years of his death. Young, however, boldly introduced himself to the new proprietor of the estates, was introduced to one of Turbilly's old labourers, and went off happy with an autograph of the great marquis to be placed among his curiosities. Other pilgrimages of the same kind, to places connected with names faintly remembered, it is to be feared, in England, prove the keenness of Young's interest in the literature of his favourite subject. Young's belief in Free Trade implies his acceptance of the chief doctrine of the French Economists, and his sympathy with the general movement of the time. Anyone who should be surprised that Young as the staunchest of agriculturists was not a Protectionist, would, of course, be guilty of an anachronism. In those days Adam Smith observes that the landowning classes were far more liberal than the manufacturers. England was only just ceasing to export corn, and Young was roused to his most indignant mood

by the desire of the clothmakers to maintain restrictions upon the exports of English wool. What he really illustrates, indeed, is the spirit which we generally associate with the great revolution of manufacturers, as applied to the contemporary development of agriculture.

Another variety of Young's enthusiasm makes a pleasant and characteristic contrast to his discussions as to the prices of corn and rates of wages. A genuine love of scenery breaks out in his English tours, though it is generally consigned to the notes, the text being preserved for the graver purposes of statistical information. It has, too, a peculiar turn which marks the man. It may be doubted whether our admiration for "Nature" is really so new as we sometimes fancy. The old squire or country parson may have loved the forest or the moor as well as his descendants, though his love was unconscious. The scenery may have given a charm to his favourite pursuits, his fishing or his hunting, though he did not talk about it, or even know it. Scenery, even in poetry, was kept in the background of human figures, but was not less distinctly present. In Young's time, however, the country gentleman was becoming civilized and polished; he was building mansions with classical porticoes, filling them with pictures bought on the "grand tour," and laying out grounds with the help of Kent or a "capability" Brown. He was beginning, that is, to appreciate the advantage of adapting the environment to his dwelling-place; and the new art of "landscape gardening" was putting the old formal gardens out of fashion. Pope's garden at Twickenham had become famous, and Shenstone, as Johnson puts it, had "begun to point his prospects, to diversify his surface, to entangle his walks, and to wind his waters; which he did with such judgment and such fancy as made his little domain the envy of the great, and the admiration of the skilful." Johnson will not enquire whether this "demands any great powers of mind," but he admits that "to embellish the form of nature is an innocent amusement." Young, who was a most determined and indefatigable sightseer, had no misgivings about the "powers of mind" required. He visits the houses of the nobility most conscientiously, gives little criticisms of their pictures, which have at least the merit of perfect simplicity, and falls into ecstasies over the "embellishments of the form of nature." He visited the lakes mostly at the time when Gray was writing his now celebrated letters, and his descriptions are equally enthusiastic, if not of equal literary excellence. He "does" the neighbourhood of Keswick in the most systematic way; and, I am glad to say it to his honour, is not content without climbing to the top of Skiddaw. He complains gently, however, that art has not been properly called in to the aid of nature

He would like winding walks and properly-fenced seats, which should enable him to look comfortably from the edge of precipices, and be led to them as a well-arranged surprise. His eloquence is stimulated to the highest flights when he visits Persfield on the "Why" (as he spell the river's name). There a judicious improver has laid out an estate in the most skilful way, so as to display the glories of the Wyndcliff and its neighbourhood. Young is almost carried off his feet by his delight, but he recovers sufficiently to intimate some gentle and apologetic criticisms. He gives us an æsthetic discussion as to the correct method of mixing the sublime with the beautiful in due proportions. Young's contemporary, Gilpin, remarks of the same place that it is not "picturesque," but extremely romantic, and "gives a loose to the most pleasing riot of the imagination." Nothing in the way of literature seems to keep so ill as æsthetic criticism; and we must not be hard upon these poor old gentlemen. They held that nature wanted a little judicious arranging and dramatizing. At Wentworth Young pronounces that the woods and waters are "sketched with great taste," and that the woods in particular have a "solemn brownness" which is gratifying to the connoisseur. Young had not read Wordsworth, for obvious reasons, and when he wants a bit of poetry has generally to resort to Pope's "breathes a browner horror o'er the woods." He much approves of a statue of Ceres and "a Chinese temple" which temper the rawness of nature at Wentworth; and elsewhere he gives another of his artless æsthetic disquisitions upon the proper theory of sham ruins. They ought, he thinks, to represent the real thing, and should not be made into mere places for tea-drinking. Whatever may be Young's limitations, however, it is impossible to doubt that his enthusiasm for the beauties of nature is as hearty and genuine as that of Gray or of any of the generation which learnt its canons of taste from Wordsworth. At Killarney, for example, he is thrown into raptures of the most orthodox variety, and when he comes within sight of the Pyrenees Mr. Ruskin himself could not accuse him of deficient feeling. "This prospect" (from Montauban), he says, "which contains a semicircle of a hundred miles in diameter, has an oceanic vastness in which the eye loses itself; an almost boundless scene of cultivation; an animated, but confused, mass of infinitely varied parts, melting gradually into the distant obscure, from which emerges the amazing frame of the Pyrenees, rearing their silvered heads far above the clouds." Young, one cannot doubt after reading this and other passages, would have been in these days an honorary member of the Alpine Club, as well as of his numerous foreign agricultural societies.

There is, indeed, one exception to his enthusiasm. He would

not have accepted Scott's love of the heather. He always speaks of "heather and ling" with a kind of personal animosity. They are signs of the abomination of desolation. His criticism of French chateaux shows both sentiments. He is shocked, and with sufficient reason, at the game-preserving wastes which surround them, but he is also disgusted, in a minor degree, by the want of proper landscape-gardening. Their great houses are often built in the purlieus of a town; and what might be made into beautiful grounds abandoned to the baser purposes of stables or other utilitarian erections. Young naturally has the eye of the country gentleman as his successor Cobbett had the eye of the practical farmer. Neither could take the simply sentimental view; and in each, therefore, a most genuine love of country scenery is combined with an almost fanatical horror of a waste. Young would have sympathized with Cobbett's denunciation of the "accursed hill" of Hindhead, which some of us now find to possess certain charms; or have approved Defoe's remark, that Bagshot Heath had been placed by Providence so near to London in order to rebuke the pride of Englishmen by showing that the heart of their own country could be as desolate as a Scottish moor. Young, however, approved what Cobbett has begun to dread, the application to agriculture of the same spirit which was creating the manufacturing system. His ideal was the improving landlord. He accepts Gulliver's maxim that the man who could make two blades of grass grow where one had grown before, could deserve more of his country than all the politicians put together. Young had, as he said, passed his life up to fifty in trying to fulfil that duty; and he was not less energetic in his later life. It sums up his whole code of conduct. Every political and economical project was to be estimated by its tendency to increase the produce of agriculture. Other ends are secondary. The sight of land which might bear corn and only produced ling vexes his very soul. He regarded Enfield Chase as a simple "nuisance" —a scandal to the Government of the country—and he calculates that Salisbury Plain might be made to grow food for the whole population. For sympathy, again, he looked to the country gentleman. Not one farmer in 5,000, he complains, ever read a book; he is not foolish enough to waste his missionary zeal upon them; but the country happily abounds with gentlemen-farmers, and they are the sources of all improvement. His heroes are Tull, who introduced turnips; and Weston, who introduced clover; and Lord Townshend and Mr. Allen, who introduced marling into Norfolk. Wherever he sees a gentleman who has the sense to devote himself to such labours he pours out blessings on his head. I do not know whether he is most enthusiastic over the Marquis of Rockingham, who had taught the farmers of Yorkshire to grow better crops, or

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, NEW SWINDON.

over the Duke of Bridgewater, whose great canal was among the first symptoms of the great manufacturing development of Lancashire. He was an incarnation of the spirit of improvement which was transforming England in his days; and there is something pleasant in his sanguine optimism as to public affairs, when his own little enterprises were anything but prosperous. The darker side of the great industrial revolution which was to alarm Cobbett was still hidden from him. The growth of pauperism, which began with war and famine at the end of the century, was still in the future. In the earlier period all patriots were still lamenting over an imaginary decline of the population, which could not be disproved by the imperfect statistics of the time. Young has to meet their Jeremiads by rather conjectural figures as well as by his own observations of growing prosperity on all sides. His views are often oddly different from those which came up with the next generation. He denounces the poor-laws—partly on the familiar ground that they are demoralizing incentives to idleness. But he hates them still more because they were, as he puts it, "framed in the very spirit of depopulation." He reckons it as one of the great advantages of Ireland that the absence of poor-laws encourages a rapid increase of the numbers of the people. No one could speak more warmly of the importance of improving the condition of the poor in Ireland and elsewhere, but he has no thought of the dangers which alarmed Malthus and the later economists. The one merit of the old poor-laws according to them was that the parishes had an interest in checking the growth of the population. That, according to Young, was the cardinal vice of the system. The great aim of the statesman should be an increase of population. The way to increase population is to take all fetters from industry. Cultivate waste lands, turn Salisbury Plain into arable fields, carry cultivation, as Macaulay hoped we should do, to the top of Helvellyn and Ben Nevis; make roads and canals, introduce threshing-machines and steam-engines, and population will increase with the means of employment. He is a little puzzled at times by the conflict of interests. Low wages, he remarks, are good for the employer; and he observes that, in London, wages are high. Therefore, he argues, the statesman should limit the size of London. There are other reasons for this. London is a devouring gulf; the deaths greatly exceed the births; it is actually eating away population, and should somehow be kept down in the interests of agriculture. Another symptom which vexes Young's soul is the enormous consumption of tea. Tea, in the first place, is debilitating generally, and therefore tends to diminish numbers; and, in the second place, it is unfavourable to agriculture. If all the money spent upon tea were spent upon corn enough corn could be raised,

as he calculates, to support four millions of people. Finally, the money spent upon tea is all thrown away upon the Chinese instead of supporting British industry. Young was evidently rather vague in his political economy; though it would be unfair to take some of these *obiter dicta*, thrown out on the spur of the moment, as his definite conclusions. In another respect, Young is very unlike his followers. How are we to get rich? he asks; and his answer is, by increasing our debt of 140 millions to 200 millions. The additional sum, he explains, is to be spent on reclaiming waste lands. He wishes Government to interfere energetically, and complains bitterly that English statesmen have always neglected agriculture. England, as he tells a French friend, "has had many Colberts but not one Sully." Our husbandry has flourished in the teeth of our Ministers, and is far from what it would be had it received the same attention as trade and manufactures. Once more, to make two blades grow in the place of one is the ultimate object of all rational conduct, the tendency to produce that result the criterion of all policy and energy in bringing it about the duty of all ministers, politicians, and private persons. All good things will follow.

Young's devoted and unflagging zeal, and his sanguine confidence in his principles is equally attractive, whatever the inconsistencies or rashness of his speculations. This must be remembered in reading his French travels. Young is generally cited as justifying the Revolution; and his later recantation regarded as one of the many instances of inconsistency due to the reign of terror. It must be observed, however, though it certainly does not diminish the value of his evidence, that Young was never a political follower of the revolutionists. His real sympathy was with his Anglomaniac friends, Liancourt and his like. The question is, as he says in 1789, whether the French will adopt the British Constitution, with improvements, or listen to speculative theorists. The result, in the latter case, would be "inextricable confusion and civil wars." Young's great merit is precisely that he records his impressions of facts so vividly and candidly that the value of his evidence is quite independent of the correctness of his political conclusions. I will not ask what those conclusions should be. Young's point of view is the characteristic point for us. The French conditions inverted his English experience. In England he has to be constantly lamenting the want of roads; but what roads there were were thronged. In France there are magnificent roads, but "circulation is stagnant." In Languedoc he passes "an incredible number of splendid bridges and many superb causeways," but a certain *Croix Blanche* is an "execrable receptacle of filth, vermin, impudence, and imposition," presided over by "a

withered hag, the demon of beastliness." Not a carriage to be had. In England you have towns of 3,000 people, cut off from all high roads, yet with clean inns, civil hosts, and a post-chaise ready at a moment's notice. Young wishes to have both the energetic Government and the energy of private enterprise. He admires the great public works of France, but is stirred to wrath by the apathy of the individual Frenchman. Though he is constantly acknowledging the courtesy of Frenchmen, and their superiority in many points of refinement, he is oddly annoyed by their taciturnity. He can never get any adequate conversation at a *table d'hôte*. Possibly the excellent Young, who was clearly ready to talk to anybody, was a little impeded in France by the fact that (as we learn from Miss Burney) his knowledge of the language was limited, and he filled up any gaps by inserting English words with an imitation of the French accent. He could certainly make a speech under pressure, for he describes how he once pacified a suspicious mob, which thought that the inquisitive traveller must be devising schemes for taxation. He pointed out that in his own country the rich were taxed for the poor,—there was some good in the poor-laws, after all! But a further explanation is suggested from his lamentation over the surprising ignorance of their own affairs in the provinces. There were no newspapers and no political talk, even at the exciting times of the Revolution. Petty English tradesmen, he declares, were talking about the last news from France all over the country, before any interest in the matter had spread to the people directly affected. In English counties the newspaper circulated from the squire's hall to the farmer or the small artisan; but the French *seigneurs* formed no centres of superior enlightenment. They crowded into the towns and spent their rents upon the theatres; they only visited the country when they were banished; and then they turned great districts into mere wildernesses to be roamed over by boars, wolves, and deer. They made one blade grow where two had grown before. Young admired the English country gentleman as the active supporter and originator of all improvements. His French rival was a mere incubus, an effete "survival." In France, according to Young, half, if not two-thirds, of the land was already in the hands of small proprietors. The peasants supplied the industry, and carried out what improvements there were. They illustrated his famous phrase, "The magic of property turns sand to gold." Meanwhile, the great *seigneurs* do nothing; they receive quit rents and enforce *tailles* and *corvées*, and all the oppressive incidents of feudal tenure. Young accordingly transfers to the peasantry the sympathy which in England he felt for the country gentleman. He did not object to the large proprietor as such; but to the pro-

prietor, large or small, who did not do his duty by his property. He draws up an indictment against the French nobility, which is all the more impressive because it does not imply any preconceived political theories. At one moment he approves of the French peasantry for seizing waste lands by force; and even wishes that the English peasantry were authorized to take similar steps. After all, waste land is the great evil of the world. But it is quite intelligible that from his point of view the actual course of affairs in France should have convinced him that too high a price might be paid even for the appropriation of a waste. In England, Young's zeal for agricultural improvements was never qualified. It must, he was clear, be good for everybody. He tells landlords that they are foolish for boasting of not raising their rents. To raise rents (within limits, he admits) is the best way of stimulating industry. His ideal person is a certain wonderful collier. The owner of the property had tried to improve the condition of his workmen by giving them small allotments of waste land. One of them worked from midnight till noon in the mine, and after his twelve hours, spent eight more upon improving his bit of land, removing gigantic rails, and finally turning nine or ten acres into cultivated fields. Young celebrates this extraordinary feat of working twenty hours a day for several years, with characteristic enthusiasm, and offers to receive subscriptions for the hero, which, we will hope, enabled the collier to relax his industry.

At a splenetic moment during his French travels, Young, riding on a blind mare, just misses a meeting with Charles Fox, who had excited the wonder of the natives by his modesty in travelling with nothing but a post-chaise, a cabriolet for his servants, and a courier to order horses. "A plague on a blind mare!" exclaims Young; "but I have worked through life, and he TALKS!" Young had talked a good deal, too; especially on paper; but his momentary grumble was pardonable. His "3,000 experiments," and his various attempts to get out of perpetual anxiety had brought him little but reputation. George III., indeed, sent him a merino ram, much to his satisfaction; it proved that the King had just views of glory, and that a period was coming when "more homage" would be paid to a prince for giving "a ram to a farmer than for wielding a sceptre." George III. soon found it necessary to devote more time to his sceptre than to his rams; but Young's path was happily crossed by a congenial and more useful friend. Sir John Sinclair was an ideal representative of the dismal science. He atoned for being an intolerable bore by doing some excellent work. He inherited a large estate in Caithness, and began his reign by assembling his tenants and making in one day a road over an inaccessible hill; and he set to work enclosing, rearranging farms, in-

troducing fisheries, and generally rousing the primitive Gaelic population to a sense of the advantages of civilization. He promoted agricultural societies, and introduced the "long sheep" into the Highlands. His son tells us that due regard was paid in his improvements to the interests of the poor; that a tide of prosperity set in and population increased rapidly. At any rate, Sinclair translated into practice Young's most cherished principles. Sinclair sat at the feet of Adam Smith; and travelled to Sweden and Russia in search of information: and wrote a *History of the Revenue*; and became a Member of Parliament. He began, in 1791, to publish a book of great value, the *Statistical Account of Scotland*. He is said to have been the first person to introduce the word "statistical" into English, and this book, a collection of reports from the ministers of all the Scottish parishes, was of great importance at a time when people did not even know for certain whether population was increasing or declining. Sinclair, in 1793, persuaded Pitt to start the "Board of Agriculture." Arthur Young had bet the nineteen volumes of his *Annals* against the twenty-one of Sinclair's *Statistical Account* that Pitt would not consent. He lost the bet, to his great satisfaction, for, though the Minister would only allow £3,000 a year, Young was made secretary with a salary of £600. Now, with the congenial Sinclair, he could set to work and, on however modest a scale, Government would at last set about producing those two blades of grass. Their first aim was to do in England what Sinclair had done in Scotland. The English clergy were to be asked to rival the Scottish ministers. But here occurred a significant difficulty. One of Young's pet theories was that tithes were an intolerable burthen to agriculture. He would not confiscate them; but would commute them for an increase of glebe. The English clergy, he explains, had so little to do that they naturally took to dancing and sporting, if not to still less decorous pursuits. Agriculture was the natural employment for them, as, indeed, it was the ideal occupation for everyone. The clergy, however, suspected, not unnaturally, that gentlemen of these views might be insidiously attacking the tithes and would probably be putting awkward questions. The Archbishop of Canterbury protested; and the Board had to be less inquisitive, and confined itself in this direction to publishing a number of reports upon the agriculture of counties. They tried, however, to promote their grand object by other means. The worthy Sinclair once made a joke—not, it is true, of the first water; but still, as it was his only joke, he naturally repeated it as often as possible. This was to give as a toast, "May commons become uncommon!" He fully shared Young's mania. What is the use, he would inquire, of conquering colonies? Let us first conquer Finchley Common and compel Epping Forest to "submit to the yoke of

improvement." His son claims for him the merit of actually making the suggestion which led to the enclosure of Hounslow Heath. With all their energy, Sinclair and Young could never persuade Parliament to pass a General Enclosure Bill; but they claimed to have facilitated the process which went on so rapidly in their time. They helped in the break-up of the common field system, the source of all slovenly agriculture according to their views. Meanwhile, it is to be feared, the Board became rather a nuisance. It was a rather anomalous body, with no very definite functions; and it went about like an intrusive busybody, trying to stir up people in general by every means in its power. It offered premiums for inventions, and encouraged scientific writers to give lectures and produce books, and held meetings where good agriculturists might make each other's acquaintance; but it is said to have ultimately become a kind of political debating society, and finally expired a few years after the peace.

Sinclair had by this time returned to Scotland, where he was liberally bestowing his tediousness upon his countrymen and the world. He got up Highland games, promoted the use of the bagpipes, and defended the authenticity of Ossian. He expounded his opinions in numerous pamphlets—his son gives a list of 367 of these productions—and, finding the employment insufficient, spent his spare time in composing four gigantic cyclopedias, which were to codify all human knowledge upon health, agriculture, religion, and political economy. The first two alone were published, and I confess that I have not read nor even seen them. It appears, however, from *The Edinburgh Review* (October, 1807) that the first fills four volumes of 800 closely-printed pages a-piece; marked, as the reviewer asserts, in the good old style, by "indistinctness," "incredible credulity," "mawkish morality," "marvellous ignorance," and a "display of the most diffuse, clumsy, and superficial reasoning." The reviewer gives as specimens Sinclair's remarks upon the advantage of taking butter with fish; and his elaborate proof that, although the stomach is an organ not remarkable for external elegance, it not the less requires careful attention, in consequence of its delicate structure. Sinclair probably opposed a good solid stolidity to this heartless levity. He proposed that his work should be translated into the principal languages of Europe, and promised that it should add from ten to thirty years to the life of every attentive reader. Apparently he had the reward appropriate to gentle dulness, for it is said that five editions were sold—a sufficient answer to any review. Sinclair survived till 1835.

Meanwhile Arthur Young had a more pathetic end. His secretaryship had taken him to London. There his handsome presence and open-hearted, cordial ways made him acceptable in

society, which he heartily enjoyed. But his life was soon darkened. He was tenderly attached to his youngest daughter "Bobbin," to whom, in her infancy, he wrote pleasant little letters, and whom he never forgot in his travels. "I have more pleasure," he says at the end of his first tour in France, "in giving my little girl a French doll than in viewing Versailles," and "viewing Versailles" was no small pleasure to him. Her death in 1797 struck a blow after which he never quite recovered his cheerfulness. His friends thought that a blindness which soon followed was due to "excess of weeping." I do not know whether physicians would regard this as a possible cause of cataract. An operation for this disease was performed eleven years later, and recovery promised on condition of calmness. Wilberforce coming to see him told him of the death of the Duke of Grafton, now chiefly remembered by the abuse of Junius. The duke, however, became serious in his later years, and was, perhaps, one of Young's improving landlords. Anyhow, the news, or Wilberforce's comments, provoked a burst of tears which was fatal to Young's hopes of recovery. He retired to his native village, and sought for consolation in religious practices. He published little selections from the works of Baxter and Owen; and preached on Sunday evenings in a hall at Bradfield. "There is still living (1889) a nonagenarian at Bradfield," writes Miss Betham, "who remembers his sermons." The blind old man "would get his back turned to his audience and have to be put straight by his daughter and secretary." He still worked at his favourite pursuit and left ten folio volumes in manuscript of a History of Agriculture. He died 20 April, 1820. The nonagenarian of 1889 is by this time, if he survives, probably a centenarian; but it is curious to reflect that we have still among us men of active minds whose careers overlap Young's. His enthusiasm refers to a strangely altered state of things. What he would think of the present state of England, of modern London, of the imports of tea, of the growth of population and of agricultural depression it is needless to conjecture. No doubt he would admit that some of his predictions have turned out badly, but he would perhaps hold not the less that he was right in making them. The shortsightedness of the most intelligent observers suggests comfort when one studies some modern prophets.

LESLIE STEPHEN.

EDITORS.

By courtesy editors are understood to be "able" and contributors "esteemed." Probably both have quite as much right to their respective epithets as Members of Parliament have to be styled "honourable," lawyers "learned," and officers "gallant." Neither ability nor esteem, however, prevents them from entertaining upon occasion a very poor opinion of each other. Their quarrels would, indeed, furnish a very interesting chapter in literary history. I commend the idea to some gentleman more learned in such matters than myself; and meantime, inasmuch as the subject touches a good many people rather closely, and is perpetually cropping up in an acute form, it is possible that some observations on the relations between editor and contributor, suggested by personal experience in the latter capacity, may not be altogether without interest.

In my time I have contributed to just a score of periodicals, thus distributed: daily, five; weekly, eight; monthly, six; and quarterly, one. What with changes of editorship, I reckon I have had to do with a couple of dozen editors, not including two or three whose only concern with me has been to reject my humble efforts. To name the organs in question is unnecessary, and might appear ostentatious; but there is no harm in saying that some of them are very well considered. In short, I claim professional acquaintance with a good sprinkling of able editors, as they are to-day. With some, of course, my connection has been very slight; with others—and those not the least important—it has been prolonged and considerable. On the whole they have treated me very well, and inspired me with both liking and respect. There is only one editor whom I should like to kick. He directs the destinies of a famous periodical, and his name is known far and wide. I offered him an article on a subject of current interest. He took it, and kept it until it was too late for me place the thing elsewhere at the time. Then he sent it back, but meantime he had appropriated my idea and had got someone else supposed to be an authority, to write another article on the same subject. He may be an honourable man, and this manœuvre may have been within his rights, but according to my

notions it was a dirty trick, entirely opposed to the unwritten law of honourable journalism, which scrupulously respects property in ideas. He was quite at liberty to reject my contribution, and even to commission someone else to do the same thing, but then he should have told me so at once, and not have kept me out of the market until it was too late to compete with him in the pages of a rival. Subsequently I did publish my article elsewhere, and had the satisfaction of knowing that it attracted a good deal more attention than his substitute, which was, indeed, very poor stuff, written to order and in a hurry by a man who had really nothing to say. The editor, however, probably cared nothing for that, as he is reputed to set more store by the names of his contributors than by the quality of their contributions, wherein his wisdom is doubtless justified by the folly of his readers. That is my solitary experience of shabby treatment at the hands of an editor, and what class of men can be named in which you will not find one cad to a score of gentlemen? If this seems, as it probably will to some of my colleagues, an unduly favourable estimate, I beg them to observe that it does not apply to proprietors, who are often responsible for misdeeds attributed to the innocent editors they employ. For them I have nothing to say. They have inspired me with neither liking nor respect. Here and there an honourable exception may be named, but generically the proprietor is a common trader, whose profoundly commercial instincts are the curse of honest journalism. His only use is to sign cheques, and he does that with an ill grace.

With one editor I have had occasion to quarrel. I wrote a series of articles for him on a special subject by arrangement. They were to be illustrated, and my idea was to use some very appropriate illustrations in my possession. However, he preferred to procure some others, and in that I acquiesced with a bad grace, as they had nothing to do with the articles. Then he kept the thing hanging on for months and months. This is, of course, a very common experience, and though often vexatious to the contributor, quite within the rights of an editor, who must be free to exercise his discretion as to the time of publication. But for certain reasons I was anxious to have the articles out, and several times asked permission to withdraw them, if they could not be used at an early date. He would not hear of withdrawal, and assured me every time that they would be used at once. At last my patience was exhausted, and having an offer in another quarter, I definitely withdrew them. He was in a great way about it, declared that he had them already on the machines, and denied my right to withdraw. I answered that they were not paid for, and therefore my property, and that he had broken the contract, first by doing me out of my illustrations, and then by repeatedly

failing to keep his word about publication. As for the illustrations he had been at the expense of buying, it was done against my wish, and he could get somebody else to write the letterpress for them. However, he appeared so dreadfully put out, that I gave way. Poor man, he was not a very grand editor, and soon after ceased to adorn a position for which Providence had not intended him. It was an excellent paper, but the office always seemed at sixes and sevens under his *régime*, and if I failed to make myself "esteemed," he certainly proved himself anything but "able."

So much for my personal grievances. They are trifling enough in all conscience, but then I make a point of never worrying editors. On the other hand, my friend Lucifero, a very brilliant journalist, must be always quarrelling with them. He is a perfect mass of grievances. "Damn these editors," he says, "damn them all in after-life!" and the emphasis with which he utters this cheerful imprecation is that of a man persuaded of his wrongs. No doubt many others share the sentiment, and perhaps with more reason, for my friend has never been really ill-used, to my certain knowledge. He is too sensitive. Still editors are not always so careful of the feelings of their contributors as they might be. Grievances arise in two ways—the rejection of proffered contributions and the treatment of accepted ones.

With regard to rejection it is obvious that editorial discretion must be absolute. Probably the most sensitive contributor will admit so much: but there is a good deal in the manner of rejection. The principle, on which some editors act, that silence means refusal, may be quite legitimate, but it is not polite, and is not followed in the best offices, according to my experience. In them great pains are taken to do the dispiriting gently. With daily and even weekly newspapers the W.P.B. must necessarily play a great part, and absorb a vast quantity of unsolicited manuscript: the senders can hardly expect to have it back with a polite explanation, unless they are well known and really "esteemed." But there is no reason why the monthlies should not return such matter as the editor "regrets he is unable to use," and none why even daily papers should not answer serious offers. Some do and some do not, but it is not importance or press of business which determines the difference so much as the system of management adopted. The greatest journal of all, whose correspondence must be far larger than that of any other, is the most prompt and punctilious in this respect. With papers as with individuals the higher their position the more scrupulous their courtesy. Disregard of other people's feelings is the prerogative of inferiority. Not to answer a civil letter on business is at once ill-bred and unbusinesslike, whether the recipient occupies an editorial chair or not. On the other hand, contributors should not fancy that it

means anything more. Some people believe that the whole world is in a conspiracy against them, and regard every editorial rebuff as an intentional injury which would not be offered to a more favoured individual. Others take a less hypochondriacal view, but still imagine that literary kissing goes by favour, and that without recommendations or introductions they will have no chance. My experience is altogether to the contrary. I have only been personally recommended to one editor, and he was the one I quarrelled with. The market appears to me wonderfully open. More attention is naturally paid to a known contributor than to a new-comer, and the signed reviews depend more or less on what is in a name, but otherwise, I believe, all editors are glad to receive suggestions, whether they answer them or not, and are prompted to accept or refuse, first by the nature of the subject, and secondly, by the merit of its treatment. In other words, they are publishers, but with a keener eye for novelty, and a sounder judgment than ordinary publishers. The subject is the first consideration. An unsuitable subject has no chance, however well treated, while a really good one must be uncommonly mangled to be unfit for publication. Would-be contributors might save themselves much trouble and disappointment if they merely wrote in the first instance to suggest the subject, instead of sending the manuscript, or—still worse—trying to see the editor. A note will be read, and, in a well-conducted office, answered; but the editor who is too grand or too busy to read a brief letter and dictate a couple of lines in reply, is not the man to wade through a manuscript on an unpromising subject. Aspirants often tell me that they have written an article on something or other, and ask if I can help them to "get it in" somewhere. I always say that I can draw the attention of such-and-such an editor to it, but that its chances of acceptance depend entirely upon intrinsic merit and his judgment: if it suits him he will use it without a godfather, and, if not, a dozen would make no difference. Such is my belief, but perhaps I underrate the value of personal favour, as it has never done anything for me. There are cases which suggest that success at the Bar by way of the solicitor's daughter is a principle not wholly unknown in periodical literature. With regard to an editor's judgment it is to be observed that what he has to consider is not so much the absolute merit of a contribution as its suitability to his readers. And sometimes, also, the caprices of a proprietor or other invisible factors have to be taken into account. These things explain many apparently unreasonable rejections. Still downright errors of judgment are made even by the ablest. I have more than once been gratified by admissions of regret for such mistakes.

The real trouble between editor and contributor, however, arises at

a later stage, and concerns the treatment of matter already accepted or written to order. Here the choice of editorial sins and contributorial grievances is very wide. Publication may be delayed or abandoned altogether; titles may be changed, matter excised, wording altered, &c., &c., all of which are grievous to the soul of the sensitive contributor. The commonest and the worst offences are the liberties taken with the matter. I believe every contributor hates to be "edited," and thinks it very rarely an improvement. But old hands come to regard the process with perfect indifference. It is extraordinary what different views editors take of their functions in this respect. They may be divided into three main classes: (1) the fussy; (2) the careless; and (3) the judicious. The first can let nothing alone; the second let everything pass, including obvious slips; while the third correct with a watchful eye but a sparing hand, The fussy are better editors than the careless, who can hardly be called editors at all, but they are more offensive to the contributor. There are two varieties of them. Euphues Junior typifies the first and the better sort. He is a martyr to what he calls "style," and takes enormous pains to secure a high standard according to his notions. Unfortunately, his dominant idea is to avoid the common at all hazards; and for the attainment of that end he has provided himself with a whole pepper-box of peculiar phrases, terms, tricks, and mannerisms of speech, with which he impartially sprinkles the pages of his contributors. The effect of this treatment is nothing short of astonishing. A word here, a phrase there, a peculiar use of stops in a third place—and lo! you cannot recognize your own writing. It does not matter in the least if the sense is distorted or destroyed in the process, and you are made to talk nonsense. The matter may go by the board so long as the "distinction" of manner is maintained. The said distinction consists in dressing up a very average person in a fantastic garb, decked with antique ornaments, and set off by patches, paint, and powder. A whole procession of such persons, all similarly bedizened and denaturalized, produces an effect of unspeakable monotony, and in the end possesses far less "distinction" than would belong to the same set of individuals, homely or otherwise, as chance made them. So the sheet over which Euphues presides—or rather presided, for I believe he has left it—seemed to be all written by one hand, whose mark was affectation. The chief merits possessed by this kind of fussy editor are an eye for forcible expression, boldness, and a contempt for conventionality. The other kind is exactly the opposite. He can let nothing alone either, but his alterations are conceived in a niggling mood, and designed to water down any spirit shown by the contributor to a certain standard of general feebleness. Little Gudgeon is an editor of this kidney. He seems afraid to trust one's accuracy, and is always

hedging. He has his fads in style, too, but they are all of a pottering character, and concerned with grammatical precision or something of that kind. Of course one cannot always know for certain whose hand wields the blue pencil in any office, and the chief editor may get the blame for deeds committed by a subordinate. I once did one of the best of living editors much injustice in that way. My things were constantly messed about in a very ill-judged and irritating manner, and though I kept silence my heart was rather hot within me against the chief of the office. Suddenly a subordinate departed, and from that moment the editing ceased to be fussy, and became judicious. To make the case complete, the same gentleman went to another office to which I also contributed, and there the editing began to be fussy too. When he was away, I was left to say my say in my own poor manner. He was a capital fellow, but a slave to conventionality, and no great judge of English. I set a little trap for him once, and he fell innocently into it, to my great amusement. I introduced into my copy a sentence from Burke very much to the point, but somewhat unconventionally worded. As I expected, it was not quite up to his standard, and he put it right. After that I felt that I was edited in good company, and bore the process with equanimity.

The editor who does not edit at all, probably gives more satisfaction to the contributor than to anyone else. I never can make out whether he does it from laziness, incapacity, or principle; but in any case I do not commend him. One has to be so very careful with one's proofs. And speaking of proofs that is another point in which editorial procedure varies curiously. Some editors—and first-rate ones—never send a proof; others send one sometimes, but not always, and when they do they seem quite indifferent about its return. A third class invariably send one and are so particular about it that the subject waits, however urgent, until they receive the revise. My friend Eugenio, the late accomplished editor of *The Monitor*, followed that practice. I once wrote an article for him, of which the proof, owing to my absence from home, did not reach me in time to be returned before the next issue. So, knowing the subject to be rather urgent, I telegraphed that no corrections were necessary. However, it did not appear, nor in two or three succeeding numbers. At last I wrote to ask what was the matter and explained about the proof, to which he replied, "My dear ——, what on earth do you suppose proofs are for?" My answer was, "That is just what I have never been able to make out." They seem chiefly designed to worry old contributors, and to excite false hopes in young ones, for if there is one thing certain about a proof it is that it proves nothing. Eugenio himself used to send out no end of proofs, which never went any further. But this is by the way.

To return to the editors, there remains the judicious class. I take off my hat to them in admiration of their judgment and insight. These are the really able editors. They deserve the epithet, for no abler men are to be found in any walk of life. In their treatment of contributors they know what to do and what to leave undone. The secret is that of all successful employers—when you give a man a thing to do, let him do it. Choose him carefully in the first instance, and then let him alone as much as possible, without relaxing vigilance or abandoning due control. The less he is meddled with the better he will work. I could name several instances of this kind of editing. *The Times* is a splendid example. It will publish column after column without the slightest touch of interference, and anyone might think there was no editing at all, when some slight alteration—the suppression of an indiscreet word, the introduction of a fresh paragraph at a telling point, or a re-arrangement of stops—betrays the watchful eye and the judiciously controlling hand. Every change is for the better, as the writer must himself admit, unless he is hopelessly in love with his own offspring. Under this system a contributor is stimulated by being allowed a free hand, and at the same time he derives additional confidence from the certainty that a chance slip will be corrected. On the other hand, the public gets individuality, interest, and variety. Mr. Frederick Greenwood was a distinguished editor of the same school, and his successor in *The St. James's Gazette*, Mr. Sidney Low, is not a whit inferior. I am often amused at the contrast between the large-minded tolerance exercised by such masters of their craft and the futile fussiness of comparatively insignificant editors, who laboriously prune and pare matter good enough for journals of the highest calibre to suit their own ridiculous literary standard. These gentlemen always take themselves with portentous seriousness. The traditional renown of certain eminent hands for skill in "polishing" other people's copy has led them astray. The work of a capable contributor who has something to say is best left unpolished by another hand. He may not be a master of language, but he will tell his own story or lay out his own argument more convincingly than anyone else can do it for him. Matter and manner have not a merely accidental connection; they emanate from the same brain, and cannot be separated without losing vitality. Time was when editorial assurance serenely undertook to polish Shakespeare. The process is equally mistaken in principle when applied to any genuine utterance, however humble. With mechanical work and special pleading done to order it may be legitimate enough.

There is yet another kind of editor, a sort of literary shop-walker, engaged in measuring out material by the yard. His only consideration is the amount of space occupied. He cuts off as

many inches as may be necessary to make the matter fit, and spaces the paragraphs symmetrically, without the slightest regard to the sense. But perhaps he is only the foreman-printer, or the office boy in temporary charge. Anyhow, he is an absurd person.

Of course the editorial prerogative in correcting contributions, depends very much on whether they are signed or not. Responsibility gives the right to control, and in anonymous work it rests with the editor, though it is often shifted to a certain extent on to the contributor by calling him a "correspondent," which constitutes a partial disclaimer, whether his correspondence is "special," "occasional," "our own," or any other variety. With signed contributions, however, as in the case of most of the monthly reviews and magazines, the chief responsibility certainly rests upon the writer in the eyes of the public, and therefore editorial interference ought to be of the most guarded character. Sir Herbert Stephen's recent grievance against Mr. Knowles for altering the title of an article without consulting him will have the sympathy of all contributors and, I fancy, of most editors. It was a high-handed proceeding quite contrary to the usage of the trade. An editor has a perfect right to suggest his own title, and possibly to insist upon it, but not without notice, and if he uses it in face of the writer's objection, he should add a note to that effect. The title is an integral, and often a very important part of an article; and the writer who puts his name to it has to bear all that it entails, unless his responsibility is explicitly disclaimed. In the great days of the quarterlies distinguished reviewers stoutly resented interference although their work appeared anonymously in an organ possessing a sustained and definite character. The case is very much stronger with regard to the modern review, which is a sort of hear-all-sides repository of comment on current topics, and often lays itself out to represent diametrically opposite views on the same question side by side or in successive numbers. The editor clearly does not hold himself responsible for what appears beyond a general supervision, the choice and arrangement of subjects, and therefore he has no more right to take liberties without consulting the author, than any other publisher has. Common courtesy should alone prevent him from doing so; but some people appear to regard office as a dispensation from the restraint of good manners, which is doubtless very irksome to them.

Delay in publication is a standing grievance with contributors but an inevitable one. Old hands take it very calmly. I have had an article for a daily paper in proof for fifteen months. Yet I am certain that the delay was entirely due to lack of opportunity and quite contrary to the editor's wishes. The worst of it is that delay sometimes means suppression, and then payment may go

too, which is a real hardship. This touches a very important point. The only honourable rule is that all contributions written to order or by arrangement should be paid for, whether used or not, and that those which are not written to order, but are definitely accepted, should be either paid for or returned in time to be used elsewhere. The ideal procedure from the contributor's point of view is payment on acceptance, but few offices, alas! are sufficiently magnanimous for that. Payment after use is the general rule, and I do not quarrel with it. Personally I have suffered very little on this score. The only positive hardship I can recall was caused by inadvertence on the part of a most honourable editor. I wrote, by arrangement, a couple of articles for him, representing a good deal of labour. My mind misgave me as to whether the point of view would suit him, and, on handing the first one over I said so, and offered to withdraw them. He would not hear of it, so I went on with the second. However, time went by and twice again I offered to withdraw, but still he stuck to them. In the end they never saw the light, and probably perished in the W.P.B. The explanation, no doubt, was that he did rather shy at them, the paper being committed to the opposite view, and postponed using them until he forgot the circumstances altogether. I did not say anything or he would have compensated me, I am certain; but then, as I said above, I make a point of not worrying my editors. The loss, such as it was, on that occasion was made up on another by the singular experience of being paid twice over, which also happened through delayed publication. A long review of an important book which I wrote for a paper of high standing was held over for some time, when a sudden change took place in the office, and I was paid for the work standing in my name including the unpublished review. Some months afterwards it was used under the new *régime* and I was paid again. I accepted the money without demur as the matter was well worth it. A few other remarks on the subject of payment may, perhaps, be allowed here, although they concern the managerial more than the editorial department. There are two points of interest to contributors—the rate of remuneration, and the punctuality with which the account is discharged. All periodicals have, I believe, a regular tariff for ordinary work, but few confine themselves to it. Special scales of varying elasticity are common. The great Bodger of the *Paulo-post Future Review*, who generally has a few ladies of title and ex-Ministers on tap as mere *ordinaire*, is said to have remarked, with unctuous emphasis, to an eminent statesman, that there were *some* contributors to whom he would be glad to pay *anything*; and was not Mr. Gladstone lately offered thousands for an article on the Venezuelan Question? It is obviously impossible to generalize about these fancy terms which are settled by

special arrangement. Ordinary original contributions are paid by measure—so much the column, page, or inch at a fixed rate: but this admits of a good deal of elasticity, at any rate in the case of newspapers, and the writer's rough reckoning of what he ought to receive is often falsified. Sometimes one gets more and sometimes less than one expects. I have never been able to make out what principle determines the result. The variations indulged in by every newspaper with which I am acquainted are quite incomprehensible. Sometimes a column and a third or more is reckoned as no more worth than a column: at others the full value of every line is given. This adds a sporting element of uncertainty to the periodical cheque. The magazines and reviews, which pay by the page, are much more regular, and their remuneration can be reckoned with great nicety by the number of words. As to the tariffs, *The Times* comes easily first, then the quarterlies, then the other leading daily and weekly newspapers and the best monthlies, all pretty much about the same. But of the newspapers, some are more remunerative than others with the same tariff, simply because they have more space at their disposal. When you have a subject in hand and plenty to say it is positively easier to write 2,000 words, for instance, than to condense your remarks into 1,000 or 1,500, and therefore the short-winded papers are at a double disadvantage. Work done for them may give more trouble and bring in less return. *The Times* has a pre-eminent advantage over all other papers in this respect, as the quarterlies have, though in a less degree, over other reviews. The best market inevitably attracts the best work; a man takes his goods where they will fetch the highest price. But punctuality in payment is also a consideration of great importance. Contributors are rarely millionaires, and many a one prefers two guineas in the hand to two pound ten in the ledger. Managers do not seem to grasp this fact. Most of them settle accounts periodically—generally every month, less often at shorter or longer intervals; but, according to my experience, very few are quite faithful to the supposed date. Some are hopelessly irregular, and even require to be dunned before they will pay. This is infamy. I have had to dun a paper whose proprietor is a millionaire to the n^{th} power. Perhaps it was not his fault, but the hideous fact remains. Periodicals which do not pay at all are beyond the pale of discussion. My experience of "bilking" is confined to a solitary instance: the culprit was a professional journal as well known as *Punch* all over the world.

Editors are not always so careful as they might be to preserve the secret of a contributor's identity in anonymous journalism. It ought to be—and with papers that know their business it is—an inviolable rule that no name shall be given up to anyone whatever

without the owner's permission. The result of breaking it may be very annoying. A friend once worried me to write an article on a controversial subject for a very well-known paper with which he was connected, and which I will call *The Spread Eagle*. I was extremely disinclined to do it, having a poor opinion of the journal in question as it was then conducted; and when the editor sent me some ridiculous hints designed to teach me how to write up to the standard—ye gods!—of *The Spread Eagle*, I flatly refused. However, my friend's importunity prevailed, and the thing was done. The day after it appeared, the champion of the opposite view, who happened to know the editor, rushed in and took him to task, whereupon he promptly gave me away. The result was a ferocious attack in another journal a few days later, and much subsequent unpleasantness. It was an unpardonable breach of professional etiquette, calculated to make a personal enemy of a man with whom I had not the slightest desire to quarrel, and had in no wise attacked.

But, after all, such trifling annoyances as have come my way are nothing compared with the uniform kindness and honourable treatment I have met with at the hands of editors. There is only one general criticism that I wish to make. They hardly seem to realize the value of praise, or at least, very few of them do. I have read somewhere that Mr. Archibald Forbes used to conclude every despatch to *The Daily News* with these words: "and if you don't like this, you may go to the devil." That exactly expresses the mental attitude of the conscientious but spirited contributor. He is most anxious to give satisfaction and does his very utmost, but like all good workmen possessed of an ideal he mistrusts his own success. At the same time the consciousness of his effort makes him ready to resent the criticism which his diffidence teaches him to expect. A word of appreciation, however brief and businesslike, puts new life into him: the lack of it sends him about his work determined but without alacrity. At the end of a long job he may find that his work has been appreciated all the time, but that does not help him to do it; he wants an occasional assurance by the way. I have often thought myself a fool for taking excessive pains to ensure accuracy, spending a whole day, for instance, in verifying a single statement, which occupies no more than one insignificant sentence, and probably passes quite unnoticed. One never knows; and though appreciation has not been lacking, as I gratefully acknowledge, the confidence which should reward accurate work is a plant that comes very slowly to fruition.

A Contributor.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Up to the present time everybody has been heard on the question of our South African troubles except the persons principally concerned. We have heard quite enough, some of us would say more than enough, from the thick-and-thin partisans of Mr. Rhodes and the Chartered Company. We have heard a good deal from the enemies of Mr. Rhodes and of the Chartered Company; we have listened patiently to the recital of the wrongs of the Uitlanders; we have been lectured upon the virtues and the astuteness of the Boers; and we have been scolded and admonished pretty freely, and, doubtless, for the good of our souls, by the professed "Little Englanders."

Yet, after all, there appear to be two sections of the community which, up to the present time, have scarcely been heard, and which, most assuredly, have not been considered in the war of the contending factions.

On the one hand, there is the vast majority of the people of the United Kingdom, who love the Chartered Company very little, and the Boers not at all, but who do love their country and its traditions very much. And there is also that great section of the people of South Africa who would be loyal to the Empire if the Empire gave them a chance, and who are not either longing for a Dutch Republic or for a *régime* of Stock Exchange government tempered by filibustering.

I have no right whatever to speak on behalf of the loyalists of South Africa, though I know enough about them to be sure that, in spite of sore trials and difficulties, they exist, and will, if we give them a chance, stand by our side if we can muster up courage to do or say anything definite.

But as an Englishman, who is not an admirer of the Chartered Company, a lover of the Boers, not yet a "Little Englander," I venture to express, what I believe to be, not only my own views, but the views of an enormous majority of my countrymen.

It is true that if we were to judge from the vigour with which the Chartered Company and its chief have been championed in the public Press we should be in danger of believing that there was an unanimous feeling of admiration both for the institution and the

man in all classes of English society. I believe, however, that such a conclusion would be very far from the truth The advocates of the Chartered Company are numerous; I may go further, and say that they are noisy. They break out in all sorts of odd places, and they fight their battle with an energy worthy of a better cause.

Among them, I am sure, are many who are thoroughly sincere, and whose opinions are justly entitled to respect. On the other hand, I am certain that there are a great many who are not entitled to the consideration and importance which they appear to claim as their right. A strange procession of anonymous correspondents has been passing through the columns of *The Times* and other newspapers, who, under various "aliases," have been asking us to believe in the existence of a strong public opinion in favour of the Chartered Company and its chief, an opinion which, as far as my experience goes, has very little existence outside the hopes and wishes of those who proclaim it. Who all these ladies and gentlemen may be I do not pretend to know; but I have a shrewd idea that a process of revelation of identities would greatly reduce the volume and the weight of the public opinion which is supposed to be accurately represented by their statements.

I think I shall have the assent of the majority of my readers when I say that the preponderating opinion of the mass of ordinary Englishmen inclines to neither of the extreme parties. The number of "Little Englanders" is small, so small as to be almost negligable, and the Party, such as it is, is diminishing. At the same time, the admiration which is withheld from the "Little England" Party is by no means bestowed upon the Chartered Company, its men, or its methods. The vast majority of the people of this country regret and deplore the extraordinary follies which have been committed by some of our countrymen in South Africa. They do not like the methods that have been adopted, they would be hardly human if they admired the results which have been arrived at. But these facts do not prevent their being staunch in defence of the legitimate ambitions of the nation; nor, because some people have made a blunder, are they prepared to see their just rights withheld, or their just aspirations defeated.

It is just because some of the most honest and honourable supporters of the Chartered Company appeared to have ignored these facts that the present situation has become so difficult and so dangerous.

The fact is, that the "culte" of Mr. Rhodes has been carried to the pitch of absurdity, and if his friends be wise they will guard against the danger of a reaction which, if the present methods be persisted in, is inevitable. It is most interesting to learn that A. B. was at school with the great man, and loves him like a brother: it

is pleasing to learn that, having made many millions, Mr. Rhodes is altogether above and beyond the love of making money, but all these biographical details, these handsome testimonials from schoolfellows, solicitors, and others, are becoming a trifle wearisome, not to say ridiculous; and what is wanted is not general evidence to character, but plain answers to some very plain questions.

If it be true that the partisans of the Chartered Company have done almost irreparable mischief by confounding love of country with love of Mr. Rhodes, it is equally true that the extremists on the other side have fallen into an error of almost equal magnitude by allowing it to be supposed that opposition to the Company and its methods necessarily implies affection for, or admiration of, the Transvaal Boers and President Kruger.

The real facts of the situation were, I believe, correctly and epigrammatically summed up by one of my colleagues in the House of Commons, who, after listening for some time to the recent debate, remarked to me, "Well, I don't agree with a word of this; I can't stand the Chartered Company, and I don't like the Boers." That is a true view of the situation, as it presents itself to most Englishmen: and my friend, I am convinced, spoke as the representative of two-thirds of the House and of nine-tenths of the country. But the public is not merely critical, and it is by no means content to rest satisfied with an impartial condemnation of both parties. On the contrary, it has very clear views of its own, and has not the slightest desire to play the part of a Gallio, "caring for none of these things." It cares very much, and its views before long will have to be taken into account.

Assuming that the views of that large section of the public which does not support either of the extreme parties be worth consideration, it becomes important to consider what that opinion is likely to be, and whither it is tending. Generally speaking, I believe it is true to say that there is a grave and growing feeling of dissatisfaction and alarm with regard to events in South Africa—and well there may be.

It is of paramount importance to our race that our hold on South Africa should be maintained in unimpaired strength; but who can deny that in spite of all the brave words that have been spoken, that hold is seriously endangered; that while the anti-English element is strong, united, furnished with a definite policy, and directed by a capable and clear-headed chief, the British element is disheartened, disunited, without definite policy, and without rallying point or guidance?

How can such a definite policy be created, and such a rallying point supplied?

In the first place, it is obviously necessary to make a clear, and,

if I may use the expression, a clean start. There must be an end, once for all, of the Chartered Company and its promotors as representatives of British power in South Africa. I am not one of those who take advantage of the misfortunes of the Company to speak harshly of it. I attacked it in the hey-day of its prosperity, on precisely the same grounds upon which I attack it now in the day of its adversity, without the slightest animus against individuals, without any desire for vindictive punishment, and solely in the interest of what I believe to be the true political welfare of our Empire. It is true that the teeth of the Chartered Company have been drawn; the powers which they have so grossly abused have been taken from the directors, and an Imperial officer has been placed in charge of the military and police within the Company's territories. This is all to the good, and it is particularly satisfactory to note the tenor of the instructions which have been given to Sir Richard Martin by Mr. Chamberlain. At last it is officially recognized that money interests, on the one hand, and the responsibility of Government and administration, on the other, should not be mixed up. Those who, like myself, urged this view a year or two ago, were laughed at as political purists who had no knowledge of what practical politics meant. It is interesting, in the light of these past criticisms, to read the instructions given to the officer who now controls the armed forces in the territories of the British South Africa Company. Here is what Mr. Chamberlain says to Sir Richard Martin:—

"Before I selected you for your post I had ascertained that you had no shares or interests in any South African venture inside or outside of the Company's territories. I desire that all the officers and men serving under you should be in a position of equal disinterestedness. This is in accordance with what has been the general policy of the Colonial Office in other parts of the world for many years. Every officer and trooper who hereafter joins the force will be required to make a declaration that he has no such shares or interests, and to promise that he will not acquire any during his service. As regards those whose services you will take over, I have reason to suppose that they do hold such interests, but, as they seem to have violated no rule of the Company in acquiring them, I do not think it would be just to force them to part with them at a heavy sacrifice. They should, however, be encouraged to sell any interest they may possess when fair opportunities offer, and informed that they must not acquire any new interests."

Nothing could be more satisfactory, nothing more full of promise for the future. But this is not enough; we owe it first of all to ourselves, and, secondly, to foreign nations, that those who have betrayed our interests and smirched our honour should be brought to book and punished. It is not enough to say, "The trouble is all over now," and the safest thing is to "let matters slide." A great country like our own cannot afford to "let matters slide." It appears to be supposed in some quarters that the offence which has been committed is one which affects Africa only.

That is not so. The chief offence has been against the honour and welfare of the British Empire and the British people. It will be a good thing to have a full enquiry into the doings of the Chartered Company; but it is a mere affectation to pretend that, in face of the admissions which have been made, an enquiry is needed to establish some of the most important and serious of the accusations that have been made. It is beyond dispute that a British subject occupying in three different capacities an honourable post of trust and confidence under the Crown has in every one of those capacities grossly abused his trust, and injured the interests it was his duty to protect. The Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, has deliberately assisted in tricking his own Chief at Capetown. The Managing Director of the Chartered Company has deliberately arranged for the infraction of the terms upon which a Royal Charter was bestowed upon the Association to which he belongs. A Privy Councillor of the Queen, in correspondence and consultation with one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State has failed to inform his superior of matters of the gravest moment to the welfare of the Empire which were within his own knowledge. A subject of the Queen has secretly levied war against a friendly State; and, as if all this were not enough, Mr. Rhodes had apparently crowned his other achievements by a departure from honourable dealing so strange and so serious that it alone would justify the most rigorous condemnation. It does not appear to be denied that the Prime Minister of Cape Colony actually instructed his own subordinate to make a false statement with regard to the disposition of the troops and police on the Transvaal Frontier, with the object of hoodwinking and deceiving the Imperial Government. This object was successfully accomplished, and Mr. Rhodes calmly stood by and allowed Mr. Chamberlain in the name of England to give in perfect good faith false assurances to the public and to Foreign Powers, without a word of protest or explanation. If such acts as these be condoned in a public servant, how can we ever expect foreign nations to trust us, and what is even more important, how can we ever hold up to our own public servants that great ideal of unwavering loyalty and honesty which has inspired so many of them, and which has been worth more than millions of money, armies of men in the performance of the Imperial task which has been imposed upon our race? It is difficult to conceive on what grounds this inevitable conclusion can be disputed. Many things have been said on behalf of Mr. Rhodes, and some of them are true, but none of them are the least relevant at the present stage. In one quarter we hear that his motives were good, that he had made enough money, and that therefore his ambitions were not of a sordid character. The

fact may be true, and is to a certain extent interesting. We have been informed that various gentlemen were at school or college with Mr. Rhodes and highly esteemed him. This is creditable to both parties. We have heard a good deal about Clive and Raleigh and other distinguished men who disregarded their apparent duty for what they conceived to be their real duty, and who benefited the Empire by their performances, and we are asked to believe that Mr. Rhodes was, after all, only another Raleigh, or another Clive. Personally I have not been able to trace a very close resemblance. And I think that under any circumstances to compare Clive, the man who wrecked his life in fighting against corruption in India, with the hero of the Kaffir Ring is an impertinence to the great Anglo-Indian. But the parallel is absurd. We are not living in the days of Clive, or in the days of Raleigh. On the contrary, we have deliberately elected for many years to conduct our Imperial affairs upon a system totally different from that which commended itself to our forefathers. We may be right or wrong, but in any case we cannot blow hot and cold at the same time. If the methods of Raleigh and Clive are open to us, they are open to others, and it will, indeed, be an evil day for this Empire when we commit ourselves to the proposition that what Mr. Rhodes and the British South Africa Company have done or tried to do, be permissible amongst civilised nations in our own day. That we of all people in the world should regard with equanimity the revival of the system of international buccaneering seems to me incredible. The British Empire stands for peace, for law, for order, and for honourable dealing, and to sacrifice the proud position which we have so hardly earned in order to slur over a temporary difficulty in South African Administration would be madness indeed. Lastly, we are told that Mr. Rhodes has done great service to the Empire in the past, and that he, and he alone, can effectively maintain our cause in South Africa at the present. Against this last assumption it is impossible to protest too strongly: the British Empire, happily, has not yet come to the stage in which one man is, or can be, essential to its welfare. We are not so poor in capacity, in courage, and in experience that the disappearance of one man from a particular office is synonymous with the downfall of the Empire. That Mr. Rhodes has done great service to South Africa is beyond all doubt; no one disputes it, though there is, indeed, a considerable difference of opinion as to the precise nature and extent of that service. But this and every other consideration which has been referred to above is absolutely beside the mark at the present stage. Testimony to character, evidence of good conduct and good service in the past, these are excellent reasons in bar or mitigation of sentence, but they are not and

never can be reasons against our own judgment. There is probably not a single Englishman who desires to see vindictive punishment inflicted on Mr. Rhodes or any of his associates, but there are very many British subjects both here and in South Africa who feel that the condonation of offences such as those which have been committed by Mr. Rhodes is mischievous in the extreme, and can only bring disaster and disgrace to the country. But to say the punishment ought not to be vindictive is by no means the same thing as saying that there should be no punishment at all; still less does it imply that there should be no trial and no judgment. We have not yet quite done with the Chartered Company.

There is, of course, very little profit in lamenting over the misfortunes and the follies of the past; there is no profit at all unless our reflections furnish us with the basis of action in the present and the future. It is satisfactory, however, to think that the glow of spurious romance and heroism which at one time enveloped the performances of the Chartered Company, and which was so sedulously fostered by certain journals and certain individuals with the assistance of the music halls and the telegraph wires, has faded away. The ridiculous raid, which would have appeared almost extravagant in an Opera Bouffe, and which might have been organized by Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan, has fallen back to its proper place in public estimation. The gentlemen who were burning to save women and children from instant violence, and who, apparently, "tossed up" as to what was to be their destination before they started; the soldiers who fired away some 60,000 rounds of ball-cartridge into space without appreciably hurting anyone; the diplomatists who committed their absurd cypher telegrams to the safety of a tin box in which they were careful to enclose the key, and which they were not careful to keep out of the hands of their astute enemies, do not now loom quite so large among the heroic figures of the Empire as they did some months ago. Under ordinary circumstances, the failure of their attempt, and the absurdity of their present position, would be a sufficient punishment, if not a sufficient atonement; but, unluckily, very grave interests have been affected, and a wrong has been done to this country which still waits for a remedy. And here I would venture to raise a protest against the extraordinary levity with which the conduct of those engaged in the recent incursion has been viewed by many persons in this country. In some respects, by far the most serious aspect of the matter is the harm it has inflicted on the cause of discipline and obedience. The other day the papers recorded that a private sol lier had been tried and sentenced to many months' imprisonment with hard labour, to be followed by ignominious dis-

charge from the service, because he had slept on sentry duty. I remember not many years ago when a lad of sixteen was sentenced to five years' penal servitude in a felon's gaol for having, under the influence of drink, raised his hand against a ship's corporal. But how are discipline and the duty of obedience ever to be inculcated, or to be enforced, if insubordination of the most deliberate type is to be passed over by public opinion as a venial offence, because those who are guilty of it stand in high position and occupy a prominent place in the view of the public? I fail to see how those who take the view that such a thing is permissible can ever venture to lay down the elementary principles of a soldier's duty in a barrack-room lecture, or expect obedience from a corporal's guard. I say nothing whatever of the legal offence which may have been committed by Dr. Jameson and his party—that will be tried and adjudicated upon; but I speak solely of the spirit in which the military part of the exploit was received and criticized by a considerable number of persons in this country.

Unluckily, it is now apparent that Dr. Jameson's raid, with all its follies, failures, and absurdities, was, after all, but a small, and comparatively unimportant part of the series of misfortunes which have overtaken us in South Africa. That the raid in itself was the work of the Chartered Company is now apparent beyond doubt And it is to the Chartered Company and its share in the humiliation of the Empire that we now naturally turn our attention. Here, again, it cannot be said that the failure of the Company concerns the shareholders alone; unhappily that is far from being the case. The directors have already involved the State in the greatest possible embarrassment, and have done all in their power to humiliate and degrade the name of Englishmen throughout the world. In one sense, and in one only, the failure of the Company is a matter for sincere congratulation. The promotors of this great organization had apparently become convinced that money was all-powerful in this country, that every man had his price, and that Governments, newspapers, public opinion, and the public, could all be controlled, cajoled, bought, or driven by the power of money. Happily this belief, which at one time appeared only too well founded, has been shattered, and the gentleman who boasted that he had never once come across a man he could not "square," has found that there are more things in heaven and earth than were ever dreamt of in his philosophy. The rebuff given to the power and influence of money is a pure gain, and is, indeed, about the only gain which we are likely to obtain from the series of misfortunes in which the Chartered Company has plunged us. And the moral of this is surely clear, namely, that the Chartered Company should be brought to book, and that its chiefs should be brought

to trial, and as an obvious corrollary it is evident that pending such trial the persons who have been accused of breach of trust should be suspended from every office in the gift of the State in which, if the accusation be well-founded, they have abused the trust confided to them. Such, indeed, are the elementary requirements of the situation. Nothing else is politic and wise, nothing else is decent.

Let us assume, however, that justice has been done, that the errors of the past have been admitted and their recurrence made impossible; that the authority of the Chartered Company has been absolutely destroyed, and the responsibility of its directors for recent events proved or disproved before the world. When all this has been done, the real work which has to be accomplished will scarcely have been begun. And yet it must not be forgotten that it is the future, not the past, that really concerns us. It cannot be doubted that our influence and our position in South Africa are gravely threatened; that our people are out of heart, and that our enemies are everywhere in high spirits, and their prospects in the ascendant. This is a state of things which every Englishman must desire to see reversed as soon and as completely as possible. It is essential, before any progress in the right direction can be made, that our own people should become united, should gain confidence, should trust one another, and should trust the Government. These are the elementary conditions of success. It is essential, also, that those who are not Englishmen or friends of England should understand that, if we have had misfortunes, we are not going to permit those misfortunes to be made the instruments of blackmail in the future. It is one of the most annoying results of the injudicious partisanship of the friends of the Chartered Company that they have produced, or sought to produce, the impression that everyone who is not an admirer of their not very heroic clients is necessarily and as a consequence a friend and admirer of the Transvaal Boers. There is not the slightest foundation for such an inuendo. The vast majority of Englishmen have no particular love for the Boers, and are strongly of opinion that their behaviour towards Englishmen in the Transvaal has been, and is, unjust. It is not to be denied that the exceedingly practical way in which the Boers have done their work, and the ease with which they have defeated the Chartered Company both in the field and in diplomacy, have wrung a tribute of admiration even from the most unwilling observers. Moreover, I for one at any rate cannot but speak with sympathy of a people who, whatever their faults, have undoubtedly been made the victims of an outrage, and who have defended their liberties with courage and success. If there be something like a reaction in favour of the Boers, the Chartered Company have no

one but themselves to thank for it; but, "*fas est ab hoste doceri*," —though it seems hard that Englishmen should need to learn such lessons from anyone,—and it would indeed be a contemptible result if we were to lose ourselves in contemplation of the excellent qualities of the Boers without making the slightest attempt to exhibit similar qualities on our own part. The fact is, that if once we clear ourselves effectively from the charge of complicity with the recent illegal inroad, we shall be in a position to start fair again in our relations with the Boer Government. Queen Elizabeth is reported to have said that her own dogs should wear only her own collars, and a somewhat similar sentiment might be imported with advantage into our present policy. Our own people have done wrong, and though we, as a country, are not responsible for that ill-doing, we shall take care to punish it in our way and in our own time. But it is distinctly our business and nobody else's, and it will be most unfortunate if we do not make this fact absolutely clear to President Kruger and his friends. It is no doubt an excellent and admirable thing to conciliate Dutch sentiment; but important as that object is, it is infinitely more important to win the sympathy and confidence of our own people. The moment we commence the cowardly game of trying to conciliate our enemies at the expense of our friends, we shall have started on a downhill course which will land us, as it ought to land us, in wreck and ruin. We shall win, and deserve to win, the thorough contempt of the former, and shall add to it the just and burning hatred of the latter. Let us see, then, what we can do to put heart into our own people. For there is no use blinking the matter; British South Africa stands in the parting of the ways; nine-tenths of our people there are already considering whether it might not be better after all to part company from a connection which has served them so little in the past, and which, to many of them, does not appear likely to serve them in the future. At present the feeling is to a large extent indefinite and unformed, but it will grow apace unless other thoughts and other inspirations take its place. Undoubtedly the record of British administration in South Africa, as represented by the Colonial Office, is a contemptible one, and stinks in the nostrils of every Englishman South of the Zambesi. It is not wonderful that it should; it is hardly possible to conceive a more miserable record of want of sympathy, want of understanding, and blundering and half-heartedness, than that which has been established by the succession of Colonial Ministers whom a benign fate has inflicted upon this country. It would be discourteous, and it is wholly unnecessary, to distinguish between the degrees of failure which have been achieved by successive holders of the post of Colonial

Secretary. Edgar Poe has written of "The Apotheosis of the Odd," let anyone glance down the list of Ministers who have sacrificed our interests in South Africa during the last twenty years, and he can hardly fail to concur in the view that here, indeed, we have the "Apotheosis of the Unfit." Overflowing with good intentions, and imbued by an equal desire to please everybody all round, and to avoid ever coming to a decision about anything, these excellent noblemen and gentlemen have produced a feeling of irritation among those who are, and among those who unhappily have ceased to be, the friends of Britain in South Africa which it is hard to exaggerate. Even now they and their friends are not content with the mischief they have done, but seem determined to do all in their power to keep open sores which might long ago have been closed. Take but one single instance, the miserable surrender after Majuba Hill. To this day the old statement which every man and woman in South Africa knows to be false is calmly reiterated. Still we are told that what was a mere act of cowardice was a piece of magnanimity. Only a few weeks ago it was calmly stated in the House of Commons that the armistice was agreed to, because it had come to the knowledge of the Government that the annexation of the Transvaal was not approved of by the majority of the Boers. Nothing could be more absolutely and conspicuously untrue. The instructions to the commanding officer were to succeed and then to negotiate. These instructions were deliberately cancelled, not because any new information about the sentiments of the Transvaal had reached Mr. Gladstone, but because the British troops had been badly defeated in the field. To be magnanimous and to be generous are great virtues, but sham magnanimity and sham generosity are very mean vices, and it is not to be wondered at that our people in South Africa should be sick of a policy which needs to be carried on by such acts and defended by such arguments as those which have been referred to. It is not indeed strange that Englishmen in South Africa should be sore and despondent; they look to this country for strength, for guidance, and for sympathy, and until a few months ago they have received neither strength nor guidance, and only that amount of sympathy which is represented by fine phrases and amiable expressions. But, if our compatriots in South Africa have something to complain of, we, on our side, are also within our rights in saying that we have not always received the support from South Africa which might reasonably have been accorded to us. It is a great thing to be independent, but perhaps our South African friends have been a little too independent, and have been somewhat needlessly aggressive in their assertion of the doctrine "Africa fara da se." Luckily there is reason to believe that both sides have seen the error of their ways. There is cer-

tainly now no want of practical sympathy with South Africa in this country, and happily we have a Minister at the Colonial Office who s prompt, resolute, capable, and sympathetic. This is an immense gain. In South Africa, too, there is, perhaps, a little more readiness to admit that after all South Africa as part of the British Empire is likely to cut a bigger figure in the world than South Africa standing alone and fighting her battles unaided. The circumstance that a preponderating British squadron, manned by British sailors, paid for by British taxpayers, is at this moment the sole effective barrier which protects South Africa from a German invasion has doubtless done something to clear men's minds and to strengthen their judgments upon this important point.

There is evidently, therefore, room on both sides for concession and amendment; there is room for the British Government to show, as of late it has unmistakably shown, that it is alive to the magnitude and complexity of South African problems, and that it is ready to act promptly and effectively on behalf of British interests in that part of the world when they are threatened. There is room on the part of our countrymen in South Africa for a frank and generous admission that the duties and interests of the Empire as a whole cannot be safely or wisely disregarded, even for the purposes of forwarding some immediate object of South African ambition. There is room for an admission that the methods and traditions of the Imperial Government and of its officers cannot lightly be set aside as either contemptible or obsolete, and that the methods of the freebooter, acting under the inspiration and guided by the diplomacy of the Stock Exchange, are not, in all cases, more admirable, or even more successful, than those of Her Majesty's Army and Navy, acting under the direction of Her Majesty's servants in accordance with the honourable traditions which this country has during its long history succeeded in creating.

But goodwill and the removal of misunderstanding, though they are necessary conditions precedent, are not all, or nearly all, that the situation requires. We must not only be alive, but we must appear alive and feel alive. Our enemies are active, vigilant, and aggressive; at present they are in a very strong position and we are in a very weak one, and what above all is wanted to save the British cause in South Africa is a rallying point, an outward and visible sign of the determination, which we are so ready to express in words, that we will maintain our position at any cost. Human nature is much the same in every part of the world, and human nature at the Cape is much more likely to be moved at the present juncture by men and by facts than by any amount of fine language.

For many years it has been the fixed belief of some persons, of

whom the present writer is one, that the double position held by the Queen's representative in South Africa as High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony was dangerous and contrary to public policy. This is not the place to recapitulate the manifold and overwhelming objections which unite to condemn the present institution. What was not long ago the heretical opinion of a few unimportant persons is rapidly becoming the admitted axiom of both parties, and Sir William Harcourt, I note, has been repeating almost textually the objections which were taken years ago.

Bound hand and foot by constitutional rule to his Cape Ministers, the Queen's High Commissioner cannot possibly fill the independent *rôle* which the present situation imperatively requires him to occupy. The power of being "two gentlemen rolled into one" is not in practice given to mortals. And, as if it were the intention of the inventors of the present arrangement to complicate the tenure of offices to the greatest possible degree, the Cape Colony has been allowed, or rather encouraged, to become responsible for £2,000 of the salary of the High Commissioner in South Africa. In other words, the officer who on every ground of common-sense and policy ought to exercise a perfectly independent judgment in regard to South African problems depends for his remuneration upon the vote of a Parliament representing the extreme end of the Continent, elected by a white population less in number than the population of Leeds, and by the very nature of their geographical position bound to take a local and a limited view of questions of general policy. How absurd the arrangement has become is apparent when we read in the Blue Book that the present High Commissioner, when ordered to proceed to Pretoria, should think it his duty to declare in his despatches that his Ministers approved his departure. It is hardly necessary to state that in theory his Ministers have no more to do with the matter than the Legislative Council of Demerara. Again, without for a moment imputing blame or neglect to the present High Commissioner, whose admirable services and whose exemplary patience under most difficult circumstances no one recognizes more fully than I do, it is worthy of remark that so far from the Governor of the Cape Colony being in touch with what was going on outside the Colony, the whole of the late conspiracy was hatched and carried into execution without his having the slightest inkling of what was taking place. Surely the time has come when it would be well to appoint a real High Commissioner for South Africa, not an officer who is the servant of the Cape Government first and of anybody else afterwards, still less a gentleman who, like the present administrator of the Chartered Company's territories, is nominally in the service of a not very reputable limited Company; but a

real Governor-General, whom all Africa, friendly or otherwise, would know to be the representative of the British Empire, ready to protect the interests of the Empire against all comers.

As to the Chartered Company, it seems not impossible that when the just claims which will undoubtedly be made upon it have been met and discharged, very little will be left of it. The calamity will not be irreparable; on the contrary, an excellent opportunity will have arisen for asserting the Imperial authority over the whole of the territory which has been so unhappily abandoned to incompetent hands. It is the fashion in some quarters to abuse the Imperial administration and to hold up the administration of companies or colonies to admiration and as an example to the effete representatives of an incompetent civilization. But the real fact is, such statements as these are based upon the merest delusions. The great, and almost the only, success, which has been made in the administration of native territories in South Africa has been the Imperial administration of Basutoland and Bechuanaland. It would be strange if it were not so, for no country since the world began has had more experience in the administering of native territories than our own, and certainly no nation is better provided than we are with men capable of carrying on the work. But if anyone doubts the correctness of the statement that has been made, let him simply refer to the facts, let him learn what has been done in Basutoland and in British Bechuanaland, and then let him compare the result with the pandemonium which a short interval of the Chartered Company's rule has produced in Rhodesia. Lastly, let us take a very clear and definite line towards the Transvaal. The Boers have been wronged, and we will see that they are righted, but beyond that we are not bound to go, and under no circumstances ought we to be content to accept anything but the most scrupulously fair treatment for British subjects within the Transvaal borders. I have never been able to see that we had any obvious right of interference with Transvaal laws merely because they were illiberal or vexatious—and they have certainly been both; but the moment it can be shown that those laws differentiate unfavourably against British subjects as such, or are specifically directed against British interests, then it appears to me that a *casus belli* has *ipso facto* been created, and that it only depends upon our own convenience and our own judgment as to whether and when we should take steps to obtain justice for our people, if necessary by force. Moreover, it must be remembered that we have not yet heard the whole of the case against the Boers and their friends, and it would be well, even for those who are most favourable to the Transvaal, to wait a month, or even two months, before coming

MECHANICS' INSTITUTION NEW SWINDON

to a definite conclusion as to how far the Boers and their friends are entitled to our esteem and goodwill. Above all, let us stick to both the letter and the spirit of the London Convention, and never relax our efforts to provide at all times an adequate force to defend it. Lastly, let us take full advantage of the wise step which the late Government was compelled to take when they publicly announced our annexation of Amatongaland. The creation of a naval establishment, however small, at or near St. Lucia Bay would be an exceedingly wise step.

That the Transvaal desires to obtain access to the sea is beyond doubt; it is still in our power to prevent such a consummation, and this is the one overwhelmingly strong card which we still hold. Treaty or no treaty, the moment the Boers reach the coast our position in South Africa is shaken to its foundation; the day on which it is possible for an European Power to mount its flag upon the East Coast at the invitation of a Government hostile to our own will mark the introduction of elements of disintegration into our South African polity which no statesmanship will suffice to render innocuous. Therefore by all means let us cling to the coast-line so that not a man shall ever reach the Transvaal save over our territory or through Portuguese territory, over which we have the definite rights of pre-emption conferred by the MacMahon award. Happily we have now a Colonial Secretary in whom the nation rightly trusts. Mr. Chamberlain has an exceedingly difficult game to play; he is like a player who has sat down to a game of chess half-played, in which his predecessor has lost half the pieces and desperately involved the safety of the others. We may rest assured that nothing will more effectively strengthen Mr. Chamberlain's power for good than the knowledge on his part that the nation trusts him and will support him. One word with regard to South Africa—I would venture most respectfully to remind our fellow-subjects there that, greatly as they are concerned in the solution of these difficult problems, they are not the only persons concerned. That on the contrary a grave offence has been committed against the people of the United Kingdom, and that the position of the United Kingdom among the great nations of the world has been gravely compromised by what has taken place in South Africa: for these reasons, if for no others, our friends in South Africa will be wise to make some allowance for the British point of view, and to realise even more clearly than they have hitherto done that they form part of an united Empire whose interests must be regarded as a whole if it is to live in the fierce competition of the Nations.

H. O. Arnold Forster.

TWO YEARS IN RHODESIA.

A FRENCH VIEW OF THE CHARTERED COMPANY.

About a year and a half ago I returned from a long journey in Africa, having been across the Dark Continent from the Cape to Uganda, and thence to Mombasa on the East Coast; it took me three years to accomplish this journey, and during that time I travelled some 7,000 miles of country. In each one of the districts I visited I devoted considerable time and attention to the study of the natives, the natural resources of the land, and the various methods of administration in force in the British, Portuguese, and German spheres of influence. Out of the three years two were spent in the Chartered Company's territory, and I am, to this date, the only man who has visited every one of the various regions over which their rule extends.

After visiting the Barotse, on the Upper Zambezi, I spent six months in Matabeleland and in the Makalaka Country; then, crossing Mashonaland, I reached, for the second time, the Zambezi at Zumbo, the last Portuguese station inland near the British frontier.

After following this river down to its confluence with the Shire River I arrived in the British Central Africa Protectorate, and when I reached the northern part of Lake Nyasa I found myself once more in the Chartered Company's territory, over which I travelled up to the southern extremity of Lake Tanganyika.

I was chiefly impressed by the extraordinary and varied resources of this magnificent colony, the acquisition of which has proved so valuable an addition to the British Empire, and it should be borne in mind by Englishmen, that had not Mr. Rhodes occupied in 1890 what is now known as Rhodesia, this huge tract of land—750,000 square miles—would have fallen into the hands of the Boers, Germans, and Portuguese.

So far back as 1882, the Boers began to cast covetous eyes on Mashonaland, attracted there by the glowing accounts of their hunters, who represented this country as one of the richest agricultural districts they had ever seen. That year the Transvaal Government tried to obtain a concession from Lo Bengula, the King of the Matabele, but failed in its endeavour. In 1885, the German

Colonial Society sought with untiring energy to obtain a footing in every part of the African Continent. They had occupied Damaraland on the West Coast, established themselves in the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions on the East Coast, and, allured by the reports of their countryman Herr Weber, who insisted upon the enormous value of Matabeleland from an agricultural as well as from a mineral point of view, they were preparing to advance there from the West, dreaming of a huge Trans-African Empire.

On the other hand, the Portuguese were laying claim to the whole of Mashonaland, and one of the official maps published at that period showed the entire dominions of Lo Bengula as part of the Colony of Mozambique; they also claimed a right over the territory north of the Zambezi, including Lake Nyasa and the whole region south of Lake Tanganyika. Lord Salisbury, it is true, protested against these pretentions upon the ground that it had been admitted at the Berlin Conference that no claim to any part of Africa would be recognized unless supported by effective occupation.

It is also true that, by a treaty with King Lo Bengula, Mr. Moffatt, the British Commissioner of Bechuanaland, obtained a recognition of the exclusive rights of England over that chief's dominions, but this treaty was not confirmed by occupation, and the Portuguese being already settled in the Manica Country, east of Mashonaland, might at any time have advanced towards Matabeleland, in which case the British claims would have been forfeited through lack of effective occupation.

While other nations were preparing to seize upon this wealthy district, Mr. Rhodes stepped in, accomplished what others were merely contemplating, and secured an unquestionable title to the land by occupying it.

In 1888 he sent representatives to Bulawayo, who succeeded in obtaining from the King a concession over the mineral rights of Mashonaland. A company was formed to develop this concession —a charter being subsequently applied for and obtained from the Government. The British South Africa Company, better known as the Chartered Company, was formed with a capital of one million sterling, and so great was the confidence of the concessionares themselves, that they guaranteed £700,000 of the capital. It was not their intention to turn into ready money the rights they had acquired; their aim was greater and their policy more far-seeing. The shareholders were all men who could afford to wait for a return on their money, and their idea was to found a great undertaking that would rival the old East India Company: they understood that to carry out their plans successfully it was necessary to open out the country to all comers, and they relied

for their future profits merely upon a share of the benefits that the settlers might derive from their labours.

The objects of the Company as represented when the charter was applied for were the following :—

1. To extend northwards the railway and telegraph systems in the direction of the Zambezi.
2. To encourage immigration and colonization.
3. To promote trade and commerce.
4. To develop and work mineral and other concessions, under the management of one organization, thereby obviating conflicts and complications between the various interests that had been acquired within those regions and securing to the native chiefs and their subjects the rights reserved to them under the several concessions.

I will now attempt to show how these promises have been kept. When I first went into the Chartered Company's dominions, I confess that I was strongly prejudiced against the Company. I had met a good many men who had been, or pretended to have been, to Mashonaland, and who represented to me the state of affairs existing there under the worst light. I had, besides, a considerable objection to every kind of monopoly, and was under the impression that the Company was employing the rights that had been conferred upon it in securing the whole of the trade to the exclusion of everyone else. I therefore determined to make a searching enquiry, and started with a hostile predisposition towards their work. I can only say that after seeing with my own eyes the work that had been undertaken, and the results that had been achieved, my prejudice was changed into unbounded admiration.

Before describing what I have observed, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the early career of the Company. As I have explained, the directors undertook among other things to encourage emigration and colonization. In order to carry out this aim, at the beginning of 1890 a great expedition was organized in the Cape Colony; it consisted of about 200 pioneers who were to proceed to Mashonaland. The railway system then only extended as far as Kimberley, some 600 miles from the Cape; thence to Mount Hampden, the ultimate object of the expedition, a distance of nearly 1,000 miles had to be covered. During that long march the expedition would have to cross more than 400 miles of almost unexplored country, a region only known to a few explorers; chief among these was Mr. Selous, the celebrated hunter, who was entrusted with the guidance of the force.

Although Lo Bengula had granted a concession, and allowed the Company to reach its destination through a route that had been agreed upon with him, it was to be feared that the young Matabele warriors would view with much distrust the advance of

an important body of white men into what had hitherto been their chief raiding grounds, and the utmost precaution had to be taken to avoid a collision, and to protect the intending settlers. A police force of 400 men was enlisted to accompany the expedition. Pioneers and police received a military organization; they were formed into troops under competent officers, having at their head Colonel Pennefather, of the Inniskilling Dragoons; the pioneers were to be transported to the scene of their labours at the Company's expense, receiving besides a salary until disbandment, and being provided with food on the way.

In order to secure the greatest possible number of settlers for the young colony, and to attach them to the soil, the members of the pioneer and of the police force were given each the right to peg out, free of cost, fifteen mining claims, and were promised that as soon as arrangements could be completed with Lo Bengula with regard to the disposal of land, they would be entitled to a farm of 3,000 acres. But these grants were not unconditional; before they could obtain a final title to this property the new settlers had to complete a certain amount of development work. A thirty-feet shaft had to be sunk on each block of mining claims, and the farms had to be occupied during an uninterrupted period of three consecutive years.

In April, 1890, the expedition started from Mafeking, the last station of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. A large number of waggons accompanied the force, carrying provisions, tools, and all the necessary implements for future work, as nothing was to be found in the country. A camp was formed at Macloustie to the extreme north of Bechuanaland, and there the expedition was reviewed by General Lord Methuen before starting on the most serious part of its march. Macloustie was to be used as a base, and a force of 200 police remained there. At Tuli, on the Shashi River, Mashonaland was entered; from Tuli to Mount Hampden 400 miles of altogether new ground had to be crossed. It was decided to keep away as far as possible from the native settlements, in order to avoid hostilities. Soon, however, it was discovered that a strong Matabele Impi (Army Corps) was following and watching the party; the greatest precautions were taken by the leaders to prevent a collision; every night a strong laager was formed and an electric search-light threw its rays over the surrounding bush, greatly astonishing the natives, who considered this as a manifestation of witchcraft. No shooting was allowed, even at game, and after some time, the natives, being assured of the pacific intentions of the white men, ceased to follow them, and returned to their homes.

Two hundred miles to the north of Tuli a fort was erected, Fort

Victoria, and a certain number of pioneers and police were left to garrison the place. One hundred miles further north another fort was also built, Fort Charter, and in September, 1890, the expedition halted near Mount Hampden, where the erection of a township was commenced; it was named after Lord Salisbury, and is now the capital of Mashonaland. Soon after arriving there, the pioneers were disbanded, and spread themselves all over the country prospecting for minerals. The rains then began; the rainy season lasts for about five months, and during that time little or no work can be performed. When the dry season commenced, a serious danger threatened the new settlement; the Boers, who, as we have seen had long wished to extend their dominions to that part of Africa, prepared to secure by force what they had failed to obtain by diplomacy; they made arrangements to raid the new British colony. Five thousand Boers gathered together for the purpose of invading Mashonaland, but yielding to the strong representations of the High Commissioner, Sir Henry (now Lord) Loch, President Kruger discouraged this raid. Notwithstanding this, 400 Boers trecked towards the Crocodile River, and expressed their determination to force their way into Mashonaland. Part of the British South Africa Police Force, supported by a number of men of the Bechuanaland Border Police under the command of Colonel Sir Frederic Carrington, were sent along the Crocodile River with orders to oppose the intended invaders; at the same time Dr. Jameson arrived upon the scene as Mr. Rhodes' representative; he was instructed to endeavour to persuade the Boers to abandon their project; he succeeded in doing so, and the majority of the burghers returned to their homes, a certain number being however allowed to come into Mashonaland after having signed an undertaking to submit to the Chartered Company's laws and regulations.

This danger avoided, another arose from the Portuguese. Nearly six hundred of their troops were stationed in the Manica district and were preparing to march towards Fort Salisbury; the company had a right to that portion of Manicaland under Lo Bengula's rule, and in order to secure an indisputed title by effective occupation, the Company dispatched a patrol of forty men under Captain Heyman with orders to put in an appearance in that part of Manica where the chiefs acknowledged the rule of Lo Bengula and which was therefore part of the concession that had been granted by that chief. No sooner did Captain Heyman and his men appear in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese lines than they were fired upon; the little force were bootless, clothesless, and nearly starved; they were short of ammunition, and they ran great risk of being overpowered. Notwithstanding this Captain Heyman was determined not to give in, and he replied to the fire of the Portuguese; very

soon, these, unable to believe that a small band of forty men could dare to stand against more than twelve times their number, felt persuaded that they were but the vanguard of a large army, and, as the handful of British Police advanced towards them, the whole of the six hundred Portuguese, two hundred of whom were white troops, took to flight in a mad scramble. The gallant little English band captured the fort of Massi-Kesse, taking prisoners the two Portuguese leaders, Colonels Païva d'Andrade and Gouveïa. In the fort they found enormous quantities of food, rifles, ammunition, and several machine guns, and great was the stupefaction of the two Portuguese colonels when they discovered that they had been defeated by only forty men, who had almost exhausted their ammunition and were reduced to a few rounds per head when they secured their victory. Soon after these events had taken place, an arrangement was entered into with the Portuguese Government by Lord Salisbury; a provisional frontier was fixed upon, and the relations between the two countries very soon became most cordial and have remained such ever since. Shortly after this Mr. Colquhoun, the first administrator, was compelled through ill-health to retire, Dr. Jameson succeeding him as administrator. Forthwith the country made remarkable strides in prosperity.

The natives were gradually gaining confidence in the white man, large numbers of them coming to ask for work. The Matabele themselves seemed to be reconciled to the new state of affairs, the Boers and Portuguese had accepted what they had been unable to prevent, and so satisfactory was the peaceable aspect of affairs that Dr. Jameson decided to disband the police that had ceased to be necessary for military purposes; he therefore offered the men to rescind their contract, allowing them two months' pay and nine months' provisions, which would enable them to set to work on the property that had been granted to them. The number of settlers was thus greatly increased, and an additional impetus given to the work of colonization. The townships that had first consisted of mud and grass huts were transformed; the ground was divided into numbers of building stands; these were regularly put up for sale by auction, and found many anxious purchasers. Grass huts were replaced by substantial brick buildings, and before a year had elapsed scores of well-built houses stood at Fort Salisbury, and a township was being also erected at Fort Victoria.

Two other towns had also been founded; one at Hartley Hill, half-way between Salisbury and Bulawayo, near the border of Matabeleland proper, and the other at Umtali, in the Manica country. A considerable number of new settlers had followed the pioneers, and many more then began to flock in. It was calculated that, by the end of 1891, nearly 1,500 white men had come to

Mashonaland. The pioneers on their way to Salisbury had already made a road, which was soon greatly improved ; regular postal services were organized, and weekly mails ran between Tuli and Salisbury, carrying the letters in fifteen days between the two stations; in 1892 this service was still further improved, and the time of transit reduced to twelve days, or an average of thirty-five miles a day, a very good average, considering that the carts were drawn by oxen.

Soon after the country had been occupied, the telegraph line was actively pushed forward from Mafeking, the terminus of the Cape system towards the north, and by the end of 1891 the new line had already reached Fort Victoria, and early in 1892 it was completed up to Fort Salisbury. At the same period arrangements were entered into with the Portuguese Government for the building of a railway line from Beira on the East Coast to the Portuguese frontier, the ultimate object being to push the line on to Fort Salisbury, so as to place the capital of Mashonaland within two days of the coast. This line has now been completed as far as Chimio, and it is now possible to reach Fort Salisbury in less than five days from Beira.

Before this line was built the transport by that road offered the greatest difficulties on account of the abundance of the Tsetse fly, fatal to all domestic animals: at the present time goods can reach Salisbury in less than twenty days from Beira, while in 1892 three months was the shortest time that could be reckoned under the most favourable circumstances by the Cape route. It was in that year that I visited Matabeleland and Mashonaland. To reach Bulawayo, the capital of Matabeleland, leave had then to be previously obtained from the King Lo Bengula: the Matabele themselves were most hostile to the white men. They were the terror of all their neighbours ; every year raiding parties invaded the districts inhabited by the surrounding tribes, and carried there fire, devastation, and death; wherever the Matabele appeared they used to slaughter the men, the old women, and the babies in arms: the young women and the children were carried away as slaves, the cattle were seized and brought back to the King as his share of the spoil, the villages were destroyed, and the gardens wantonly devastated.

The site where the township of Bulawayo now stands was then a huge plain, open to the winds; in the middle of it stood but three groups of two or three mud and grass huts, the homes of the only six European inhabitants of the place. The whole plain was strewn with human bones, the remains of Lo Bengula's victims. This was but three years and a half ago, and I can scarcely realize that on this same spot now exists a township of over 300 houses, with a

population of more than 2,000 Europeans, a town where are to be found twelve hotels, two churches, a club, three banks, a hospital, and magnificent Government buildings; a town where an opera house is going to be built at a cost of £30,000, and where every improvement of modern civilization has been introduced; and it seems incredible to think that all this has been achieved in a place where in my time, not four years ago, the worst form of barbarism was flourishing.

The Matebele war that took place in 1893 is certainly one of the most glorious incidents in the history of Rhodesia. It has been said by some of the adversaries of the Chartered Company that this war was brought on by the greed of the Company, but if we consider carefully and impartially the events which led up to it, we shall see that the Company had no choice in the matter, and that it had to fight the Matebele in self-defence, and also for the protection of the native tribes among whom the English settlers dwelt and whom they were bound to protect.

Lo Bengula's turbulent warriors, as I have already pointed out, had seen with the deepest feelings of discontent the advent of white men in Mashonaland, as they well understood that it would prevent their carrying out any longer their iniquitous raids in that region. After the occupation of Rhodesia by the Chartered Company the Matabele found themselves hemmed in from all sides; to the south, Bechuanaland was under British protectorate, to the east, Mashonaland was strongly occupied by the whites, who were gradually working their way right up to the Zambezi, and establishing themselves in the districts to the north of Matabeleland. The treaty made with the King of the Barotse extended the British protection to the north-west, and also closed this raiding ground to the Matabele, who therefore determined to fight the whites. During the year 1892 many individual acts of aggression took place: a post-cart was stopped on the road between Fort Victoria and Salisbury; transport riders had their waggons looted south of Victoria, and barely escaped with their lives. In Matabeleland itself the attitude of the natives was most threatening, and they proclaimed openly that they would soon kill all the white men. The Administrator of Mashonaland, Dr. Jameson, however, was determined to exhaust peaceable means before having recourse to arms; in each one of the cases I have mentioned, he made representations to Lo Bengula, asking him to deal with the offenders, but the wily king merely replied by promises, and took no action; he would, I believe, have liked to punish the offenders, but felt that such a step would be most unpopular among his people and might bring on a revolution. Encouraged by this forbearance, the Matabele warriors became still bolder. In

July, 1893, a strong Matabele Impi advanced through Mashonaland, destroying every village on their way, killing the men, carrying the children and women into slavery, and looting the cattle; they marched into the neighbourhood of Fort Victoria and perpetrated their misdeeds among the surrounding native villages. Finally they raided the township itself and killed a number of natives. Lo Bengula refused to make reparation, or even to negotiate, until the Mashona who had sought protection with the white men should be surrendered, obviously to be destroyed, which was refused.

Dr. Jameson then came to Victoria, and ordered the Matabele to retire from the neighbourhood of the township, warning them that if they failed to so he would have to drive them away arms in hand. They declined to take any notice of this warning, and it became necessary to adopt sterner measures. Patrols were sent daily around Victoria, but having come in the vicinity of the Matabele, they were fired upon. The High Commissioner, after careful consideration, then allowed Dr. Jameson to take whatever steps he might consider necessary to insure the safety of the settlers and of the natives under his administration.

When the police had been disbanded in 1892, volunteer corps were formed to replace them; these were at once mobilized; large quantities of horses were forwarded from the Transvaal, and Mr. Rhodes placed £50,000 out of his private resources at the disposal of the Company.

At the beginning of September a force, more than 900 strong was ready to take the field. Two columns started simultaneously from Salisbury and Victoria, marching towards Bulawayo from the east, and at the same time a third column marched from the south under the command of Colonel Gould Adams, of the Bechuanaland Border Police, this force having been placed at the disposal of the Company by the High Commissioner, and joined the Tuli contingent of the British South Africa Company.

The campaign was conducted with the utmost activity. The rainy season was fast approaching, and no time was to be lost, as it was absolutely necessary that the operations should be concluded, and a decisive blow struck at the enemy before the rains set in. After a series of severe engagements, Bulawayo was occupied at the beginning of November, when it was found that Lo Bengula had fled to the north. Messengers were sent to him guaranteeing his life if he surrendered within a certain time; he promised to come but failed to do so, and Major Forbes started in pursuit. It was during this march that Major Wilson, who had been dispatched with sixty men to overtake the King, was overpowered by several thousands of the enemy, against whom he sustained a fight unto death, every one of his men perishing in their heroic defence.

Soon afterwards news came of the death of Lo Bengula. Many of the Indunas (local chiefs acting as generals) came in and made their submission with large numbers of their followers. By the end of December peace had been so effectually restored that the volunteers could be disbanded, a permanent police force of 150 men only being retained to ensure order.

I have shown what Bulawayo is like now, and I have no doubt that before another five years have elapsed it will have become one of the most important centres in Africa.

Many people have asked me how it is that little or nothing is heard about the gold in Matabeleland. The explanation is a simple one. It is only in a year or so that the true value of the gold mines will become apparent, for it must be remembered that until now only preliminary work has been carried out. It takes fully two years to develop a gold mine upon a sufficient scale to enable practical tests to be applied. Already on the various properties 57,000 feet of shafting and 44,000 feet of tunnelling have been completed, and from careful assaying on the properties, where work is the most advanced, it has been proved beyond doubt that taking good, bad, and indifferent ore without sorting, an average of twenty-five dwts. of gold can be extracted from each ton of ore crushed. On one of the most important properties shafts have been sunk to a depth of 300 feet below the level of the ground, and the most competent and independent experts assert that most of the reefs are true "Fisher" reefs that do not "pinch," but reach to any depth. The working expenses are low, and are not expected to exceed the equivalent of five dwts. per ton, thus leaving a clear profit of twenty dwts. per ton. The mine owners, besides, are not crippled by monopolies or heavy taxes like in the Transvaal, the Chartered Company having, on the contrary, always done everything to encourage capital and labour.

Agriculture has, so far, given splendid results. The most extensive experiments have been made by Mr. Moodie, the well-known agriculturist, who started in 1892 with a large number of farmers for the region on the border of Gazaland; he has been followed there by more than five hundred Europeans, over three hundred of whom have settled down on farms.

After two years' work he has been able to pronounce the country admirably suited to the rearing of live stock; the cultivation of the soil has also given excellent results. Wheat, oats, barley, and rice have been grown on the farms, and their cultivation has proved most satisfactory. He has also the utmost faith in the results that may be obtained from tobacco. This culture and industry ought, in his opinion, to become most extensive and most remunerative. The climate and the soil are particularly suited to

the tobacco-plant, and two crops can be grown every year on account of the mild winters and early springs. It must also be noted that in Mashonaland and Matabeleland the climate is quite suitable to European labour. No excessive heat is ever experienced there, the nights are always cool, and with proper precautions the settlers enjoy perfect health.

When the railway to Bulawayo has been completed the whole of that region will undoubtedly become a great field for emigrants. There is already a considerable demand for European labour, and a good steady English workman can save a considerable amount on his wages. Carpenters, masons, painters, plumbers, and other skilled labourers earn between 25s. and 30s. per diem. Qualified miners are paid £1 per shift of eight hours, while ordinary miners receive 15s. Board and lodging can be had for less than £15 per month. There is already now a good demand for skilled labourers, especially in the building trade, and any man good at his work can fairly reckon upon being able to save at least £15 a month. Artisans can now reach Bulawayo at a cost of £25 from England, travelling third class on the steamer; from the Cape they can go by rail to Mafeking, where they find no difficulty in making arrangements with a transport rider to carry them in his waggon and supply them with food on the road at a most reasonable price.

The work of the Company has not been merely confined to the development of the region south of the Zambesi. A great deal of attention has also been bestowed on the extensive territory to the north of that river, extending as far as Lake Tanganyika. This immense district is especially suited to agriculture. A large portion of it is at present inhabited by the Angoni tribes, and it is a well known fact that these natives, of Zulu extraction, will only settle in countries well suited to the rearing of cattle. The higher plateaux of that region are admirably adapted to the cultivation of coffee; the soil and climate are similar to those of the Shire Highlands. Coffee plantations in that district have given most remarkable results; for instance, Messrs. Buchanan Bros., who only began operations some ten years ago, with a single plant of coffee, now get crops of a yearly value of over £5,000. This coffee commands a very high price in the London market, and encouraged by these results, numerous other planters have followed Messrs. Buchanan Brothers' example; actually over sixty plantations are in full cultivation in the neighbourhood of Blantyre. Labour, north of the Zambesi, is comparatively cheap and plentiful, and the average price paid to natives, including rations does not exceed eight shillings per month. Land can be purchased in the Nyasa Tanganyika district at the rate of about one shilling per acre.

Northern Rhodesia possesses excellent natural means of com-

munication. Ocean going steamers can come to Chindi at the mouth of the Zambezi, whence river steamers run as far as Katunga, in the Shire River, within sixty miles of Blantyre. The navigation is there interrupted by the Murchison Falls, but is resumed eighty miles farther north, whence goods can be conveyed by steamers right to the north of Lake Nyasa, a distance of over 300 miles; from Chindi at the mouth of the Zambezi to Katunga, the distance is about 200 miles. A line of railway is shortly to be built between Quilimane and Fort Johnston, putting the southern end of Lake Nyasa in direct communication with the coast, thus avoiding trans-shipment where the navigation of the Shire River is interrupted. When this line has been completed the northern end of Lake Nyasa will be placed within five days of the coast.

The creation of telegraph lines and the building of railways has been among the most important work carried out by the Company.

As I have already explained, shortly after the arrival of the pioneers in Mashonaland, a telegraph line was erected right up to Fort Salisbury. It was then that Mr. Rhodes expressed his intention of pushing on this line right across the African continent, so as to place the Cape in direct overland communication with Cairo. Most people scoffed at the idea, declaring the scheme to be impossible, but, nothing daunted, Mr. Rhodes formed a Company and began the work. By the end of last year this line had already been completed so far as Blantyre, close to Lake Nyasa. South to the Zambezi two lines run to Salisbury, one *viâ* Tuli and Victoria, and the other *viâ* Bulawayo and Gwelo. Another line connects Fort Salisbury with Beira, so that actually the Company's territory is in telegraphic communication with Europe by two different routes, over 1,400 miles of line having been laid down.

In 1890 the railway system from the Cape only ran as far as Kimberley. This line has been extended to Mafeking, nearly 200 miles further north, and is now being actively pushed towards Bulawayo. The Beira line, which now runs as far as Chimio, on the Portuguese frontier, will also be completed to Fort Salisbury, whence it will ultimately join the Bulawayo section. This will, of course, considerably reduce the cost of transport, and the completion of these lines will bring a large influx of settlers, and I do not hesitate to predict that before ten years have elapsed more than 100,000 Europeans will be settled in Rhodesia.

It has been said by some critics that the Chartered Company had been in no way instrumental in increasing the exports from England, but they forget that the whole of the plant for the railway and telegraph lines has been entirely supplied by English

firms. Neither must it be forgotten that it is to the Chartered Company alone that England owes the addition of 750,000 square miles of most valuable territory, and that this immense region has been acquired and developed without the least help from the Government, and without entailing the cost of a single penny to the British taxpayer. The cost of the Matabele war has been entirely supported by the Company, and there is every likelihood that the present rising will also be crushed without having recourse to financial or material help from the Government.

The present outbreak is certainly to be deplored, but it has fortunately happened at a season when the rains are over; before the next rains begin six months will elapse, a space of time more than sufficient to restore order. It is far preferable that this rising should have occurred now rather than in a few years time, for the damage caused to property can be easily repaired, and as soon as the natives have been overpowered, work will be resumed with fresh activity. Such would not have been the case if the various properties had been in a more advanced state of development, and if expensive machinery had already been erected on the various mines.

Knowing the country and the resources of the Company as I do I have not the slightest doubt but that they will be able to cope with the revolution single-handed,* and without applying for help from outside. Measures will certainly be adopted as to obviate all chance of a similar rising in the future. The original cause of the rebellion must be entirely attributed to the influence of the witch-doctors; after the fall of Lo Bengula they were deprived of the tremendous power they possessed in his time, and they were anxious to recover it. The outbreak of rinderpest supplied them for the long looked for opportunity. The natives attribute whatever evil befalls them to witchcraft, or to the influence of the angry spirits of their ancestors: when the cattle began to die in large numbers the witch-doctors had no difficulty in persuading them that it was caused by the spirit of Lo Bengula; they probably stated that they had been in communication with his spirit, and that he had declared that he would only be appeased if all the white men were driven out of the country. The events that took place in the Transvaal at the beginning of the year have had nothing whatever to do with the rebellion; they may have hastened the outbreak, but rinderpest and the influence of the witch-doctors are the true motives that led to it.

Among the accusations that have been levelled against the Company it has also been said that it is a money-making concern which derives its income from the government of men.

* This article was written in March.

The Company, like any other Government, is bound to earn money; no government can carry on the administration of a country without loans, and it is the duty of a good administration to pay interest on its loans, and to raise money to pay for its working expenditure.

The shareholders have lent the directors a large capital, and are well entitled to a return on their outlay. But it is only on the good administration of the country that they can rely for their profit, for the Company's revenue is entirely dependent on the number of settlers that will come to the country, and on the work that will be done by them. The Company merely derives its income from a share in the profits of the prospectors, and, as Mr. Chamberlain himself has acknowledged, Government could not possibly have achieved the work that has been accomplished by the Company.

Had Rhodesia been a Crown Colony its Governor would have had his expenditure limited by the Budget voted by Parliament; he could not have exceeded it even with the certainty of a future return, while the Chartered Company has been able to expend hundreds of thousands whenever it has been necessary to do so. So great has been the confidence of the shareholders that, although they have received no interest on their investment, when a demand was made for an additional £1,000,000 this amount was at once subscribed, and found exclusively by them. All the Company now asks is to be enabled to go on with its operations undisturbed, and to finish the work it has so brilliantly begun. Its adversaries are now demanding the cancellation of its charter, but this would be an act of most monstrous injustice. Would it be fair to deprive men, who have not hesitated to lay out millions content to look to the future for a return of their outlay, of the chance of receiving a legitimate profit for their enormous investment. And even supposing that the shares should be refunded at their original price of issue the loss would be enormous to all concerned, for it must be remembered that no interest has been paid so far, and also that many have purchased their shares at a high premium. Leaving aside, however, the monetary consideration it is impossible to forget that to the Chartered Company alone, Great Britain owes the possession of a territory seven and a half times as large as the mother country, a territory that has been transformed and that has passed from an abject state of barbarism to a high degree of civilization; a territory that will become the home of scores of thousands of Englishmen. More than ten thousand British subjects are already settled there, and ought they not to be consulted? Then, considering the question from an Imperial point of view, would Government be prepared to support the enormous expendi-

ture necessary to continue the work of the Company, or is all progress to stop suddenly?

Perhaps I may now sum up what I saw of Rhodesia and its Government during the two years I spent in travelling over it from end to end. The country is one of the richest, and the most diversely rich, that I ever visited. Its administration, taking it as a whole, is conducted by as single-minded and hard-working men as I ever came across, and I say this, bearing in mind that I have lived for years among the civil servants of India. I never saw a better-ordered community than the white inhabitants of Rhodesia, whether in an old country or a new; keenly desirous to succeed themselves they are yet ever ready to lend a hand to their neighbours. Of their splendid self-reliance and self-devotion I can say no more in praise than is already written in the history of the two wars with the Matabele. As for the founder of this country, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, I dare to think him by far the greatest man that Africa has yet given to the world, and one of the greatest men of this century. It would be superfluous to eulogize his untiring energy, his discrimination in the choice of his subordinates, and the boundless confidence which he inspires in every man who has worked with him. It cannot be denied that he is rich, if that is a crime; but from all I ever heard there never was a man who cared less for money for its own sake. I suppose he spends about one twentieth part of his income upon himself. He has always been ready and anxious to help the Chartered Company out of his own resources, and many are the men in South Africa to whom he has given a helping hand in private without a word said about it in public. That he values wealth for the leverage it gives him to carry out his plans is doubtless true. But whether that is a reproach or a glory depends upon the plans themselves. I am perfectly independent in my judgment of his work, and have had more opportunities than most people of forming that judgment; I should say there never was a man who had the greatness of his country more at heart. Should South Africa and the Empire be deprived of his services, even in a small measure, it would be nothing less than a public calamity. Still in the prime of life, he has already achieved a work whose magnitude should suffice for immortality. I can only say that I should be proud to number among my own countrymen a single man of his ability and patriotism. The Chartered Company and its founder can be epitomized in a couple of words—a great work and a great Englishman.

LIONEL DÈCLE.

THE MONEY OF THE FAR EAST.

He who attempts to deal with the question of money must walk warily in the lists. The stoutest minds of our generation have tackled each other in that arena, and have wrestled over every inch of the ground. But I shall not presume to enter here upon our existing controversy, though I fully and readily recognize how great are the minds, and how serious are the issues involved in Bimetallism.

Apart, then, from that important question, I shall venture to enquire as to the great issues of the future, and these present themselves to me as four questions that, sooner or later, may require replies. Is the immense increase of gold to modify the monetary policy of Britain? Will India eventually adopt a standard of silver or one of gold? Will the United States resort permanently, or at all, to a silver standard? What is to be the monetary policy of the Far East? Of these problems the first three may eventually be solved entirely, and perhaps the last may be settled in part, by the statesmen and financiers of Anglo-Saxon blood.

The monetary history of the world during the last thirty years might, until recently, have been summed up in a phrase—the fall of silver in its relation to gold. It was a generation ago that a slight decline in silver could have been observed upon the London market. As the years passed, that decline became more accentuated owing largely to the double cause that the great commercial nations of the West excluded silver from their standard, and also that concurrently the output of silver greatly increased, But if there was a double cause acting against the value of silver, there was a double cause still acting in its favour, for America, from 1878 onwards, adopted the policy of annually buying a vast amount of silver, and also the mints of India were freely open to its receipt. But in 1893 the second great act occurred in the drama of the overthrow of the white metal. In that year America ceased to purchase, and the doors of the Indian mints were closed. Thus another heavy blow was dealt at the price of silver, which has, indeed, owing to this sequence of causes, fallen to about half what it was worth thirty years ago as measured in gold.

As to the future of that metal, the problem is too obscure for calculation, and could be decided by no one less than a prophet. Yet the present forces acting in the one direction and the other may be briefly enumerated. In favour of a rise in the price of silver is the recent diminution of silver mining in the United States. Taking the general list of the dividend paying silver and silver-lead mines of that country, forty-five in number, it appears that there were only seven mines that paid a dividend in 1895. Again, according to a recent estimate of the American Mint, the total output of silver in the States was 60,000,000 ounces in 1893 but had fallen to 46,000,000 ounces in 1895. Against this diminution of supply must be set an increase in the output of Chili and Bolivia. Still, upon the whole, the total output of the world during the last few years exhibits a decline.

Again, there is the immense output of gold in Africa, Australia, and elsewhere, which may be held as liable to depreciate on this account in its relation to silver and thus to raise the price of the latter as measured in gold. On the other hand, some new process of extraction and chemical treatment may enormously reduce the cost of silver production and vastly extend the range of mining activity. Should another great fall occur in silver, we shall see what we have seen before—a readjustment of those prices which rest on the relative value of gold and silver. Of these prices some will rise in silver, while others will fall in gold. For each individual price, in my view, hangs by itself in the exchange, and nothing absolute can be said as to the effect of a fall in silver upon prices. But in respect of currency a fall in silver will be of less moment than thirty years ago, for it will not affect the currency of those nations which are upon a gold or a paper standard, nor will it exercise its former influence upon India, whose rupee, owing to the closing of the mints, is considerably more valuable as a coin than as silver bullion. Emphasis should be placed upon the fact that by slow degrees and by practical expedients the world is striving to rid itself of the silver question.

The second phrase necessary to summarise the recent history of money is—the flood of gold. How has this affected Great Britain? I find that the net imports of gold into this county during the last seven years reached the gigantic total of £57,581,000. Looking at the preceding ten years there was a net export of gold from our shores.

Where is this gold that has come to us? If we compare the immense volume of gold in the Bank of England at the opening of this period and the gold there at the close of 1895, it appears that no less than £27,000,000 of this new gold has gone into the Bank of England, or not far from one-half. As to the remainder, a few

millions have gone into coinage, but only a few. The rest must have gone into the arts and manufactures, and a little into the reserves of banks other than the Bank of England.

The question naturally arises—is this accumulation of gold a good or an evil?

As regards our gold currency it has had, I suppose, no effect, for our gold circulation only requires a very little new gold annually to keep it in repair, and it does not increase. For instance, during the last three years reported upon by our mint, only £1,548,000 was used of new gold for coinage. One clear effect has been to strengthen the position of the Bank of England, which has now a proportion of reserve to liabilities of about 60 per cent. as against 40 per cent. some years ago. The further effect has been to make loanable capital cheap, and though this may be an evil for those who lend, it is an advantage for those who borrow, and thus is in no substantial sense a national evil.

The question as to whether the accumulation will continue is very difficult to answer. Some portion of the gold that has recently reached us is from the United States, and this drain would cease if that country were to re-organize its finance upon a sound basis. Again, gold has come to us to some extent, because France and Germany have not been so anxious to collect gold as they were some years ago. If, however, other nations, such as India, Japan, or America, were to begin to acquire gold for hoarding or for currency the tide of that metal would cease to set so strongly towards our shores. Finally, gold has accumulated with us so rapidly because, since the Baring crisis, we have not lent so freely abroad as heretofore. This reasoning would lead to the inference that the causes hitherto enumerated of the increase of our gold stock may be only temporary causes. On the other hand, it seems very clear that the output of gold will continue for many years upon an immense scale, and that London will continue to be a free market for the metal. The balance of argument seems at present in favour of a continued increase in our stock of gold.

As regards the Silver Question, is it not the East that is most interested in silver? Let me compare for a brief space Germany and China in this connection. A generation ago Germany was on a silver standard, but since that time on grounds of pure self-interest, she has discarded silver and has taken to gold. Why should she now trouble herself as to the metal she has abandoned? She produces silver herself, it is true, but on no very large scale, and as regards her eastern trade, the Hanseatic towns themselves which conduct that business are opposed to any idea of "doing something for silver." She will not, it

seems, trouble herself seriously about silver for the good reason that it is no business of hers. Compare the position of Germany with that of China. The currency of China is barbarous and chaotic, and it may be said that she has not a civilized currency at all. Still, for general purposes, she may be reckoned a silver using country. Suppose that China, awakening to modern ideas, or, what is more conceivable, stimulated by the contact of Japan, and the pressure of Europe, were to establish mints of her own on the lines, not of the recent experiment in Canton, but of India. She may in that case find herself in the same situation as India before her mints were closed, liable, that is, to the unlimited receipt of silver, and to the difficulties which a serious fall in that metal would entail.

The next step is to enquire as to what may be the eventual monetary policy of the Far East, by which I mean, China, Japan, the Straits, Indo-China, &c. There are four great Powers that stand in a circle round the Far East. These four are Australia, Russia, India, and the United States. Perhaps in the long run, the monetary policy of these Powers may affect and determine that of the central states. It may be assumed that Australia at all events will not abandon the standard which she now employs. For she produces gold for herself in ample quantities, and also she is closely connected in her trading interests with the United Kingdom. The next country which in the future may be expected to exercise a powerful influence upon the East is Russia. An able article in the *Novosti* has recently defined the situation: "We must not forget that we Russians stand between silver-basis Asia and gold-basis Europe"; "Russia ought to perceive that the solution of her currency problem lies in a gold standard."

The policy of Russia is, indeed, towards a gold standard. The circulating medium is the paper rouble, and so far as that rouble is inconvertible she is on a paper standard. On the other hand, she has since 1881 been busily collecting an immense stock of gold which has now reached the great total of about £100,000,000. This has been achieved by gathering her custom dues in gold, by storing the output of the Siberian gold mines, and also by laying aside some portion of the product of the gold loans which she has raised in Europe. If the holders of roubles can claim to exchange their paper for this gold, Russia is on a gold standard. But, as I gather, though the Imperial Bank holds gold against nearly three-fourths of the paper circulation, no holder of a note can insist upon getting gold, though of late gold has on occasion been paid out for notes. A recent Ukase, referring to the rouble circulation, says that its amount is now so far reduced as to make it feasible "upon the fulfilment of other essential

conditions, to proceed to the final regulation of our monetary circulation."

The horoscope of India and of the United States remains to be drawn. Will the United States resort to a silver standard? It would be idle at the present time to forecast the issue of the Presidential election. It is conceivable that they may one day slip into a silver basis from unwillingness to remedy any longer their difficulty in present circumstances of retaining gold On the other hand, it is improbable that in the long run their plain commercial interests will not determine them to take measures to remain upon their existing basis. The recent history of the United States seems to indicate that time after time when the silver standard is in sight the nation draws back and takes measures necessary to maintain its gold standard.

There remains India. What has been the history of India since 1893? The reason why the mints were closed in that year is easily stated. In 1893 India had to remit to this country, in respect of her annual gold obligations, a sum of £16,500,000. With each fall of silver the heavier would this annual burden become. If the mints were closed, the rupee, no longer coined in vast quantities, would rise in price, above the value of the bullion contained therein, and, to put the matter simply, the debt could be discharged with fewer rupees. Has this expectation been justified by the course of events since 1893? The fact is that the bullion in a rupee is now worth $11\frac{1}{2}$d., whereas the rupee itself in the exchange is worth, say, $14\frac{3}{8}$d. In other words, the rupee as a coin stands over 20 per cent. above its value as so much metal. No doubt something must be subtracted from this gain. The production of silver in the world was about 165,000,000 ounces in 1893, and the amount that went to India in that year was about 50,000,000 ounces. The reduction of this latter demand to a much lower figure in 1894 must evidently have considerably lowered the price of silver, and this fall again must have exercised its influence upon the rupee. Still I think it is clear that the closing of the mints, in spite of this factor, has considerably raised the value of the rupee above what it would have been had the mints not been closed. As regards the future, and looking to the present condition of Indian finance, is it possible that the mints can be reopened? Sir David Barbour, the distinguished financier and Bimetallist, has recently written, "It seems to me that, with good management, the gold standard may be established, though the bulk of the Indian currency can never be gold" (*The National Review*, July, 1894).

These considerations would lead to the view that the great countries which in the future may be expected to have the most

considerable dealings and the most intimate connection with the Far East will not be upon a silver basis. The future of the Far East itself in this regard thus remains for consideration, though if silver is to remain stable in the future no doubt the question will not present itself in any urgent shape. Towards the close of the recent war between China and Japan a remarkable suggestion was made in a certain Tokio journal called the *Nippon*. The writer proposed that the humbled condition of China afforded an unique opportunity for the settlement of the silver question. The main idea was that an Asiatic Silver Union should be formed, under the headship of victorious Japan. The other members of this league were to be China and India, not to mention such minor states as Singapore, Hongkong, Cochin-China, Java, Tonkin, the Philippine Islands, Siam, and Corea. The arrangement was to be that China should be ordered to coin silver at the rate of about 20,000,000 ounces per annum, that the Indian Mints should be re-opened, and that altogether the Asiatic Union should pledge itself to the annual purchase of 59,000,000 ounces of the white metal. Simultaneously with this arrangement the United States should renew the Sherman Act, and recommence their annual purchase of 54,000,000 ounces. Other countries, it was calculated, might be relied upon to buy 40,000,000 ounces annually, and thus silver, assured of a market, would cease falling and the silve question would be solved.

The author of this suggestion has, I venture to think, approached the question in one respect from the right point of view, namely that if the silver question needs settlement by any Government interference, that action must come from the Governments of the East. At the same time, there are one or two criticisms to be made upon his scheme, apart from the practical question as to whether India is willing to reopen her mints, or the United States to recommence operations under the Sherman Act. In the first place, can it be wise that the nations of the earth should, by an arbitrary arrangement, be fixed down as regards the amount of silver to be annually bought by them? Do not the requirements of any nation for silver vary from time to time; and again, even if this could be arranged, would it check any fall in the cost of the production of silver, which fall must, in its turn, affect the price? In spite of these difficulties or impossibilities, the scheme merits attention as being the first attempted solution of this question, as far as I know, coming from an Oriental source.

All the world realizes that in recent years a star of the most astounding brilliance has risen in the Eastern heavens—I mean Japan. The economists and thinkers of our own country will observe with pleasure that this extraordinary people is turning its

attention to currency questions as well as to all the other problems of modern politics. In a recent report on Japan, addressed to the Foreign Office, dated June of last year, the following paragraph occurs: "The currency investigation committee referred to in last year's report still continue their meetings, and it would seem that a great deal still remains to be done before the result of their labour will be made public." Though that report has not yet reached this country, a Japanese authority tells me that its members have decided by a very small majority to adhere at present to the existing standard. Of the opinion of the Straits we have already heard. Singapore may be said to stand at the core and to be the focus of the silver question in the southern portion of the Far East. She is situated between India and China, and is the centre of a series of silver-using states. Her circulation, I believe, is composed partly of Japanese yen and partly of Mexican dollars, and is thus a pure silver currency. In 1893, a committee was appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to report upon the monetary situation, and its conclusion has been that in view of the evils of a silver standard some coin on a gold standard basis should be introduced. But the evidence on which this conclusion was based was of a very conflicting nature.

As regards China, it is utterly impossible to believe that Chinese statesmen, upon their own initiative, will establish a currency system in the modern acceptation of the word. In the first place such a reform would forward the interests of foreign trade, and they do not wish to forward those interests, and in the second place the Chinese administration is so corrupt that its first and last idea would be to make money out of any such establishment, a method incompatible with a sound system of currency. Well, if they cannot and will not do it, we may have to undertake that duty ourselves. More extraordinary and unexpected things have happened than that Europe should have to deal with the Silver Question at the bedside of the Sick man of the Far East.

What is the present situation of Chinese finance? The annual revenue received by the central government at Pekin is about £15,000,000, a tiny revenue to come from so vast an empire. The fact is that this figure in no way represents the sum raised from the people, and that a gigantic system of public plunder intervenes between the Treasury and the tax-payer. The next point to be observed is that the revenue does not fluctuate, or does not fluctuate materially, with good and bad years, or with prosperity and adversity. Like the face of Buddha it alters not; there is something immutable even in the receipts of the Son of Heaven. The narrowness and the fixity of the revenue come substantially from the same cause, the great drain of administrative corruption which runs between the people and Pekin. To this rule there is one notable

exception, the maritime customs which are levied by foreigners upon the foreign trade of China. This service was started more than a generation ago at the conclusion of the war of 1860, in those fortunate days when English influence ruled at Pekin. An Englishman was appointed to assist and supervise the local authorities of Shanghai in the collection of the maritime customs of that port.* This institution has grown, and the present Inspector-General of Customs, Sir Robert Hart, now collects a revenue of about £3,500,000. This is the only reliable branch of revenue in China, a fund, that is, which is collected by honest and incorruptible officials, and which would, no doubt, alone survive amid the crash of the dissolution of the empire of China itself. That this is so may be confirmed by the fact that this fund forms the security of the loans which China has recently raised in Europe for the discharge of her war indemnity to Japan. Such is the extent at present of our control or interference with the finances of China.

What appears to be likely in the future is that if Japan is a star, China will be one day a sun in the firmament of commerce. She has an exhaustless resource in her myriads of cheap workmen; she has labour without labour problems. Her material wealth of cotton, silk, tea, and precious metals, coal, and iron is supposed to be stupendous. She possesses magnificent waterways, and her sea-board gives her touch with the commerce of the world. Hitherto these gifts of nature have been cancelled by her system of government which has moved upon three pivots, love of sham, indifference to the public welfare, and hatred of foreigners. But it has become abundantly clear in the recent action of France on the south and Russia on the north, and of both at the Imperial Court, that all this lethargy must be pushed aside and shaken into life. In this matter the divergent and warring interests of France and Russia, of England, of Germany, and of Japan converge and agree. It is evident that capital, and let us hope British capital chiefly, must pour into the development of that country, so antique and yet so new to the sense of progress.

This being so, and it has already begun to be so, from the moment that we place our money in China we become necessarily most keenly interested in her currency. That currency appears to consist partly of silver dollars, partly of copper cash, partly of notes of the European banks, partly of the somewhat mysterious issues of native bankers in the interior, partly of shoes or ingots of silver, and partly, I understand, of bricks of tea. It is dubious whether a brick of tea is a satisfactory substitute for a pound sterling. Imagine the dangers of a cup of that innocent beverage brewed from the current coin of China! At any rate, the more we

* *The Far Eastern Question*, by Valentine Chirol, p. 102.

lend to China, the more certainly shall we have to extend the system now managed by Sir Robert Hart, and the more necessary will it be to introduce a sound system of currency. The West will be called upon in that case to decide the money of the Far East.

Till recent times, silver ruled the world. In 1816 our Colonies, in spite of the recent recognition of gold by the British Government as the basis of home transactions, asked unanimously for the silver standard. The sign and symbol of the supremacy of the white metal was the dollar of Spain. But that reign is past and over, and it has come about that in our own day the money of international dealings is the bill on London, and that it is now the pound sterling which is everywhere familiar, and which regulates the exchanges of the world. As Mr. Carlisle, Secretary of the United States Treasury, has said, "No matter what character of currency other nations may use, no matter what standard of value they may adopt, all their international dealings are subjected at last to the test of the pound sterling." The decline of silver and the rise of gold have been a process and a growth too continuous and too secret for exact calculation or analysis. Has it come from the deliberate choice of nations? Germany might answer "Yes": Turkey might answer "No." Has it come from the plentifulness of gold, or has gold become plentiful because the nations needed it? Why is it that in Hiogo "forward" transactions on a sterling basis have become the rule among the merchants of Japan? Why does China issue her latest loan in gold? Why is sterling exchange the index of the commercial prosperity of America?

That this tendency has been and will be slow is certain, and that it should excite opposition is inevitable. The British Empire contains within itself various states in all stages of development in this respect, but why should we charge ourselves on this account with an absurd and anomalous system? We have no system within the British Empire; and the absence of any system is the mark of freedom. It may suit England to maintain a gold standard; it may suit India to close her mints; it may suit the Straits to live at present upon a silver basis. There is no reason why these nations, as they may be called, should abandon their own present interests for the sake of an uniform currency, merely because they happen to compose a portion of a world-wide Empire. Such, at least, is the theory taught us by practical experience of the failure of past attempts to unite all upon a similar currency by a stroke of the pen. But a common interest seems by slow degrees to draw the world in one direction, and thither, at the instance only of that very self-interest which now divides them, will these nations eventually be drawn.

GEORGE PEEL.

SOME GOSSIPING REFLECTIONS.

THE grandeur of the Czar's coronation is not all for the gratification of Imperial pride, though it would be as splendid, perhaps, if its vast expenditure had no other purpose. And no doubt its original purpose is nothing else; and yet, should it occur to anyone in Russia to ask whether too much had not been spent in many ways upon a gorgeous but a vain show, the enquirer could be answered. Similar celebrations in past times have been infinitely wasteful upon little more than the mere barbaric wallowing in splendour which is the delight of Eastern princes; but there is something about this celebration that lifts it far above those others in significance, and justifies its prodigality even to the soberest politician and man of the world.

For whatever may be the future of Russian story, it is evident that the rulers of the vast northern empire are preparing for a grand march forward in fulfilment of what they and their fathers and grandfathers have undoubtingly believed to be its destiny. Though during the reign of the late Czar the glacial movement from those regions seemed to be arrested, in reality it never ceased. Still it went on, though by barely perceptible degrees, and never for a day without some addition to the momentum of advance when restraint should be removed. The domestic government of Russia is said to be extremely bad, and so it seems to be; but as to the management of its relations with the rest of the world there is nothing like it for steadiness, watchfulness, patience, vision for the right moment, courage to seize occasion. Though while the third Alexander lived there was little to show on the surface for the use of these qualities, there was a great deal underground, and a great deal more in the provision of opportunity and the consolidation of forces in waiting for the timely hour. Apparently, the Russian Government now feels that the hour is at hand. Some influential minds in Russia must believe, indeed, that it is rather overpast; for they began to chafe at what was thought a too-complete inaction in Alexander's time. Even before the apparition of Japan as a strong naval Power and the fall of China under her attack, the "forward" impulse was moving strongly in

Russia. The victories of Japan, and the tremendous possibilities that then became visible, made the impulse common. Here was a call to action so clear, so imperative, above all so promising, that Russia rose to it at once; and, so to speak, rose altogether. The time had come for a general and definite move onward, and the move was begun. But now a halt was called for the coronation of the Czar; and every Russian must think it most fortunate and fitting at such a time that princes and ambassadors should be called from all parts of the earth, but especially out of the East, to witness the splendour, and majesty, and might of Russia's sovereignty. No nation, however great, can remain unimpressed by a spectacle which could be matched nowhere else in the world; and when these Japanese and Chinese, these Turks and Turcomans return home, it will be found that the magnificence of the Czar's coronation was by no means all unprofitable show. It had paying extravagances, and in a thousand years they could hardly be more timely.

When the Czar's father died it was universally felt that a great security for peace had gone, and that was true. It was true, though why Alexander the Third was so resolute for peace had more than one explanation. The first of them was, no doubt, that he had a real desire for peace; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that a natural wish was strengthened and confirmed by the allegiance of a strong affection for his consort, whose every thought as Russian Empress was for peace. But it is more than suspected that something else weighed with the Czar heavily. Hard-working and painstaking as he was in his country's business, Alexander had no belief in himself as a commanding genius: knew himself, in fact, of so plain a wit that it would be wise to avoid the dazzle and entanglement of great and hazardous affairs. Autocrat he was, and determined to remain; but a sagacious modesty told him that that could only be done by keeping the business of government as much as possible within the ordinary round. Adventure beyond that limit would have been darkness to him. To his own consciousness it would have placed the fortunes of the Empire in the hands of men whose superiority of judgment he could believe in without being able to gauge it, or to rely upon it with a knowledgeable confidence from day to day.* Sound reasons these for abstaining from adventure, but not always satisfactory to everybody about him; which partly explains the rebound toward a more active policy which, as if with a sigh of relief, immediately ensued upon Alexander's death and burial. Not but

* At bottom, it was probably this feeling which made Alexander the Third so extremely shy of association with that abounding, versatile, volatile, even bewildering genius, the German Emperor.

that he himself had to move in his later years. It was in his time that the French alliance was arranged—not, we may believe (though that was long the favourite because most flattering theory in England), with the mere intention of bleeding the French treasury.

One thing, at any rate, may be regarded as certain. The sudden and startling development of events in the Far East would have forced the peaceful Emperor upon a course of policy no less prompt and decisive than that which was adopted by his son. Nor can there be much doubt that it would have been the same policy, taken up with the same vigour, and with the same readiness not only to perceive that a new era in the world's history had begun but to take advantage of it in a leap. Therefore it is vain in every sense to lament that the peaceful Emperor is with us no more. Had he lived till to-day, our position would have been just what it is—neither better nor worse. The rise of Japan and the collapse in China altered everything, setting the policy of all the greater Continental states definitely in a new current. At the critical moment Russia dashed forward to take the lead which she had been so patiently working for; Germany and France shaped a wise course in Russia's wake; England, with an immensity of self-congratulation which is enough to make a Briton's heart ache, elected for what was called "a policy of abstention"; and the situation thus created remains. For the time it is unperturbed. There is no reported movement, except in a direction which was thought absurdly impossible when, a year ago, I recommended a look-out for it as a probable event of immense importance: a movement of reconciliation and arrangement between Russia and Japan. There is that, apparently, and certain courtesies of elaborate emphasis (as when the Czar spoke of the French soldiery as "our brothers in arms") have passed between St. Petersburg and Paris. But otherwise all is quiet on the threshold of a great time of change. The world waits upon Russia, and Russia is absorbed in the august ceremony of crowning the Czar.

In a review article lately written by a close and anxious observer of foreign affairs, I read that at this moment Lord Salisbury is dictator; "never in modern times—not excepting Bismarck—has there been such a dictator as he." Lord Salisbury stands for England; wherefore the meaning of the statement is that England is dictator. But this same article ends with a grave and strong expression of fear that the vane is steadily pointing to war. If so, England cannot be dictator, for her dictation would be for peace; there would be no alarm at all in the movements of the vane. And, indeed, whatever potentialities England may have held

in hand up to a very recent date (and I, for one, believe them to have been enormous), it will be wiser now to consider and prepare our every available means of resisting dictation than to repose upon confidence in England's dictatorship. This we can do with a cheerful sense that though she may not be able to command the situation exactly, her position has improved. It has improved by the disappearance of some extravagant illusions, by a general recognition of certain important facts, and even by some approach to a line of policy which is neither angling for impossible friendships nor retirement within the airy entrenchments of isolation. The idea that this last-named policy was not only a lofty one but a most expedient was shattered and dispelled just as, in my pessimistic way, I said it would be: through the restive dubieties and uncontrollable difficulties of the Italian kingdom. Very little attention had been bestowed upon these doubts and trials; no weight whatever seems to have been allowed to them by the greater Powers; but, on a sudden, the Abyssinian misfortunes of Italy brought them into full effect, with the immediate consequence of drawing England out of a policy of isolation. The strangely-eccentric revelations of the Italian Green Book show that the stability of the Triple Alliance was even more enfeebled than anyone believed outside the Foreign Offices. Of active life little remained to it; it was but a shell; and now it appears that in January last Italy was on the edge of a quarrel with England which must have gone near to shake down the whole fabric visibly. The shock of the Italian defeat in Abyssinia, and dread of its effect in altering the international relations of Italy, had a different result; which was, reconstitution of the Triple Alliance, with England in closer connection with it.

So it is said, and so I wish to believe. The closer association of England with the Triple Alliance, as a necessity more than a policy, is what I have been preaching for years, amidst many dissonant voices; and it is something to find the necessity half-admitted, at least, by the action of the Government. The later course of events has been very enlightening, and we are nearly all of one mind on the subject of alliances now. The universal satisfaction with what are understood to be Lord Salisbury's recent arrangements is good evidence that isolation is no longer thought to be both dignified and safe, and that Englishmen are pretty generally agreed upon the vanity of looking in any but one direction for mutually helpful understandings. There are many, however, who still think that England's tie to the Triple Alliance should be very slight; and that as to making it a quadruple confederacy, nothing could be more unwise. No set of politicians need be less disturbed than the one that holds this view. The German Government is of the same mind, which practically puts the matter out

of question. The times have changed since that Government would have welcomed England into the alliance as joyfully as would Austria and Italy. This change set in before the opening of new fields of ambition in the Far East, and that event completed it at a stroke. Freedom to work in harmony with Russia and France in those regions is now a cardinal point of German policy. It is not a point that could be given up for an English alliance, unless upon such conditions as only an England desperate could assent to; whereby we may understand that if on the one hand our association with the Triple Alliance is narrowed by British caution, on the other it is limited by the revised policy of the German Empire. In short, England is protected nowadays from entangling alliances not only by the discretion of her later years, but by the futility of attempting some arrangements and extraordinary difficulty in making others.

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION NEW SWINDON

A good view of the actual situation may be obtained, I think, by contemplation of the somewhat curious conception of the range and use of the Triple Alliance which obtains in Berlin. Evidently, it is considered operative only within the European area—of course including the Balkan country, where Austria has important interests, and equally of course the Mediterranean, where Italy has need to be very watchful. Within this area, it seems, Egypt may also be included, on condition of England's friendliness to the league of the three Powers. This is her return for going back to her relations with the Triple Alliance when that confederacy was in its vigour. At the same time, it is to be understood that beyond this area the members of the Alliance are at liberty to make whatever partnerships seem good to them, and to take whatever course the wisdom of their respective rulers may point out. At any rate, that liberty is reserved for the German Empire; Austria and Italy being little concerned with anything outside of what we have called the European area. But that is not our case.

Of course it is a matter of great importance to us that peace between the Continental states should be secured—of great moment, too (especially if imperative interference from France and Russia was threatened), to have strong support in Egypt Yet Egypt is not everything to us—it is, indeed, of most importance on account of Britain's vast interests south and east of Egypt. But it is to these remoter parts of the earth, to distant Asia, to southern Africa, that the ambitions of empire and the struggle for trade have been transferred; and it is there, and not in Europe, that England is most endangered. When war is talked of, what does it mean except that England will presently be compelled to face a "squeeze" at the extremities of her empire, and is not expected to yield without fighting? What on this point says the writer of the well-informed article on "Our Relations with Germany" in the

sober and unsensational *Quarterly Review*? "As to the position of England, nobody who knows what is going on in Europe can doubt for a moment that it has become critical. The guides whom she has followed for thirty years and more have preached the gospel of indifference to all European affairs"—and particularly a superiority to alliances. "The result, which many have foreseen, is that she is threatened with a coalition which may compass the destruction of her power." It is so. The field of operation is already marked out—more definitely than elsewhere in those eastern parts of the world where Germany, chief member of our Triple Alliance, prepares to work in company with Russia and France; that is to say, with the coalition against England. Good German policy, no doubt, and perfectly legitimate; but what a curious duplication of alliances, and how strange the position of England between the two!

Strange, too, it is to observe that though we are all pessimists now the nation is no whit less cheerful than before. And yet not strange; because in this matter of England's standing in the world, her relations with other countries, their competition with her in arms, commerce, empire, and the prospect which those competitions open out, "pessimism" was only a wrong name for a right reading of facts and consequences. The facts of a case may be unpleasant, and their natural consequences (unless some remedy be found for them) yet more so. But their discovery is not pessimism, or how sad a pessimist he must be who sights an ambush or reports a leak in an overladen ship. Surely, a Mark Tapley might make the announcement in either case without loss of character; nor is there any reason why he should be reproached, when he brings his warning, with casting a gloom upon those whom he informs.

That, however, is hardly a right way of putting it. In this case the warners—or rather the alarmists, a much better word—were called pessimists only where they failed to inform; and it unfortunately happened that, for one reason or another, a large number of persons could not or would not be informed. Sometimes—it must have been so—their perceptions were at fault. Sometimes prejudice, sometimes principle stood in the way. Confidence, again, is a much more "swagger" *rôle* (the slang word serves well in this place) than apprehension; and there was always the difficulty that recognition of approaching dangers would have to be followed by the worry and expense of prevention. In short, what called itself cool-headedness, calm-mindedness, in opposition to "pessimism," was either insensibility to surrounding facts, or unwillingness to face them, or the two weaknesses combined.

However, all that is past. Alarms cannot be neglected as

pessimist, or anything of that sort, when they come in the shape of facts demonstrable to eye and ear; which is now the way in which they present themselves. So presented, of course they meet with universal acknowledgment. What is more satisfactory, acknowledgment is quite unattended by dismay; from which it appears that alarm might just as well have been allowed its effect on the public mind when preparation and forestalment had a far wider scope than they have now. They are, in fact, narrowed to nothing in every direction but one—the dockyards. Diplomacy will, of course, do all it can for us, but it is there that effort is most limited. Up to the time when "the abstention policy" of 1895 was adopted (it is only fair to Lord Rosebery to say that this policy of his was applauded by everybody, except the pessimists), England remained well within the pale of diplomatic action. But that unfortunate error went far to put her out of it, by its effect upon Germany on the one hand, Russia on the other. Since then England has never had much freedom in dealing with the other great Powers. This may seem a strange thing to say, but it is only a repetition, in another guise, of the familiar statement quoted from *The Quarterly Review:* "England is threatened with a coalition." Every schoolboy who suffers from being sent to Coventry is aware of a similar exclusion from diplomatizing. But there is no need to go afield for parables after last year's experience of the European Concert.

Optimism is of course the right rule of conduct both for men and nations. That I have always thought; only it must not be an optimism without intelligence and without courage. It must not be the sort of optimism which, to keep itself cheerful, must blot menace out by looking another way, and obliterate coming danger by turning its back upon it. In private life that is Micawberism. In public life no appropriate name sufficiently civil has yet been invented for it; but it is that which England is being roused from a little too late. If we could go back to the times of the Duke of Wellington, and use the language which that great man was accustomed to employ when he wished to be both accurate and emphatic, there would be no difficulty in describing this unhappy state of feeling. That, however, cannot be done; and therefore we must be content to say of a spurious optimism which is part moral weakness, part intellectual timidity, and a great deal mixed up with political considerations of the lowest character, that nothing more foolish and ignoble was ever a subject of boasting.

In the conduct of affairs, the true and worthy optimism is that which takes care to know the worst on all sides, and then, undismayed by the magnitude of the tasks it may discover, sets to work upon them with a cheery determination to put up with no defeat.

Or rather I should say that to be neither pessimist nor optimist, though playing the part of both; to probe, enquire, prepare like the one, and, having done so, to take action like the other—that is the character of the preferable public man. Jews are the most successful traders in the world, I believe, because that is their character in trade. None more circumspect, none more suspicious, none less alarmed by the mere greatness of an enterprise, or more sanguine, daring, and persistent in attack upon well-surveyed ground. It is the worst of student-politicians that they are not like Jews. Never quite satisfied with the evidence, as the student-nature is, they stop at circumspection and suspicion, or go forward from that point timidly. It is the best of soldier-politicians that they *are* like the Jews; and our misfortune is that, during the thirty years of which our Quarterly Reviewer speaks, the numbers of the inferior cast have multiplied while those of the better sort have dwindled. As a consequence, the most fatal business of the nation, that which concerns its very existence as a Power that may not be meddled with, has been evaded and put off; while measures like the Education Bill evoked a perfect hurricane of nagging refinements and artificial passions. As long as such a state of things goes on, it is useful work, I take it, to sound the note of warning as occasion requires, even though it be done pessimistically; for the pessimism does not matter, while the truth and the neglect of it matter a great deal when they concern an empire's security.

Of course there is such a thing as political pessimism, though that is not to be called so which is only the cry of the look-out-man on board ship when "breakers" come in sight, or when another vessel is seen bearing down for a probable collision. And a very noxious thing political pessimism may be; when it is despairing, for example—counselling despair or exhaling it for the enervation of others. It is then even worse than the "optimism" that waits with an empty mind for whatever may turn up. There is little of it, however, so far as I can see, though whether there will not presently be more is a speculation that occasionally fills my vacant hours. When the "squeeze" of which I was an early prophet is more shrewdly applied, I wonder how many of the gallant optimists who scout the conception will stand up for resistance? That, however, is putting the question too roughly. I mean that I wonder how many of them will immediately embrace political pessimism as men of the world? Some day or other that will be a question of the profoundest gravity; the whole tenor of the last chapters of Britain's history will turn upon it. For me the answer is, Only a few. Yet were it my lot to have any part in the shaping of affairs, I should proceed as if there might be many; for when the time comes for the transformation of that

few it will be seen what political pessimism can be at its worst. At its best it is a sore affliction, bred of patriotic anxiety and endured in silence; but many who know it even as a torment are as ready to fight against what they believe to be inevitable as though they were the gayest optimists in the kingdom.

An acknowledged Tory—Tory of this time, Whig of an older generation—may say freely what he thinks of Radicalism, because it is understood and allowed that he speaks with prejudice; an understanding which puts everything on a fair foot. I say, therefore, that I hope it is a familiar thought with all good Englishmen that the decline of England as the paramount Power on earth dates from the rise of the new school of Liberals.

Answer will probably be made, in lawyer-like form, that England has suffered no decline as paramount Power, and that the decline she has suffered is not to be ascribed in any way to the new school of Liberals. The first clause of the answer may be taken as merely formal. I know that many Liberals do deny that England has sunk to a lower place, but every Tory is aware that the denial is partly the cry of uneasy consciousness, partly an error naturally arising from the Liberal's way of looking at things. In estimating the relative strength of England and other nations, he puts into the English account a variety of moral forces which would be no more available in the day of conflict than the beauty of a ceramic vase when it comes into collision with an iron pot. He thinks of England's enormous riches—ability to raise £200,000,000 without an additional penny of taxation, and so forth—as if they were their own and our protection: a well-calculated comfort if wars were not so promptly decided, or if the price of a shell would fill the cannon's mouth. The armed poverty of the Germans against the half-armed wealth of France—the result of that match conveys no lesson to him; and something in his principles forbids him to consider how instructively the "latent resources" of France went to fill the war-chest of her triumphant foe. The more he contemplates the tremendous armaments of the Continental Powers, the more he is persuaded that they are in reality "a source of weakness"; nor can he doubt that what they are tending to is general disarmament. The alliance of one group of these Continental Powers against another seems to him natural enough. But an alliance for purposes hostile to England is quite incredible; and he has a score of reasons for justifying unbelief, the first of them being that since his own arrival into the world coalitions of that design have become anachronisms. When we first hear that something of the kind is contemplated, he laughs at us in so superior a way for listening to the rumour, that we doubt whether we are not indeed a little nervous and behind the times. The

alliancing goes on in public; but still there is nothing in it—a mere comedy got up to facilitate Bourse operations. It is a declared alliance; and now he demonstrates the psychological absurdity of imagining that a people passionately addicted to absolutism can form a lasting combination with another which habitually sings the *Marseillaise*.

The politicians whose habits of thought are thus illustrated from the recent course of European history are not likely to admit that England has taken a lower place in their time, or by any means through their influence on the direction of English affairs. But though the drop is relative, it is perfectly cognizable; and if the new Liberalism may claim acquittance of entire responsibility for it, that unhappy product of the nineteenth century remains answerable for nearly all that England has contributed to her own decline from supremacy.

Several explanations unite to show how it achieved this bad distinction. The new Liberalism was the direct offspring of a time of very positive and yet most vain illusions. Of these the parent fancy was that the reign of Force was over; that an era of moral suasion had begun; and that, to signalize the change, Militarism was about to undergo painless extinction at the hands of Commerce. Associated with this idea was another, which was that the old order disappearing, the domination of courts, cabinets, oligarchies and the like, would naturally lapse with it. The new order would as naturally be directed by the Popular Will; a much more trustworthy authority, with a genuine claim to divine or divining inspiration. Most of the propagators of the parent fancy lived to see that it was not to be verified, and said no more about it Meantime, however, by some mysterious process like that which gives to whole generations different moods, an entirely new order of mind, bred from the phantasms of the Cobden period, found incorporation in many births. As it ripened to maturity this strange accession to political life in England advanced upon the public stage, and we had the new Liberalism.

The remarkable thing about this development, to take one view of it, or this "sport," to take another, was this. Though the millennial ideas of the middle of the century were confidently held, they were not supposed to be beyond disproof. As a matter of course, they were understood to be subject to observation and judgment in the field of experience. The peculiarity of the new order of minds was that their whole constitution seemed to have been *framed* on these ideas, of which they were an organic part. They entered into its substance. Instead of being exterior objects of perception, they were themselves components of sight. Instead of standing without for judgment, they were part of the intellectual machinery of these minds; which, though strange, is not so very

strange. Reasons have been given for thinking that mental differences infinitely more wonderful may be found in many a planet.

However, what we are at present concerned with is the operation of this new element in the political activities of the time, and its influence in shaping the fortunes of England. Evidence of its character is to be seen in the new Liberal's loathing of the very sound of "foreign affairs"—what is signified being so little like abrogation of the reign of Force, or anything precursory of the millennium. There are occasions when he must needs listen to debate on foreign affairs with polite attention; occasions when he must needs discuss them himself. But except when the debate is not political, but sentimental or emotional, his whole feeling on the subject is one of aversion, avoidance, repugnance instinctive as the foregoing account of his genesis would naturally prepare us for. A yet more remarkable corroboration of that account, however, remains to be inentioned; namely, an ignorance of foreign affairs that cannot be explained by lack of study or want of information; for it exists abundantly where there should be the one and must be plenty of the other. That this ignorance is extremely common in the new Liberalism is a matter of notoriety. With occasional exceptions, of course, it runs through all ranks, from those where it is no surprise to others where it seems almost impossible; and impossible it would be if a strange aversion from the subject were not accompanied by as strange a deadness of understanding. But how should that be in the case of men who are eager students? who, among many vigorous gifts of understanding, have some that may err but no other stillborn? and who, by their rank in responsible statesmanship, have the strongest call neither to be ignorant nor indifferent in so great a matter? The only answer seems to be, because they are born so, being of the brood above described.

Now as for the aversion from having anything to do with foreign affairs (Continental affairs being understood), it evidently means at bottom a resolute unwillingness to acknowledge that the old barbaric order still goes on. The old ambitions, the old contentions, the old struggle for existence and supremacy that raised and cast down nations before the Nile knew anything of Egyptian dynasties, still pursue their unceasing course. Apparently, they cannot be arrested, nor even moderated; but it is possible to withhold from them all recognition and countenance. England, an island kingdom, could hold aloof and should hold aloof. To allow herself to be drawn again into the old complications would not only be to imitate the gambler who, with his fortune made, runs back to the tables, but would be treachery to civilization and deliberate abandonment of the best hope of progress. These, and

such as these, were the ideas that worked in the new Liberalism, and no one can deny that as ideas they were admirable. The unfortunate truth is, however, that had their merit been thrice as great, they would have ranked for impracticability with the intention of that good Englishwoman who never spoke French to French people because "it only encouraged them." Within certain limits, no doubt, these ideas might have been acted upon to very great advantage. But the wise limit was unperceived or scorned, with the result that civilization and progress are in more danger of interruption now—at any rate in England and throughout the British Empire—than they have ever been since they took their present value.

This result could hardly have been achieved (how it was done will be touched upon presently), but for the fact that the new Liberalism was heritor not only of the illusions of Cobden's time, but also of the accompanying doctrine that the grand concern of mankind is social progress, for which everything else should be sacrificed. It is a doctrine held with certain reserves by men of all parties; but its representation fell to the new Liberalism, which held it without reserves, and thus acquired a great hold upon the dominant popular will. It was an easy thing to preach that militarism is specially hostile to social progress; to condemn on that as well as on lower ground all "meddling with Continental affairs"; to inculcate a horror of alliances as both entangling and reprobate; and to exalt the wisdom of leaving to Continental Powers the excitement of ruining themselves by endless competition in arming. It was easy, and it succeeded too well; for the sacrifice to social progress included all reasonable sense of what national security demanded. On every head of exhortation the arguments of the new political spirit were extremely plausible; but, translated into action, they depended for success upon the assumption that nations are free to "retire" with their fortunes, and to declare themselves out of the universal scheme of contention. That, however, is no more allowed to empires than to field-grasses, or to any particular member of the insect world. The old order, with its everlasting struggle for self-preservation and ascendancy, goes on; in it the British Empire occupies a vast space; and though to declare ourselves out may be infinitely desirable, it is also infinitely ridiculous. I daresay this will be called a "gospel of despair," though it is only recognition of one of the most obvious, pervading, and irresistible conditions of life on earth.

And therefore we find that not to meddle with Continental affairs is no security against Continental meddling with us. We declined to compete in any way with Europe's enormous armaments, and they went on all the more merrily (not breaking down,

and probably cheered by the hope of ultimate recoupment) on account of our abstention; and our refusal to form alliances, instead of putting an end to the custom, brings on us what better judgments than mine call an evident coalition. Understanding all this at last, we take fright. We arm at a prodigious rate, in hope of being allowed time enough to make ourselves secure, but with no certainty; and there seems little reason to doubt that, even at this moment, official England would eagerly seek alliances but for the belief that the new Liberalism will stand nothing of the kind. "Behold the deeds that are done of Mrs. Jones!"

Nothing can be more unfortunate than this tendency of official England, and of those who are best able to instruct and modify popular opinion, to accept existing conditions of the public mind as immutable—fatal. It is, indeed, more than a tendency; and perhaps the most striking illustration of it is the assumption, which is general, that no earthly consideration could bring the English people to endure a halfpenny tax on a four-pound loaf. No matter what the cheapness of bread nor how secure its cheapness, no matter what the misfortune which the halfpenny tax would remedy or avert, the English people will not suffer a particular infringement of Free Trade principle by the particular imposition of that halfpenny. Put the case as hardly as you please, and the same answer is returned by the spokesmen of all parties. Granted that the existence of a large agricultural population is an immense and a common benefit to every country; granted that agriculture cannot decay without the loss of much more than a mere industry: grant that British agriculture really is threatened with extinction, that all this is understood, and that a likelihood of the nation's being starved out in case of war is also known—nevertheless, the people will not stand a halfpenny loaf-tax.

This is the assertion, which is often made with pride in what is asserted. Can it be true? and how is it ascertained? It seems to me a very surprising thing that the English people should be capable of a determination so monstrously unpatriotic, so unimaginably brutish, as this which is imputed to them; for it means that the present generation of Britons believes it has a moral right to eat up the whole future prosperity of the kingdom in cheap ha'porths, and at the same time bring upon their country a grave risk of famine and destruction thereby. The politicians may say what they please, and the newspaper writers likewise: I do not believe a word of this. Were the facts, as here assumed, well known (which *is* the assumption), I am not to be persuaded that the people of England would answer (which is in effect the assertion), "To hell with the country's future: the fourpenny loaf shall not be fourpence halfpenny." As for the way in which the immoveable resolution of the people

has been ascertained, it is probably this: the politicians have consulted the election agents, and the newspaper writers have searched in their own economic principles. With every desire to avoid what the paragraph writers of an earlier day used to call "scan. mag.," I will add one other little word; which is that a well-established assertion that the country will never suffer this, never allow that, is in many cases convenient absolution from a great deal of trouble and responsibility. For the rest, instruct the people in the facts, give them to understand, do so with the same freedom as if there were no elections, and both their intelligence and their patriotism will be found as good as most things in a world of imperfection.

It was not, however, to speak of agriculture that I began these last paragraphs—meaning rather to illustrate from foreign affairs the growing habit of discovering unconquerable resolutions in the popular will. We used to hear that, unless under absolute menace of war, the country would allow no Government to emulate the vast armaments of the Continental Powers. But the magnificent additions to the navy in which we all delight were begun by a Government in secret fear, but not in proclaimed apprehension, that war-storms were brewing at no great distance. This handsome provision was followed by more and greater, while still there was no visible allegable menace of war; the shock from Berlin and the surprise from Washington being later events. And was there any British murmuring? Was there not something like rejoicing? Everybody knows the answer. Now had the beginnings of reinstituting a vast preponderating navy been resolved upon three years before—as they might have been with the same perception of need and the merest hint of it from the Government of the day—they would have been worth so much more that it is hard to say *how* much. Consider: the dockyard work lately done, now in hand, and yet to be undertaken, all finished months ago! Now we are told most positively that the country will never listen to any project of alliances. Indeed, only a few weeks ago the country was represented as literally basking in the splendour of an isolation absolutely complete. Since then, however, England has been replaced in the Triple Alliance more firmly than before. Such is the belief, at any rate; and no one will deny that it was gladly received and is cherished with much satisfaction. These things are instructive; and they confirm a long-standing conviction that the country is courageous and docile to a degree that it gets no credit for, in affairs for which it cares much though aware that it can know but little.

FREDERICK GREENWOOD.

UNION, SPIRITUAL, OR ECCLESIASTICAL?

It has been asked whether good or harm will result from the present discussion of the re-union question. Will the cause of re-union be promoted or prejudiced by it? Will Christian people be drawn nearer to one another or driven farther apart? Will the moral and spiritual vigour of men and Churches be increased?

There can hardly be given a decided yes or no to any of these questions. Much depends on men's moods and mental attitudes. King Arthur's words, "Ye have seen what ye have seen," are appropriate whenever the high vision of some heavenly glory is brought within the range of human thought. The gain depends on the spirit within.

But however this question may be settled, it seems to be essential that mistaken expectations regarding the re-union of Christendom should as far as possible be abandoned. It is of little profit to look for re-union in wrong directions; and it seems the duty of all who desire re-union to dissipate misconceptions. One phrase, as it seems to me, may give, if it has not already given, rise to misunderstanding. The phrase I speak of is Corporate Re-union.

It has been taken for granted that this is the same as Organic Re-union. But the phrase Corporate Re-union has been loosely used—not to express the re-union of Christendom into one world-wide society, governed by the same laws and by one head; but to express re-union approached by the action of existing Christian bodies as distinct from the action of individuals.

A passage in Lord Halifax's paper (*National Review*, November, 1895, p. 420) illustrates this sense of the phrase. He repudiates the suggestion that corporate re-union savours of flesh and blood, and is a proposition to save the individual soul the pangs, the throes, and the anxieties of individual submission. Corporate re-union is therefore understood as that which stands in contrast with individual action. Corporate re-union may be taken to mean that re-union which is brought about by the action of existing Christian bodies. It is a re-union due to corporate action. But it must not be therefore assumed that the result of this corporate action will be the formation of one organization, of one pattern, in all parts of the

world, ruled by one visible head, and governed wholly by dentical laws. If this is the kind of re-union which is dreamed of, it must remain a dream for many years to come. In the judgment of many, it will be regarded as a dream, destined to remain a dream as long as the world, as we know it, lasts. It will be regarded by some as a dream outside the range of those legitimate hopes which our Lord Himself has sanctioned. It is a dream which is no part of catholic expectation.

Many of us are sincerely desirous of re-union. The divisions of Christendom are a snare and a sin; the progress of Christ's faith is hindered by them; the security and confidence of faithful Christian people are shaken and troubled by them. We feel that to substitute union where there is now division would be like life from the dead. To break down our denominational hedges, as Dr. Döllinger said, and to shake hands over them would be an increase of love, and in consequence an increase of power. But organic re-union under one visible head forms no part of our expectations or of our hopes. We believe that re-union in such a form would be too dearly purchased, for it does not appear to us to be a possible, or legitimate, or catholic, expectation. We find no warrant for it in our Lord's teaching; we find no idea of it in Apostolic writings; the Catholic Church before the division of Christendom entertained no such idea. The best writers of our own communion viewed such a theory of unity as a mischievous and mistaken one. It may appear to some needless to recapitulate these statements; but in the discussion respecting re-union some such expectation of one ecclesiastical body politic under one visible head seems to be taken for granted. Of this Lord Halifax's paper affords an illustration. Lord Halifax has shown in this matter a tender and generous spirit, and a brotherly fervour which evokes our deepest sympathy, and we are reluctant to seem to criticize his words; but he would be the last man to desire other than frankness in this discussion. His paper shows this, as I believe, mistaken expectation. For instance, on p. 415, he says, "The head of Christendom, the Pope himself—Leo XIII.,—has addressed a letter, &c." On p. 418 he quotes Cardinal Vaughan's words, "Re-union, then, must mean a return to the visible union which formerly existed when there was one united body under one visible head." Lord Halifax does not, of course, admit the full Roman claim; but he seems to look forward to a re-union under a visible head. He thinks it would be possible without compromise to admit that the Pope is head of the Church by a distinct act of our Lord, and at the same time to maintain the rights of the Episcopate as no less divinely derived (p. 419).

I am not dealing for the moment with the Latin claims. I am

only dealing with the expectation of a re-union under one visible head without any reference to the question who or what that visible head may be. This expectation is clearly present to the mind of Lord Halifax. It is probably present to the mind of others. And as this may be the case, it does not seem needless to repeat some of the commonplaces on this question.

1. There is nothing in our Lord's teaching to warrant such an expectation. The whole spirit of His teaching is against it. He came to form a brotherhood in which there should be no lordship. "Ye know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them. . . Not so shall it be among you" (Matt. xx. 25, 26). "Be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your teacher, and all ye are brethren" (Matt. xxiii. 8, 10). If He spoke of thrones, He spoke of twelve thrones: "Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. xix. 28). No man, indeed, will deny that Simon Peter took a leading place among the Apostles, and that our Lord recognized his leading qualities. But there is no sign of supremacy expressed in our Lord's language nor in the after-history. The Acts of the Apostles tells the story of men administering the affairs of the Church as brethren and equals. And this after-history confirms the expectations which our Lord's teaching suggested. The Church is a brotherhood. It is not organized with a visible head on earth. It would occupy too much space to discuss Matt. xvi. 18 here. It is enough, perhaps, to say (in the words of Döllinger) that of the Fathers "not one has explained the rock or foundation on which Christ would build His Church, of the office given to Peter to be transmitted to his successors, but they understood by it either Christ Himself, or Peter's confession of faith in Christ; often both together. Or else they thought Peter was the foundation equally with all the other Apostles, the twelve being together the foundation-stones of the Church (Apoc. xxi. 14)."*

2. The expectation seems to me uncatholic. The idea has no place in the minds of the early Fathers. Polycarp visited Anicetus at Rome, and knew nothing of supremacy or visible headship. Precedence in rank and honour we find is accorded to the bishops of important sees, but not supremacy or headship. All bishops are reckoned as equal, exercising their office in a free and independent manner. The idea of an universal bishop was unknown, and was repudiated in the strongest terms by Gregory the Great as an invasion of the rights of his brother bishops.

3. The expectation seems to me of doubtful spiritual value. Lord Halifax very rightly rejects all idea of making re-union

* *Pope and Council*, pp. 91, 92.

through any compromise of principle. Re-union would be poorly purchased at the price of spiritual integrity—in this all are agreed —but can such a re-union as is under discussion be realized without what would be a very real compromise of principle? Lord Halifax will forgive me; but are not the suggestions in his recent paper (*National Review*, October 1895), suggestions of a compromise? He thinks that explanations might get over the difficulty of acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope. On pp. 418, 419, he sketches how an approximation might be reached. He thinks that the Anglican claim and the Roman claim might be brought into harmony without any compromise on the one side (the Latin) of the teaching that the Pope is head of the Church by a distinct act of our Lord Jesus Christ, or any compromise of the rights of the Episcopate, divinely derived, on the other (the Anglican, I suppose) (p. 419). But agreement to this concordat would involve compromise of intellectual integrity on the part of those who do not believe that there is any distinct act of our Lord constituting a visible head of His Church, and unless the views of Hooker, Bilson, Laud, Beveridge, Barrow, and Bramhall, not to mention a host of others have ceased to be the views of English Churchmen, this is a compromise too serious to be contemplated. But even supposing that such a compromise could be entertained on the one side, how could the other side keep in the background the wide range and force of the Roman claim since the decree of Infallibility? Behind the supposed innocent words that the Pope was head of the Church, there would stand the Vatican interpretation of this headship, which claims supreme authority in faith and morals, and teaches and declares the Pope to be the supreme judge of the faithful. It is difficult to see how approximation is possible without suppression of conviction on the one side or the other. It is not a question, as I feel sure Lord Halifax will admit, of finding words and phrases sufficiently dubious to conceal men's real meaning from one another. It is a question how far men will surrender those extreme interpretations of phrases which have been stumbling-blocks in the way of re-union, and this seems to me, in the present instance, to be impossible on the part of the Roman Church without stultifying the proceedings of 1870.

4. Such an expectation would mean a crippling of Christian energy. The world is not ripe for one centralizing Government. The dream of one ruler of the Christian Church, like the dream of one universal monarch, is best left a dream. Such a Government must mean tyranny! its officials would become a police, a caste. Such an organized monarchy, whether political or ecclesiastical, is only possible when men and nations have partly drawn together, and become so truly one in sympathy and interest that the one crown is

simply the symbol of a unity of feeling which already exists. But whenever such a state of things arises the golden age will have come, and the kingdoms of this world will have become, consciously and willingly, the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ.

Meanwhile it is of importance that each people and race should preserve its own independence in order that it may work out its own work in the world. Premature attempts at organization would end in the suppression of healthy characteristic variations which are probably needful for the world. An ecclesiastical monarchy which would interfere with the autonomy of national Churches would be a disaster, if not an impossibility. Even among the Churches which form what is called the Anglican communion, there is a natural jealousy of any interference with national freedom. An illustration of this may be given from an interesting monograph by a Presbyter of the American Church. "Unity among the Churches which go to make up what we call the Anglican communion is an important and valuable possession, and we should do nothing lightly to disturb it; but the self-governing power of national Churches is also a priceless treasure, which must not be sacrificed for a temporary good, but must be preserved at any cost."* This feeling which is wide-spread would rise up against any suggestion of a visible spiritual head of Christendom. National suspicion would be aroused; for this spiritual headship soon tends, as history has shown us, to become a political power and supremacy. Ecclesiastical doubts would arise. Sober churchmen have pointed out the spiritual dangers of such a system. "It destroys," said the late Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, "it destroys unity in the Church on the plea of preserving it. It pretends to be the centre of unity, but is the source of confusion to all Christendom."† Real Episcopal Government is jeopardized by it. This was clearly foreseen by Pope Gregory, when he spoke the often quoted words:—*Si unus universalis est, restat ut vos Episcopi non sitis.*

Thus on the grounds of our Lord's teaching, the history of the Church, the doubtful moral effect, the crippling of independent action, we may well dismiss the idea of organic re-union under one visible head.

What re-union, it may be asked, is left? To those whose only idea of re-union is the re-union of Christendom into one organic whole, governed by the same laws, and represented by one monarch, any other idea of re-union will seem tame and perhaps valueless. But much which is valuable remains behind. It is

* Christian Unity and the Historic Episcopate, by Henry Forester.

† Theoph: Anglican: p. 253.

not necessary that men should be under one system of government, and under one sovereign in order that they may realize bonds which are stronger than any which law or government can create. We can realize that God hath made men of one blood to dwell upon the face of the earth, without demanding that they shall all be subjects of the same empire. Blood is thicker than water; and official and political bonds are as water compared with the force of human feeling and human sympathy all the world over. We are all more or less imposed upon by the outside of things. We forget the reality in the symbol. The crown is only splendid and powerful when it stands for the loyalty and love of a great people. These outward emblems of might and sovereignty are only priceless as they express forces which are mighty though unseen. The world is slow to learn that the things which are unseen are eternal. The relic of our worldliness ties us to the things seen. The bonds of faith, love, and noble work are stronger than mere sameness of ecclesiastical government. Of old the Churches did not look for such a thing, they were content with one faith, which all were bound to preserve, and none to add to; with one love, which bound them together in the bonds of Christ; and with one work in the world against the myriad forms of evil. In such a state of things, each respected the others' independence. Intercourse was free and almost unrestricted. Inter-communion was natural; none refused it because of divergence of practice or administration. The one tree had different branches. The one body had many members.

To promote true re-union it is needful that we should realize how few are the matters which are really essentially Christian, and how many are the matters which have assumed a false importance, some of which are not Christian in origin at all, and some certainly not *de fide*. To imagine the impossible, suppose that the Latin Communion were to withdraw the creed of Pope Pius IV., would anything essential to Christian faith be lost thereby? The Churches, like ships which have ploughed stormy waters for many days, need to be put in dock to clear off the barnacle-like accretions. We need to realize, perhaps most of all, that the work of the Churches is the spread of the Spirit of Christ among men. This Spirit of Christ is the vital sap throughout the whole growth; it is the blood which courses through many varying limbs. It is this which is the true bond of the Churches; it is this which will reunite the world. When all are animated by the spirit of unselfish love, when justice, purity, mercy, and kindness become their second natures, when the Lord is their Everlasting Light and their God their glory, then all

visible organizations will pass away. The union of heaven is not one of external form. "I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God and the Lamb are the temple thereof." Is it then hard to realize that there may be re-union without sacrifice of principle, and without much re-arrangement of visible forms? Can we not conceive a union of co-operation in work, of a reluctance to interfere in fields where others are working, a re-union which is corporate so far that inter-communion is not hindered by artificial barriers, a re-union which does not ask a brother to part with what is dear to him? Might not a re-union be found in the recognition of Christ's words: "There is no man who can do a miracle in My name who can lightly speak evil of Me?" It is possible to have a re-union based in faith, love, and work without asking identity of laws, customs, and government. Such a re-union would at first be a federation of existing Churches: but it would enable men to realize that there is one body; and this being so we should no longer find it necessary to go about to make one body. We should realize the divergence of function and use in the many members of the one body, when we realized that there was one spirit breathing throughout it, as there was one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all.

If the present discussion leads us to realize how much greater and stronger spiritual bonds are than ecclesiastical, if it helps us to perceive that Christian Character is more than the Shibboleths of Churches, if it enables us to see how independent of external forms the work of God's Spirit is, then it will have done good, for it will have introduced us into a more wholesome conception of Christianity, and into a more loving, tender, and tolerant spirit.

W. B. Ripon.

EMANCIPATION FROM THE JEWS.*

When, at the beginning of the year, I published in the *Quarterly Review* an article dealing with "The Modern Jew" and his attitude towards Christian nations since 1789, I was prepared for the loud outcry that Israelites are wont to utter the moment a criticism appears on their methods in finance, politics, and social life. But I was hardly prepared for such a striking confirmation of my argument as that which Mr. Herman Cohen has given us in two successive numbers of the *Fortnightly Review*.† Mr. Cohen, however, goes beyond any brief that I should have ventured to hold. What writer, indeed, not belonging to the House of Israel, could find it in his heart to bring down the ideals and aspirations in which that astonishing people have gloried to a materialism worthy of the late Professor Clifford? Or who, except an enlightened modern Hebrew, would set out in discussing the Jewish Question by calmly telling us that "among the many gross mistakes current about the Jews, none is so great as that they are a religious people"? A mistake, if it needs must be so, but surely respectful to them, and considerate, though in Mr. Cohen's view merely "gross." Yet he proceeds, "They can only be said to be religious in the sense in which a country is said to be historic—they have been inseparably associated in the past with religion and religions." Startling, not to say disedifying, as these words will sound in the ears of Rabbi Adler and all Rabbis, they are surpassed by the account of the Jewish Faith which Mr. Cohen puts forward a few lines lower down with the most unsuspecting air of innocence. "If a homely illustration may be allowed," remarks the essayist—thereby also illustrating a well-known trait in modern Jewish literature, which brings the ignoble into close neighbourhood with the most solemn subjects—if then, "who drives fat oxen need not himself be fat," in like manner, "the mother of innumerable spiritual systems need not in these, her latter days, adore the unknowable."

* *Israel among the Nations.* A study of the Jews and Anti-Semitism. By Anatole Leroy Beaulieu. Translated by Frances Hellman. London: W. Heinemann.

† March and April, 1896, "The Modern Jew and the New Judaism."

One would be well pleased to hear what Moses and the Prophets might say in answer to a child of Israel who should teach them that they adored "the unknowable." Has Mr. Cohen relegated the Old Testament to that place which, as he truly declares, the New still occupies among his people, of a volume unread and unknown? "To the average Jew, incredible as it may seem, Christianity was, and is a novelty." Of course it is so: what student is not aware of it? But Mr. Cohen is far from being an average Jew, and yet to him Judaism itself, orthodox and ancient, appears to be the worship of the unknowable. That is "modern" beyond controversy, and it tells us more than the writer perhaps intended.

This, among other things, that whosoever shall henceforth describe the Jewish Question as a religious one, or talk of Christians persecuting the Twelve Tribes because of their attachment to the faith of their fathers, will be simply throwing dust in our eyes. And to have learned so much is clear gain. True that the assailants of the reigning Hebrew system affirmed long ago, by the lips, for instance, of Professor Goldwin Smith, and in the frank if impetuous language of M. Edouard Drumont, that they had no quarrel with the domestic manners, customs, or religious traditions of the Ghetto, and that they accepted without reserve the principle of toleration as applicable whether to Jews or Christians, to every sect and every school of philosophy which did not, by open violence or secret plotting, threaten civilization. But their word was not taken; and, in the Liberal camp especially, many prided themselves on being children of light, excelling far those Anti-Semites and other benighted creatures who could not, in a day of freedom, perceive that everyone must be permitted to follow the religion of his choice. Now, Mr. Cohen rises up and confounds his Liberal friends by telling them that the "expanding Hebrew"—yes, and the unexpanding—has no religion which Anti-Semites may persecute. Israel, we are assured, is "not an irreligious but a non-religious people." "The duty of the Jew," he asserts emphatically (p. 631), "is to make things here as pleasant and as comfortable all round as possible, and that duty, multiplied by the numbers of the population, is the Mission of Israel. . . . In other words, it is a healthy materialism." If all this be true, we may define Judaism as pretty nearly the doctrine of Bentham or Helvétius; it is a utilitarian propaganda founded on a practical and determined disregard of the world to come.

But "healthy materialism" has, it would appear, a decided advantage over the creed of Isaiah; it "supplies a rule of conduct, an argument for isolation"—and here we begin to tread upon dangerous ground; there is fire beneath these ashes. Israel preach-

ing the Divine Unity could not subdue the world to itself; for if the nations were taught a universal religion by its children, they, in return, might well be absorbed by the nations. But Mr. Cohen speaks for the modern Jew, and he, though advanced as far as the "Higher Materialism" (the sublimated mud!), and having ceased even to worship the unknowable, desires to remain separate from the nations. What will M. Leroy Beaulieu say to this unseasonable defence of tribal exclusiveness? That amiable well-meaning Liberal, of a pattern now somewhat faded, has spent much eloquent breath in pleading for *laissez-faire* on this subject: let the Jews alone, he says in effect, and they will be absorbed. Mr. Cohen declines to be absorbed. "Judaism is a club—it has been called 'a historical ethical society'—birth is the qualification for membership; with any other it must be broken up; and there is no other to do its work. If there is a mission of Israel there must be an Israel." We have seen what that mission is, according to its latest exponent, who furthermore adds his conviction that the spirit of the new doctrines"—of Tyndall, Huxley, Clifford, and the rest—"has settled upon that ancient institution"—the Synagogue—"as its chosen home." Therein is heaped up "the stuff whence the antidote to all metaphysical religion may be hewn." It is no doubt easy—and very tempting—as Mr. Cohen feels, "to ridicule a mission which bids men seek pleasure and enjoy themselves," but still, "how to live is the secret after which all the churches have groped," apparently in vain. Now Judaism gives to this problem "no indirect or uncertain solution," and "its blunt answer ignores all superstition, mythicalism, other-worldism, and all that savours of obscurantism or gushing transcendentalism." What a universe of 'isms! Happily the Jew can dismiss them with anathema. But how does he look upon Deism, of which his nation has been termed the "Swiss Guard"? Concerning this momentous question there is, if we accept Mr. Cohen's estimate, no room for hesitation, "the most ancient category of religious thought has been captured by the gathering forces of later scientific theory, for all materialists are of the same school." Nevertheless, though it may become "the bulwark of materialism," the Swiss Guard need not betray "its proverbial fealty." The Sovereign whom it defended will have been put down, and His place taken by M. Comte's "Grand Fetish": there is no God, but the modern Jew is His prophet. When the Deity has passed away, the tribe remains. It will inoculate the nations with morality: hence it is to be separate from them, in order that a department where the genuine ethical lymph is obtainable, may never be wanting. Such is the latest syndicate, and such the principles on which its prospectus has been issued.

The New Judaism, then, is "optimistic; it harmonizes with any formulated system of ethics, and is repugnant to none; it is agreeable to the inherited instincts of the race, and it supplies a philosophical justification for ethnological exclusiveness; it is non-metaphysical and non-Christian." But religious, according to any sense of the word except the Comtist perversion, it is not; we may be permitted, however, to call it atheology and antitheology, the outward sign of which is a secular education intent on training men to make their Paradise in this world, the only one known to materialists of any school. In my *Quarterly* article I describe this view as characterizing the movement which Marx inaugurated and Lassalle continued; and I maintain with M. Renan that it prevails widely—under the type, as he says, of Koheleth—among Jews to whom the Utopias of Socialism are by no means delightful. Mr. Cohen seems to grant all I affirm on this point—and more. He exhibits the Synagogue itself as the "chosen home" of a doctrine which is simply destructive of belief in the living God, and is incompatible with public worship no less than with private prayer.

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, NEW SWINDON.

Does he mean, seriously, to make so sweeping a charge against his own people? In that case M. James Darmesteter was not travelling beyond the evidence when he asserted, much to M. Leroy Beaulieu's discomfort, that "the Jew has been the teacher of unbelief; all rebellious spirits have come to him, under cover of darkness or in broad daylight. He it was that wrought in the immense workshop of blasphemies set up by the great Emperor Frederick and the princes of Suabia and Aragon." * At all events, it would be quite possible, were the space allowed me, to show, by a long array of names, and by facts which cannot be called in question, how close during the last seventy or eighty years, has been the alliance between progressive Jews and anti-Christian revolutionaries. The genius of Heine may stand for a multitude of less known but often more energetic spirits who did, as everyone acquainted with European history from 1820 to 1848 will bear witness, work day and night to undermine the religious as well as the political institutions of Christendom.† Journalism was their "workshop of blasphemies," and secret societies looked to them for the influence which their never-resting pens exercised on tens of thousands who could not see the power behind the printing-press, nor dreamed that they were captives of a literary propaganda, an Israelitish "ring," as we ought now perhaps to say—in the language of the Stock Exchange. These things are

* *Israel Among the Nations*, p. 51.

† For evidence in detail, see especially Von Treitschke, Vols. IV. and V. of his *History of Germany during the XIXth Century.*

certain; but I should never have fastened upon the Synagogue an accusation so broad and large as that which Mr. Cohen's defence of it offers me. Much rather would I distinguish—and surely in my article signs are not wanting that I have so distinguished—between the many who are loyal to their Jewish tradition with its faith in God, and the not so many, whether tending towards Christian dogmas or towards utter unbelief, whom we must take into account, though they are not, and perhaps never will be, leaders of their tribe and nation as the Rabbinate has been.

Mr. Cohen lets fall the word "renegade." I am not eager to bandy with him expressions of this forbidding style; but if a renegade be one who has broken with his inherited beliefs and given up the practices corresponding thereto, how shall we name the modern Israelite when he excuses himself from worshipping the God of his fathers by saying that "Judaism to-day is a species of materialism"; that "the old classical Biblical faiths have been dead for centuries"; that "the problem is to combine a past which guarantees the future with a present that seems to belie all history"; that "the old visible sign of solidarity [circumcision] meant one thing to the learners of the new learning, and many things to the less enlightened"; and that, as "there could be no substantive renascence without intercourse, and no equilateral intercourse without conviviality," the "dietary laws went by the board"? How much, we ask, will be left of the ancient Judaism in the modern, if all these things be taken out of it, or explained away? "Renegade" and "apostate" seem epithets far more appropriate to men who have abandoned all religion, than to those who have passed from one religion to another. And yet Mr. Cohen has come forward to speak on behalf of Israel, as though he were its traditional voice and an ambassador with the clearest of credentials! What is the fit method of dealing with so unwarrantable a pretension? M. Renan, "perhaps the only Gentile who has understood both ancient and modern Hebraism," tells us in a sentence quoted by this writer. "L'athée coudoie de très près le fanatique." But until the atheist, under any name, has grown to be the shaping and governing authority among Israelites, we shall not take his evidence as quite equal to a demonstration of their unbelief. He speaks for himself and those like-minded with him; for the nation at large he does not speak.

But "the age of disintegration has begun." Yes, certainly: it began, as I have pointed out, in the years when Moses Mendelssohn by his study of Greek and his translation of the Pentateuch into German, set the Rabbinate against him, and drew the brightest and keenest of the younger generation to follow in his footsteps. Mr. Cohen wonders that I should fix on the middle of the last

century as a turning-point in the history of Israel. If he does not know the reason, I shall not undertake to teach it him at length in these few pages. He will find arguments enough in the fifth volume of Professor Graetz, if he should happen never to have read the correspondence of Mendelssohn, Lessing, and Jacobi, or the Memoirs which abound of the New Judaism—for such undoubtedly it was—that flourished at Berlin between 1780 and 1840, and led up to the Reforms in Hamburg, Vienna, New York, and London. "This rejuvenescence, or renaissance of the Jewish race, which may be unhesitatingly ascribed to Mendelssohn,"* observes the historian, is all the more notable inasmuch as its author did not dream of so prompt a success. "Involuntarily, he aroused the slumbering genius of the Jewish race"; the story of his life "typifies the history of the Jews in recent times," and "the beginning of the outward liberation of the Jews from the cruel bondage of thousands of years, was also connected with the name of Mendelssohn."† But Lessing, too, comes in for his share of praise. "It may be said without exaggeration that Lessing's influence was greater in ennobling the Jewish race than in elevating the German people."‡ Now, as all the world is aware, Lessing, and none other than he, opens the modern period in German literature; he is the father of Bible criticism, of native German poetry, of the later æsthetics, and of the general movement of thought, which was to enjoy so brilliant a fortune in the coming century. Yet Professor Graetz was of opinion that he had done more for the Jews than he did for the Germans. Is the audacity on my side, then, or on Mr. Cohen's, if I suggest, and he denies, that the years which saw Lessing and Mendelssohn associates in a noble partnership were the beginning of a new period in Hebrew development?

My critic, again, is astonished that I have not dwelt upon the Jews in England, whose lives and achievements might seem to be so much more accessible than those of his nation abroad. Perhaps I may do so when the occasion serves; nor did I quite forget them in my article; but I am confident that I shall not please the essayist on coming nearer home any more than I do in travelling to Berlin and Paris. The advantage of pursuing the course I have adopted is plain. English Jews cannot boast the numbers or influence which their brethren on the Continent enjoy; and their special qualities, though now beginning to tell in the world of fashion and politics, as they have long told in the world of finance, may be

* *History of Israel*, V. 309, Eng. Trans.

† *Ibid.*, 355.

‡ *Ibid.*, 315. And so M. Leroy Beaulieu (p. 53); "Without a Descartes, I cannot imagine a Spinoza; and without a Voltaire or a Lessing I doubt whether Mendelssohn would have existed."

studied more easily where this people more abounds. I must often quote M. Leroy Beaulieu—not because I have faith in his principles, which are the empty abstractions of Rousseau's Liberalism, and betray, as I do not at all shrink from repeating, "the light Gaulish mind"—but because he has studied the Jews in their own homes, he is a competent witness to their way of life, he would fain secure to them all the rights of modern citizenship, and he is always sympathetic, never hostile, even though candour compels him to admit their defects and shortcomings. But when M. Leroy Beaulieu proposes to enlighten us concerning "Israel among the nations," does he turn to England? Only by accident, as it were, and comparatively seldom. He is conscious that the Hebrews whom Anti-Semites have in view are the millions of south-eastern Europe, and the hundreds of thousands in France and Germany. These give weight and momentum to the moving host in which our English Jews form but one division. I am far, indeed, from denying to the British detachment either the virtues or the imperfections that distinguish their brethren all the world over. Yet, as a drawing on the large scale is here much more significant than the miniature which alone I could produce from observations, whether at Whitechapel or at Maida Hill, I prefer the canvas whereon M. Leroy Beaulieu has painted his instructive and not too unflattering picture.

Leaving antiquities, therefore, let us come to our own time and the heart of the Jewish Question. I am struck with the substantial agreement regarding the facts, which is, to say the least, as remarkable as the divergence in principle, between the French publicist, Mr. Cohen, and myself. We are all satisfied on the points following. First, that the Anti-Semites, and, in general, that modern Christians have certain gravamina, whether exaggerated or not, arising out of a tendency among their Hebrew resident-aliens to what Mr. Cohen denounces under the name of a "morbid and degenerate Materialism." "Anti-Semitism may have been in its time," says M. L. Beaulieu (p. xxi.), "a protest on the part of the public conscience against culpable concessions of men in office, the venality of politicians, and the domination, at once mysterious and contemptible, of stock-jobbing interlopers." Second, that, as the writer in *The Fortnightly* is willing, or even anxious to allow, "there is no Jewish institution which does not show traces of the Ghetto"—traces so marked that, in spite of renegades and "the educated classes," formalism keeps a steady hold upon the average, who have been drilled into inveterate habits, and are loyal to the past. Thirdly, that however strong the attraction and numerous the "stampede" (to borrow Mr. Cohen's elegant metaphor) "from the Jewries towards Gentile

ideals, standards, canons of taste, education, and commerce," yet neither the charm nor the advance has led to the adoption of Christian, as distinct from Revolutionary, dogmas and principles. Last of all, that if society were divided into two camps—on the one side, those who judged of all things by the teaching of the New Testament, and, on the other, those who would fain see that teaching blotted out as unscientific, ascetic, and behind the age—in the camp of the Anti-Christians we should be compelled to reckon all Jews without distinction, the Rabbinical, the progressive, the scholarly, the financial, journalists and politicians, men of letters and men of business, the enlightened to whom Judaism itself is a superstition, and the ignorant who take as literal truth every word which has come down to them with their rites and ceremonies.

Now, in these elements, separate and combined, we have all that is necessary to create a European problem of the deepest importance. For, let us remember what is everywhere implied in them, the existence of a clan, "with strict human boundaries," of a society, the bond of which is birth, and its ideals, however fluctuating, always conceived as rising like waves out of this one ocean, and sinking back into it again. Suppose we were told of a Freemasonry, cemented by solemn oaths, numbering five or six millions, with passwords of its own that no stranger could appropriate, and animated by a fierce hatred, or inevitable dislike, of the aims, methods, and ideas of genuine Christians. Suppose, further, that the wealth and social power which these Freemasons had acquired were almost invariably a conquest from Christians, and employed to triumph over them. Suppose that one-fourth of Bohemia, and one-third of Hungary, and an enormous section of France, and the public debt of Italy, and an increasing share of English property, real and personal, and gold mines in South Africa, and banks in every part of the known world, had come to be the possession of these men, who were bound by no ties to any country, and looked upon themselves everywhere as cosmopolitan because nowhere did loyalty keep them in a land, but only their peculiar profit and advantage. Suppose all this, would it be extravagant if we talked of the European peril from Freemasonry? And would the peril be lightened if one of the brethren came to tell us that, in the good old times, Freemasons believed in God, but now they were rapidly advancing, and soon would believe in nothing but the "Higher Materialism"? The application is obvious; and the inference, I venture to think, is irresistible.

Our Jewish Freemasons, by blood and not by discipleship, "cannot be deleted," says Mr. Cohen, "and will not fuse." If they were willing to inter-marry with the Gentiles—I am by no means

suggesting that this would be to the Gentiles' advantage from an ethnical point of view—but the course of years would see the five or six millions absorbed in the four hundred millions.* The clan, however, has made this article of its creed so unchangeable that Napoleon himself could not induce the Great Sanhedrin to tone down its harshness. It is the iron law of Judaism. Yet while there is to be a Hebrew stock, distinct and separate, so long as the world lasts, we are forbidden to speak of a Hebrew interest, or common cause; there is none such, said the Chief Rabbi to Professor Goldwin Smith; and Mr. Cohen echoes him a little disdainfully, as though the matter were too evident for words. But the Professor has the best of the argument. Can it be doubted that Judaism in our day is "a close organization"? and have not its members "an enormous advantage in a society of loose texture, over men who are shifting each for himself"? Is it, therefore, anything but mockery to talk to us of "free competition and letting the best win"?† These are not idle questions. If the supreme law is the struggle for existence, Christians and Europeans may well ask how the energy and the combination of the Israelites in finance are likely to affect themselves. And if there be some higher law than this, such as the word Justice denotes, it is still more incumbent upon us to consider how "the vices of a morbid and degenerate Materialism" may be met and overcome. Mr. Cohen warns me that I do not know what efforts the Jewish world is making to cast out this disease. I shall be delighted to learn, and so will others who as yet have not been sensible that a Holy War was waging against the usurious money-lender, the speculative company promoter, the Panamist, and the forestaller of the market, with whose exploits we have become only too well acquainted in the last quarter of a century. This, I beg leave to assure him, is the head and front of that Jewish Question which extends from Bucharest to Chicago, and from London to the heart

* "There is a singular contrast between the Jew's persistent vitality and his bodily infirmity. His feebleness often gives him a somewhat unmanly appearance. He is of frail bodily structure; the skeleton and the muscular system lack strength. He is wanting in breadth and squareness; in many countries he is manifestly unfit for heavy work. . . . The Jew is, moreover, often misshapen; few races have so many men who are deformed, disabled, or hunchbacked, so many who are blind, deaf-mutes, or congenital idiots. . . . Again, the Jew is particularly subject to affections of the nerve-centres, especially to spinal and cerebral diseases. . . . Insanity seems more prevalent among Israelites than among Christians, whether Catholic or Protestant. The ratio against the Jews is, in some countries, two to one, in others three to one" (Leroy Beaulieu, pp. 167, 168). These are not encouraging statistics; and the motives for marrying into a race which is "prematurely withered" (p. 172) would seem to be commercial rather than ethnical.

† *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1882, p. 707, "The Jews," by Professor Goldwin Smith.

of Russia. What has Israel done to show its abhorrence of the cunning and chicanery by which the Slav peasant is made a chattel in the hands of the usurer? Can documents be forwarded to M. Drumont—he will gladly publish them—which denounce and excommunicate a single one of the "mighty marauders of the money-market"? I choose an expression of George Eliot's, but I am doubtful if she could have discovered an instance in which these marauders had been forbidden the Synagogue. And yet, whether they be cut off with the sword of anathema, or be given the first seats in the house of prayer, Jews they are, and Jews they will remain, a scandal as well as a menace to Christian civilization.

I presume that the hour has not yet struck, when it will be an offence against good sense or good manners for those who believe in Christianity to point out the evils of Materialism and Mammon-worship. Neither can it be unwarrantable to fix upon the Hebrew invasion even so grave a charge as that of lowering the standard of social conduct, and "debasing the moral currency," if proofs are forthcoming that such has been its consequence. In Eastern Europe the Jew represents a commerce which traffics in vile and degrading commodities; among Westerns, he must be held largely responsible for the growing dishonesty in speculation, for the facility with which his brethren spread abroad infectious literature, for the epicurean manner of life that has its multiplied centres in Hebrew salons, and for the vices of decadent Europeans whom he allures or drives onward to their ruin. Shall we be told, almost with a sneer, that he is moral for himself and his tribe? But how if that tribal morality does not keep him from doing an irreparable harm to the nation among which he is sojourning? Our concern is with the Jew as he acts and reacts upon society at large. And what can he say in mitigation of the indictment brought against his people from this point of view?

One thing he cannot say, that the indictment is false. "It is but natural that the Jew should have developed a code of ethics that accorded with the persecutions and degradations that he had to suffer," observes M. Leroy Beaulieu; and he adds, "It is perhaps the most marked result of the education which the centuries have given him." Again, "Everywhere," before the French Revolution, "the young Jew received at an early age lessons which sank deep into his youthful mind—lessons of deceit, of mock humility, of servile submission, of trickery and cunning" (p. 208). Once more, "In the banker of Berlin or Frankfort, in the journalist or the scholars of Vienna or Paris, there crops out all of a sudden the broker of the Judengasse, or the huckster of the Ghetto. . . The many repulsive labours forced upon the Jew for centuries have often soiled his soul as well as his fingers" (pp. 210, 211). Yet

again, "For him the voice of reason is commonly the voice of self-interest." And, "surely most of the Jews with whom we are acquainted have traits of the *parvenu;* they have the weaknesses, eccentricities, arrogance, presumption, and self-sufficiency of that class. Hence, as a rule, their lack of distinction and elegance, their bad taste or bad tone, their want of tact, their *outré* manners, tending to extremes in one way or another, now familiar and unconstrained, now studied and ceremonious. . . . Hence, also, that craving for titles, crowns, decorations, ribbons, distinctions of all kinds. . . . Hence, again, his desire to make himself heard and seen, to be in people's mouths, to dazzle the eyes of his own race as well as of others; hence, in a measure, his luxury, often so ostentatious; his love for jewels, equipages, entertainments of a kind to excite comment, and for all that glitters and attracts notice; we recognize in all this the man who is delighted to parade the wealth that he has been obliged to conceal for ages" (pp. 218, 219).

Had this description of the modern Jew come to us from the pen of an Anti-Semite, of M. Drumont, for example, or the elected Burgomaster of Vienna, what a cry of "caricature" would have been raised? For it does agree, in minute detail, with sketches that excited rage and scorn when they appeared in *La France Juive.* But Mr. Cohen asks me on what page M. Leroy Beaulieu has admitted that the Israelite of our century is little burdened with honour and conscience. I will tell him; it is on page 194, and the words are these:—

"According to one of our great writers [M. Taine], there are two things which characterize the modern man, 'two things which he never repudiates, conscience and honour, the former of Christian, the latter of feudal origin.' Now, of these two new concepts on which the entire morality of modern society is based, the latter was, until quite recently, unknown to the Jew, the former [conscience] has become starved or warped in him for ages. Herein lies the great contrast between the Jew and ourselves; in this respect he is often inferior to us, despite his mental advantages and intellectual vigour. As for conscience, we have no right to say that it is lacking in Israel. . . . The Jew has been faithful to his Law, only because he exalted conscience above everything. But this Jewish conscience, the mother and nurse of our own [that is to say, Christianity is the offspring of a spiritual Judaism], has gradually become contracted and obscured. . . . It has become pliant, yielding to the demands of the times, adapting itself to compromises, leaguing itself with force, donning disguises and masks. Even in religion . . . it has learned to dissimulate, to lie, to bend the knee before strange gods and prophets." "For

the Jewish conscience has not emerged unscathed from the Ghetto. It became narrowed under the influence of the tribal spirit, confused by casuistry, weakened by persecution, and finally almost extinguished by suffering" (p. 198).

I am not concerned to set in a more lucid arrangement the French writer's thoughts; but neither his apology for the moral deterioration of Israel, nor his strictures on the Christian manner of dealing with it, can be held to blot out the hard facts of the case, and we must bear them ever in view. "Deprived of the weapons of the strong, he resorted to the devices of the weak, to cunning, trickery, and deceit." In Russia and Roumania "they are not evenly matched in their game with the Christians; the law forces them to cheat. This has created a sort of vicious circle, from which the various Governments have not been skilful or brave enough to extricate themselves. The legislators, professing [in other words, intending] to protect the Christians from the wiles of the Jews, issue edicts against them that serve only to incite them to trickery, and to train them in duplicity" (p. 206).

Well, such is M. Leroy Beaulieu's view as a Liberal politician: but we may study at home the problem of the money-lender and his victims, of the thousands of bills of sale every year, issued in how many cases at the instance of Jews? We know what is meant by sixty per cent. interest; and one of these days a Royal Commission may perhaps find itself face to face with difficulties in drafting a Bill on the subject, which will lead its members to feel a little sympathy for the law-givers of Russia and Roumania. Vice-Consul Wagstaff, reporting after the Anti-Jewish disorders in 1882, writes: "On carefully investigating the causes of the outbreak, one is led to consider that the main question at issue between the Russian and the Jew is purely economic." He gives the Israelites full credit for their remarkable intelligence, thrift, and business qualities; but he goes on to say that they are "the principal dealers in spirits, keepers of drinking-shops, and houses of ill-fame, receivers of stolen goods, pawnbrokers, and usurers." Moreover, "as Government contractors they frequently collude with unscrupulous officials in defrauding the State to vast amounts. They use their religion for business purposes, boycott outsiders, play into each other's hands at land sales, and thus despoil the peasantry."

To this effect Vice-Consul Wagstaff, as quoted by Professor Goldwin Smith in the article from which I have already taken certain sentences. There is much more, of a character quite as unfavourable, which may serve to throw light—and a grim and lurid ray it is—upon the world in which "peaceable and humble" Russian peasants, simple, illiterate, and easily stripped of

their wretched subsistence, lie at the mercy of "enterprising Jewish money-lenders, whose name is legion," and who are never known to surrender their grasp on the victim they have once caught in their toils. What M. Leroy Beaulieu narrates in the past tense is still, in fact, the present. "The Jew," he observes (p. 212), "was the invariable agent of every sort of oppression and extortion. . . . In Poland, Hungary, Germany, and Bohemia, he was the detested middleman between princes and people, serfs and noblemen." "But," said the Lutheran minister, who is reported in Professor Goldwin Smith's article, "look at all the large properties in this province [Volhynia]. . . . They are, with few exceptions, rented out to Jews, because the proprietors find that they pay higher rents than the Russian tenants. But why are they able to pay higher rents? First, because their system is to draw as much profit out of the estate as possible without regard to its future impoverishment; and, secondly, because they make the Russian peasant work for them almost for nothing. He tills their ground, and carts their produce and material, all in payment of loans generally contracted in a state of intoxication, and for the purpose of obtaining more liquor." With a little *vodka* and a few roubles the miracle of "productive industry" is accomplished by the son of Jacob, who may look on at his ease while the husbandman sows the corn and gathers the harvest, of which he is to share only as much as may keep soul and body together. Since 1882, this condition of things has, assuredly, not come to an end. Later evidence confirms it; and the Jewish Question is still alive in Russia.

If we turn from that big barbaric world to Central Europe, the like phenomena meet our eyes, with some not less remarkable added. I wish to quote only the books which everyone can read for himself; and here is Professor Nitti, an economist of high repute, who attributes the growth of Socialism in Austria to "the extreme misery of the peasants," the "difference of races," the want of an industrial Christian middle class, and the "abuse of capital exercised by the Jews." They enjoy, he says, in Austria and Hungary, "an almost exclusive monopoly of industrial revenue": "the Press, the Banks, the Stock Exchange" are all in their hands: and "they are working actively to become masters of the soil as well." They now hold "eight per cent. of the entire territory of Galicia; the Rothschild family alone possess the fourth part of the Bohemian territory, that is to say, seven times as much land as the Imperial House itself." As regards Hungary, "the Jews who, in 1869, were barely one in twenty-two of the population, are now proprietors of almost a third part of the old kingdom of Saint Stephen. They have been assisted in this rapid conquest of the

land," observes Professor Nitti, "not only by the banks, but also by the tax-collectors, who every year put up for sale a number of small properties." In this manner, so long as the present wage-system continues, "half the industrial operations of the country, and more than a fourth of the peasants, will labour for the profit of a foreign race, whose difference of religion makes them still more unpopular." On the other hand, "the Jews who carry on large industries, or are proprietors of vast estates, have never sought to improve the condition of the labouring class," and "a recent enquiry has shown that everywhere throughout the Empire the workmen are treated with more severity, and exploited with greater eagerness by the Jewish industrialists and proprietors."*

Thus, perhaps, we shall understand why the popular vote has forced upon Kaiser Francis Joseph, at Vienna, an Anti-Semitic Burgomaster, and has returned Herr Lüger three times, to the disgust of the "aristocracy of capital," who take care to inform us, through the telegraphic agency which they manipulate, that none but the lowest classes stand with him. It is perfectly well known how Prince Aloys von Lichtenstein, Count Belcredi, and others of the highest rank, have insisted on the arguments and furthered the proceedings of their fellow-countrymen who, if not calling themselves Anti-Semites, would fain see their labour and its hard-earned fruits defended by the law from Jewish exploitation. But the public voice of Europe has an Oriental twang when transmitted through the newspapers. Could anything be more significant than this Hebrew accent in our telegrams of the divorce between taxation and representation, which is pressing with all its weight upon countries like the Austrian Empire, and has well-nigh brought Italy to the ground?

Of France it would now be impossible to speak at length, and, happily, or unhappily, it is not needed. When we make the largest deduction from M. Drumont's rhetoric, closing our eyes and ears to all he has printed concerning the direct anti-religious influence of the modern Jew in the Third Republic, and declining to accept the legend of blood which he has unwisely adopted, we cannot deny the evidence of facts as they are to be found in the public Press, the reports of famous trials, and the debates of Parliament, all of which, brought together in his volumes, must be overthrown before his main contention suffers defeat. *La France Juive* has gone through a hundred and forty-two editions. How many of its statements regarding financial jobbery have been refuted? And is it unpatriotic to demand that Frenchmen rather than foreigners should rule France? Even M. Leroy Beaulieu whispers softly, "It would be well to give the preference to the

* Professor Nitti, *Catholic Socialism*, Eng. Tr., pp. 200, 201.

natives." "The important part that strangers play in our affairs," he remarks, with almost an audible sigh, "has been one of the features and one of the faults of the system that has prevailed during the past fifteen years. In this respect the complaints of *La France Juive* and of the Anti-Semites have not been altogether groundless. . . . It should not be considered an advantage in France to have been born in Hungary or in Frankfort; nor should it be a recommendation in the eyes of the Government to have brothers and cousins in Berlin or Vienna, or even in London or New York. . . . It is not right that adopted sons should be preferred to the children of the house" (p. 339).

Poor M. Leroy Beaulieu, poor struggling Liberal! He does not see that it is precisely his beautiful abstract system which disinherits "the children of the house," and enables "strangers from beyond the Rhine" to give Frenchmen "lessons at once in French and in Patriotism," as he says with comic pathos. I prefer M. Drumont's wrath to this ill-timed meekness; and I would remind the Hebrew apologist of M. Taine's philosophy according to Darwin: "Dans ce monde on est tenu de lutter, si l'on veut vivre. Toute créature qui perd l'art et l'énergie de se défendre devient une proie d'autant plus sûre que son éclat, son imprudence, et même sa gentillesse la livrent d'avance aux rudes appétits qui rôdent à l'entour."* He might also profitably lay to heart those brave and apposite words of Carlyle which, though written forty-three years ago, and in another connection, do point the way of deliverance from our present sordid and unchristian politics. "Who conquered anarchy?" he asks in his vehement style, "and chained it everywhere under their feet? Not the Jews, with their morbid imaginations and foolish sheepskin Targums. The Norse, with their steel swords, guided by fresh valiant hearts, and clear veracious understanding, it was *they* and not the Jews. The supreme splendour will be seen there, I should imagine, not in Palestine or Houndsditch any more."† Yes, it is even so. Our Hebrews have appropriated, assimilated, capitalized, all that they could lay hands on of the Christian inheritance; but they have created nothing. Neither the Talmud nor the "Higher Materialism" could give to mediæval or modern Europe its commerce, manufactures, chivalry, laws, literature, art, or religion. Our best and noblest things come to us from another source than the Ghetto. This very passion for freedom which has turned out to be so misleading when history and experience do not govern its wild enterprises, springs from no Semitic head or heart: it is old French, old English, old German; and it took for granted that if men were left to their own guidance they would say "noblesse

* Taine, *L'Ancien Régime*, p. 215.

† Froude's *Life of Carlyle*, ii., 16.

oblige," and be only the more serviceable one to another. Freedom meant, in the Europe which had become Christian, public service, not the chaos of private lust and greed. "Is competition not to be free?" Mr. Cohen asks me, and imagines that he has said the last word. Competition? In what things, and to what purpose? I ask in turn. The competition of usury with helplessness and ignorance? The competition of dishonest forestallers with a public which must submit to their prices? The competition of Panama directors with countryfolk that do not know geography? Competition in exploiting the revenue and resources, the land and the people, of any kingdom or republic in which the Children of Israel can get a solid footing? No, I do not think that sort of competition ought to be free, or even possible. And how to end it, without violence but for good and all, is the Jewish Question.

Why any man who suggests that it may be ended peaceably should be termed an enemy of the Jews passes my comprehension. He rather is an enemy that does not warn them to seek in their own books and their sacred traditions whether it is wise to have one law for the tribe and another for the nations. At present, as they boast, the public authorities register on their behalf decrees of confiscation; legality, sitting on the bench, and covetous, or timid, or already bought with a price (I do not speak of England), gives them their sixty per cent., transfers to them the estates which they have conquered, not by the sword, and is benevolently blind to the devices of company-promoting. But the day may dawn, even in France, when a popular Government will be the voice of the people. In countries not so manipulated and hoodwinked—in the German Empire, with its military feudal spirit on one side, its spirit of Socialism on the other; in Austria, where the Hebrew conquest dates from yesterday; in Russia, which M. de Vogüé calls "a mightier Islam," the reaction may take a swift and sudden turn that would be far more dreadful than any Judenhetze known since the expulsion of the Marranos from the Spanish Peninsula. It is not an appeal to the principles of '89 which would then avail to prevent scenes of horror and confusion. The European Democracy has no mind to be shorn of its golden fleece for the benefit of the Rothschilds and the Oppenheims. Let the situation be clearly understood—and it is growing clearer with each day's news, in Italy, in the Transvaal, at Vienna—who can believe that Christendom will allow itself to be made a farm, a tenement of which but a handful even among the five million Jews are to enjoy the fruits and the revenue? The "emancipation of the Jews"—that old Liberal watchword—has already given place to its antithesis "Emancipation *from* the Jews," economic liberty for the Christian working class, defence

against usury and speculative finance, and the rest of a sound social programme. Sooner or later, these new ideas will issue in legislative enactments; or, if they do not, a worse thing may happen in countries which have to choose between the rule of productive industry and the despotism of capital wielded by a cosmopolitan and anti-social power. It will be an evil day for the "Golden International" when public opinion fixes upon it the description, which was given by Sieyès, of a doomed *noblesse*, "La caste [des Juifs] est véritablement un peuple à part, mais un faux peuple qui, ne pouvant, faute d'organes utiles, exister par lui-même, s'attache à une nation réelle comme ces tumeurs végétales qui ne peuvent vivre que de la sève des plantes qu'elles fatiguent et dessèchent."

Who, then, is a friend to Israel—the man that bids them take Mendelssohn for their guide, and cultivate what is spiritual in their religion, or that other who talks of the "Higher Materialism," makes pleasure the end of life, scorns to think of a world to come, and declares that the God of the Old Testament was simply the Unknowable.

A QUARTERLY REVIEWER.

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SWINDON MECHANICS' INSTITUTION NEW

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

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EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

A QUART IN A PINT POT.

All Cabinets have a tendency to try and put a legislative quart into a parliamentary pint pot. The late Government, in order to placate its various sections and to keep its narrow majority going, was always engaged in this occupation. The present Government has, early in its career, fallen a victim to the same congenital weakness, although its majority is the largest of the Queen's reign, and it is in the enviable position of being able to ignore the fringes of the Party. Perhaps for that very reason the constructive department of the Cabinet has been allowed free play without a sufficiently careful comparison between the measures proposed and the means for turning them into laws. There is, however, a very great difference between the conduct of the two Ministries. Lord Rosebery and his colleagues were always producing legislation which they were aware had no prospect of getting through Parliament, nor was it seriously intended to be more than a placard—it was in no sense *bona fide*, but was simply a sop to some fragment of their following. Their successors have taken an almost exactly opposite course. They have ignored sectional mandates. They have not introduced mere advertising Bills to be withdrawn as soon

as displayed, but a series of measures they are most anxious to pass, and which they made sure, with their big majority, of being able to pass. Their legislative zeal has simply outrun their Parliamentary discretion, and they have received a check. The feature of the situation has been the keen criticism they have sustained from their own supporters in Parliament and the Press. Every journalist and Member of Parliament has been showing what an independent fellow he is when he gets the chance, and so the Government has been somewhat belaboured. The rank and file of a Party don't get many such opportunities, and feel entitled to kick up their heels occasionally in the face of an impotent Opposition. An onlooker would be inclined to say that so far very little harm has accrued to the Government; they have sown a few wild oats at an early stage of their existence, and will, no doubt, profit by the experience. The House of Commons is not likely in coming Sessions to incur a deluge of Government Bills such as the late Parliament habitually suffered from. That is a great gain to everybody.

THE UNCONCERN OF THE COUNTRY.

It sounds a hardy thing to say to the politician, but we doubt very much whether the "man on the bicycle" has any conception that there has been a "political crisis" in the popular Chamber. The fact is that the country is passing through an unpolitical mood as a revulsion from the prolonged excitement of the Home Rule Campaign, which covered ten years and only ended with the last General Election. Since then there has been a general lethargy as regards domestic politics which will probably last for some time longer. Outside the small world of *enragés* politicians to whom public affairs are meat and drink, hardly anyone interests himself in the proceedings of the House of Commons, and all the newspapers have been quick to recognize this by cutting down their reports of the debates to a brief epitome which very few people read, while platform speeches are practically unreported. Nations are moody, like individuals, and it is the part of wise statesmenship to study these moods. If the country were in a different frame of mind the Government might have got into trouble, but as it is, with the exercise of common prudence, we believe they will escape from their dilemma without sustaining any material loss of prestige. It is also a very strong reason for forestalling any disagreeable developments by withdrawing forthwith any measures or parts of measures that are not imperatively required. The Education Bill appears to be the chief of these, and it would be tempting Providence to push it on in any of the ways that have been suggested either by (1) closure by com-

partments, (2) an Autumn Session, or (3) suspended animation from August to next January. At the time of writing its fate has not been settled, though at the meeting of the Unionist Party at the Foreign Office in the middle of June, it was provisionally decided to adopt the third of these courses. We believe, however, that the great bulk of the Bill must be sacrificed, as the Opposition have determined to discuss it relentlessly, and make Second Reading speeches on every clause. It must also be conceded that although the measure has an admirable basis, it has not, as a whole, many enthusiastic friends on the Ministerial side, and almost every section of it is threatened with sharp Unionist criticism. The Bill has had a remarkable career, is full of excellent features, and we should be most reluctant to see it thrown overboard. Still this is infinitely better than putting up a vastly complicated and somewhat harassing piece of legislation as a cockshy for an unscrupulous Opposition over a period of eight months. The Government would not be justified in sacrificing a splendid political position to a question of *amour propre*, and we gather from Mr. Chamberlain's very sensible speech that they are fully alive to this.

DROPPING THE BILL.

The Education Bill, which, on perusal, is found to be a gigantic measure, bristling with opportunities for controversy in every clause, made a most modest appearance in the Queen's Speech, which stated "Elementary Schools under Voluntary management are a valuable portion of our educational system, and their condition, which is in many places precarious, requires further assistance from the public resources." There is certainly no breach of faith on the Government's part in confining themselves to this task, which is all that their election pledges bind them to. Sir John Gorst's Bill is a praiseworthy conception, and we should like to see the bulk of it embodied in an Act of Parliament, but it undoubtedly deals with too many subjects, and there is force in the criticism that the assistance allotted to the Voluntary Schools is by no means generous. In this respect it is a great disappointment to the Conservative Party, who have found themselves called upon to risk a great Parliamentary position in order to support a Bill teeming with ingenious schemes they did not particularly want, and deficient in what is to them a paramount question—aid to the Voluntary Schools. Sir John Gorst, as an ardent educationalist, approached the matter from a slightly different standpoint. He is zealous to preserve definite religious teaching, but he is at least as anxious to continually raise the standard of secular instruction,

and to introduce some elasticity into what has become too rigid a machine, hence the proposed establishment of the new educational authority, the raising of the age of compulsory attendance, the Poor Law school provisions, the treatment of Secondary Education, &c. It is perfectly easy to understand how the muddle has arisen, more especially when it is remembered that although the Cabinet is of unprecedented dimensions, Sir John Gorst is outside it. This makes it more difficult than ever to protect a Bill against the handiwork of ignorant colleagues. There is no need to become hysterical over the situation. The Government have not sought votes by dishonest and dangerous Bills introduced solely for that purpose; nor have they violated solemn pledges to the electorate. They have introduced a Bill, the Second Reading of which was carried by the greatest recorded majority in the case of a first-class measure. It is found to be much less popular when its details come to be examined than when a bird's-eye view was taken of its principles. There is nothing dishonouring in dropping all parts of it that do not fulfil the promise of the Queen's Speech, and the advice to pursue the whole subject to the bitter end can only be offered to be rejected.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

If outward tokens can be taken seriously there has been a *rapprochement* between Great Britain and the Triple Alliance. The German Emperor, who had not of late been a *persona gratissima* with the British public, has played a prominent part in effecting this. He is evidently anxious to atone for the bad impression produced by his famous telegram of congratulation to President Kruger, and for his subsequent intrigues against us with France and Russia. To this end he has been reminding the Institute of Naval Architects, which has been paying a friendly visit to Berlin, where it has enjoyed splendid hospitalities, that "Blood is thicker than water." He has repeated the same phrase in a telegram to the Mayor of Peterhead in connection with a celebration to Marshal Keith, and in forwarding a wreath to the "Royals," of which he is colonel, he recalled the alliance of the two peoples in the war ending with Waterloo. At the same time that the naval architects were being *fêted* in Germany, our Mediterranean Fleet paid a visit to another member of the Triple Alliance, Italy, and received a great popular ovation. Several striking incidents characterized this visit, among them being the entertainment of 350 Roman Catholic Bluejackets by the Pope at the Vatican, and an enthusiastic demonstration by another party of 900 before the Garibaldi monument, which the

Italian crowd responded to by the cry of "Evviva l'Inghilterra." It is now believed that the German Emperor will come to Cowes, and may count upon a cordial reception, which of late he had been told could not be assured him, and there are various rumours of Anglo-German understandings in different parts of the world. We agree that diplomacy must work along practical lines, and that our action must not be dominated by sentiment. Still a foreign policy that coincides with national sympathies is in a much stronger position than one which does not, and an *entente* with France would be far more popular in England than a partnership with Germany. A fine stroke of statesmanship would be effected by any British Minister who could detach Italy from the Triple Alliance, which is ruining her, act as a mediator between her and France, with whom she has no serious quarrel, and obtain recognition of our occupation of Egypt, of France's hold on Tunis, and of Italy's claims to Tripoli. These three Powers could form a firm and lasting friendship, based on mutual interests. Italy could then reduce her army, France her navy, and Great Britain would be on good terms with her nearest neighbour. This attractive prospect must remain a dream until France wearies of being a hewer of wood and drawer of water to Russia, and ceases to nag at our regeneration of Egypt, which she had the opportunity of participating in, but declined. For the present we work with the Triple Alliance, on the best terms with Italy and Austria, but it would be idle to pretend that we have unbounded confidence either in the loyalty or the judgment of the German Emperor.

ON THE ROAD TO KHARTUM.

Lord Salisbury has given the country a most candid and explicit exposition of our action in advancing into the Soudan. In 1882, "we, not entirely of our own free will, accepted the responsibility of the sole occupation" of Egypt. By 1884 our trust was diminished by about one-half owing to the capture of the Soudan by the Mahdi, and for a long time we have been anxious to reclaim this lost territory, as with Khartum in the hands of a hostile power, Egypt cannot be declared permanently safe. It was most inconvenient on every ground to commence that task now, but the recent Italian defeat at Adowa and consequent menace to Kassala by the Dervishes left us no alternative, as "a great and far-sounding triumph" would have rallied the neutral Arabs of the Soudan to the Khalifa's banner, and have revived his waning power to the great danger of the Egyptian frontier. We have been "using Egyptian troops mainly in the interests of Egypt," but Lord

Salisbury frankly added, "on this particular occasion, I do not deny it, we were largely influenced by the position of Italy. Our sympathies with Italy are very great and sincere, and they are not dictated by sentiment, but by considerations of interest which bind the various nations of Europe together. We were therefore very glad if the policy which we honestly adopted in the interests of Egypt could at the same time be of assistance to Italy in a critical and dangerous moment in her career." In other words, we had an irresistible opportunity, though it came at an inconvenient moment to ourselves, of killing two birds with one stone. Sir Herbert Kitchener, who has begun so brilliantly, is not to go beyond Dongola without leave, but up to that point "we give him an entirely free hand," as any attempt "to manage the campaign from England would be a lamentable thing." Lord Salisbury pointed out that one of the many advantages of Dongola "is that it is on the road to Khartum." This refreshingly plain declaration of policy concluded as follows:—

"You will ask, Why did you not then conceive the campaign in that spirit and take the measures requisite for carrying this object to the end? My answer is that the Egyptian Government stands alone amongst the Governments of the world in relation to its powers over finance. It may be an advantage or it may be a serious impediment, but the Egyptian Government is the only Government in the world, I believe, which cannot borrow. A very curious combination of international arrangements in whose validity I am much too unlearned to venture to pronounce an opinion—arrangements which are a perfect labyrinth, even to the learned mind—have, I am told, the effect of preventing the Egyptian Government from borrowing beyond a certain very narrow margin. The consequence is that unless it wishes to run into hopeless debt, its military proceedings must be governed by its financial capacity. We do not see our way at present to go beyond Dongola. If any of those millionaires who spend their money in supporting raids and invasions would come forward and offer to us facilities for going farther, I do not say we should be deaf to their appeals. But, in the present financial position, I am compelled to say that our object terminates at Dongola. It may be that we, or others who succeed us, will be prepared to go on in the future. For myself, I repeat the opinion that we shall not have restored Egypt to the position in which we received her, that we shall not have placed Egypt in that position of safety in which she deserves to stand, until the Egyptian flag floats over Khartum."

THE SUDAN CAMPAIGN.

Lord Salisbury's welcome announcement that Sir Herbert Kitchener, the "Sirdar" (Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army), is not to be kept in leading strings by the London War Office or the Cabinet followed closely on a brilliant coup effected by him at Firkeh. This place, which is sixteen miles above Akasheh, was the scene of the first serious encounter between the invading Egyptian army and the power of the Khalifa. The latter had sent a picked force of several

thousand men, variously estimated at from four to eight, belonging mainly to his own tribe, the Baggaras, from Dongola, to bar the Egyptian passage at Firkeh. The Baggaras are probably the only tribe in the Khalifate who do not detest their ruler, and who would not welcome the invader if they dared. Besides being his only thoroughly loyal followers they are his best fighting men, and on this occasion were commanded by the Emir Hammuda, the ablest Dervish leader. General Kitchener at once realized the necessity of an action, in order that the Dervishes should learn that they had to reckon not with a rabble of dispirited fellaheen, but with a trained and strenuous army. He executed a brilliant night march of twenty miles through an awkward defile with his whole force, and fell upon the astonished foe in the early morning of the 7th June. They offered a gallant resistance, but were completely smashed in three hours, with very heavy losses among the men and the annihilation of their chiefs, three-fourths of whom are believed to have been killed, including their general. Altogether eight hundred bodies were left on the field, and Slatin Pasha made a melancholy tour among them, identifying many of his former gaolers. On the Egyptian side twenty men were killed and eighty wounded. What has surprised and delighted all who are interested in our work in Egypt was the gallantry with which the troops under British guidance comported themselves. Major Burn-Murdoch pursued the enemy with the "Camelry," Cavalry, and 12th Battalion as far as Suarda (thirty miles on), which he occupied, as well as a village on the opposite side of the river. Baggage, boats, and a number of perhaps not unwilling prisoners were captured. The Dervishes seemed to be completely demoralized, and there is said to be no serious opposition to be feared between Suarda and Dongola. One is almost inclined to be sanguine even about the Sudan.

AN ERRAND OF MERCY.

Of all the expeditions ever organized by Great Britain none has better deserved the title in the margin than that now advancing under Sir Herbert Kitchener, and every humane man acquainted with the afflicted condition of the Sudan breathes a prayer for its speedy reclamation. No persecution of the Armenians has equalled the ghastly treatment of the inhabitants of the Sudan by the Baggaras and their Khalifa. As the expedition advances tribes are released from their bondage and numbers eagerly enlist in our service. The people return contentedly to their villages, and entreat the troops not to leave them again to the mercy of the Dervishes. Even the wives of the few men who have escaped, prefer to re-

main under Anglo-Egyptian rule to rejoining their husbands and becoming subject to the Dervish treatment. Mahdism, that is the religious movement, is quite dead. According to the Sheikhs of the Ababdeh tribe whose relatives and fellow-tribesmen are subject to the Khalifa, there are no Mahdists now. "All men detest the Khalifa, for he breaks every ordnance of our religion. Wherever he goes he seizes by force the young girls, many of them daughters of our best Sudanese families, and sends them to his harem. He casts them forth as soon as he wearies of them, and has now 170 children." It appears according to the same authority, that the Khalifa believes his end to be near, and he always keeps 500 camels—within the palace precincts—ready for escape, hoping to be able to reach his own mountains with the favourites of his household and treasures. It is, however, doubtful whether the men of his own Baggara tribe would permit this unless he shared his wealth with them. We must go through with our errand of mercy, and no financial consideration should be allowed to imperil or delay the suppression of a hideous reign of terror.

PRESIDENT KRUGER'S TRIUMPH.

President Kruger has triumphed over his Hollanders and Doppers by releasing the whole of the Reform prisoners. The minor offenders have been compelled to pay a fine of £2,000 each for their offence of *lèse majesté*, and the four leaders whose signature of the letter of invitation to Dr. Jameson compelled them to plead guilty to the charge of high treason, have compounded for that crime by a fine of £25,000 each. It is made a term of their release that they shall give a pledge not to meddle in Transvaal politics, or in the alternative suffer banishment, and Mr. Lionel Phillips, Mr. Farrar, and Mr. Hammond have given the required promise, while Colonel Rhodes has probably been wise in preferring banishment. President Kruger has acted with great wisdom and magnanimity, and can boast that he has inflicted the lightest penalties ever imposed for the most serious offence known to civilized states. He has materially strengthened his position in South Africa, and the reports of deputations and banquets show that the Uitlander population in the Transvaal are much gratified at the turn things have taken. The publication of Mr. Lionel Phillips' private letter-book which was impounded by the prosecution and published in a Transvaal Green-Book, discloses the fact that political grievances did not weigh upon the Uitlanders in the way Englishmen had been led to believe. It is stated specifically more than once in the letters that the franchise question did not excite interest in Johannesburg

What the Phillips contingent have been working for is the emancipation of their industry from the monopolies and exactions afflicting it. The political case was rather put forward to impress the British public, and no one can say that it failed of its purpose. No doubt if times became bad on the Rand there would be the materials for a very formidable agitation, and the President will be wise to bear this in mind, but for the present one may say that the soul of the Uitlander is not so revolted at the divorce between taxation and representation as it ought to be in the case of every properly constituted Briton. Some such scheme as Mr. Chamberlain's modified Home Rule for the Rand strikes us as the happiest solution yet proposed for forestalling future trouble. The Colonial Secretary pointed out that the grievances complained of arise in a limited area of the Republic, and that they might be met "without in any way endangering the stability of the institutions of the Republic, or interfering with the ordinary government of the country and the administration of its general affairs by the burghers . . . if the whole of the Rand district from end to end were created into something more than a municipality, as that word is ordinarily understood, . . . with powers of legislation on purely local questions, and subject to the veto of the President and Executive Council, . . . this power of legislation should include the power of assessing and levying its own taxation, subject to the payment to the Republican Government of an annual tribute of an amount to be fixed at once, and revised at intervals so as to meet the case of a diminution or increase in the mining industry."

QUI FACIT PER ALIUM FACIT PER SE.

While President Kruger has put himself right with public opinion in South Africa, it cannot be said that our Government has of late steered a perfectly unambiguous course. Mr. Chamberlain's vigour, promptitude, and foresight in the early stages of the difficulty were beyond all praise, and he made it plain to the world that the policy of the raid was detestable to the Imperial authority as a wanton, crazy, and treacherous attack on a friendly State. Every possible step was taken to check the consequences of the expedition, and the Colonial Secretary defined his attitude towards it in uncompromising terms from the very first moment the disastrous news arrived. He pronounced the following most proper phillipic by cablegram to Sir Hercules Robinson on 31st December:—

"You should represent to Mr. Rhodes the true character of Dr. Jameson's action

in breaking into a foreign State which is in friendly treaty relations with her Majesty, in time of peace. It is an act of war, or rather of filibustering. If the Government of the South African Republic had been overthrown, or had there been anarchy at Johannesburg, there might have been some shadow of excuse for this unprecedented act. If it can be proved that the British South Africa Company set Dr. Jameson in motion, or were privy to his marauding action, her Majesty's Government would at once have to face a demand that the Charter should be revoked and the Corporation dissolved."

The following day (1st January), he addressed by deputy an equally emphatic communication to the helpless Directorate of the British South Africa Company in London:—

"Referring to my letter of last night, Mr. Chamberlain presumes that the Board or some of the Directors are meeting to-day to consider Jameson's action. He expects from you a categorical statement whether your Company accepts or repudiates responsibility for Jameson's action. No need to telegraph for information to South Africa. News is true and details serious. Rhodes has repudiated responsibility for, or foreknowledge of Jameson's action, and has offered to resign as Cape Premier. But as he appears to have done his best to counteract mischief, Mr. Chamberlain has telegraphed this morning that he sees no reason for his resigning. Please reply to this definitely."

Since these communications passed, the cipher telegrams have been discovered, showing that the raid was organized by the Cape Town office of the Chartered Company under the auspices of Mr. Rhodes, its Managing Director, and with the eager concurrence of Mr. Beit, another Director, and by the labours of Dr. Rutherfoord Harris, the Secretary, and Mr. Stevens, the Assistant-Secretary of the Company. So far the Government have barely recognized the altered position created by these revelations, and all that is promised is a distant Parliamentary enquiry which can hardly begin before next year. The ground given for this delay is that nothing must be done to prejudice the trial of Dr. Jameson, but since Dr. Jameson's formal acceptance of the responsibility in court we cannot see how he would be damnified by a recognition of the fact that he played a subordinate part, in fact, a layman would say: that his responsibility might turn out to be less than he admits. Dr. Jameson's trial, it appears to us, is being allowed to prejudice a far more imperative investigation, and one which nearly touches the Imperial honour. If Mr. Rhodes is so ill-advised as to continue sheltering himself behind a subordinate, he should be politely but firmly reminded that *qui facit per alium facit per se.* The principle of the scapegoat is always unpopular with English people, and we are convinced that if it were adopted in this case that both

the Government and Mr. Rhodes would suffer; the former considerably and the latter irretrievably. The "man in the street," not only of London, but of every town in the Empire would say, "they were not afraid of the small man, but they would not stand up to the big one"; while Mr. Rhodes would live as "the man who wouldn't face the music."

AN IMPERIAL CONGRESS.

By far the most interesting event of the month to the subjects of Queen Victoria, was the Congress held in the City of London by 200 Chambers of Commerce gathered from all parts of the Empire to discuss Imperial Unity from a business standpoint. Mr. Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary acted as honorary President and opened the proceedings in a speech which places the question of an Imperial Commercial Union very near the region of practical politics. The delegates were delighted with his masterly handling of the subject as well as his bold and enlightened tone. Mr. Chamberlain's lead will have an admirable effect, because he enforced with irresistible persuasiveness the folly of discussing the question except in a spirit of compromise. He showed that an Englishman of Imperial instincts, however much he may have been trained in the Cobdenite tradition, must divest himself of the notion that it is sacrosanct if he seriously wishes to further what is steadily becoming the greatest of all questions for our branch of the Anglo-Saxon race. The Colonial Secretary begun by pointing out the great strides made by the cause of unity of late years, and affirmed that "No one nowadays, in this country, or outside of it, denies the enormous benefit which it would be to the British race within the Empire if we could arrange some union which would lead to closer relations, and which would retain within the Empire, trade and the subjects which are now diverted to foreign lands." There are three lines of progress which may be pursued to accomplish this great object: (1) The Colonies might abandon their own fiscal system, and adopt that of the Mother Country by throwing their markets open to the world; (2) the Mother Country might abandon her system of Free Trade and adopt the Colonial system of Protection; (3) a Zollverein or Customs Union should be established on a basis of Free Trade throughout the Empire, leaving the separate contracting parties to make what arrangements they chose with regard to duties upon foreign goods. It is essential to this proposal that Great Britain should consent to impose moderate duties upon certain articles of large production in the Colonies;

on their part the Colonies would agree to remove all duties upon any products of the British Empire.

COBDEN CLUB, OTTAWA, AND TORONTO.

In discussing these three ways of effecting a commercial *rapprochement* Mr. Chamberlain dismissed the first two as extreme suggestions. Number one is the solution offered by the Cobden Club, and it has the fatal objection of being wholly unacceptable to the Colonies, whose principle revenues are derived from tariffs—its serious advocacy would postpone "a commercial union to the Greek Kalends." Number two springs from the brain of the Ottawa conference and would leave the Colonies free to impose what Protective duties they chose upon foreign countries and British goods with a small discrimination in favour of the latter, while Great Britain would be called upon to impose duties on food and raw material from foreign countries. For a small concession from the Colonies the Mother Country would be called upon to make a revolutionary change—the foreign trade of the former being comparatively so small, and that of the latter so large. Leaving this "deadlock," Mr. Chamberlain came to number three, or the Toronto proposal, to which he gave a cordial greeting, and this passage in his speech was the great feature of the Congress :—

"That is the principle of the German Zollverein, that is the principle which underlies federation in the United States of America ; and I do not doubt for a moment that if it were adopted it would be the strongest bond of union between the British race throughout the world. I say that such a proposal as that might commend itself even to an orthodox free-trader. It would be the greatest advance that Free Trade has ever made since it was first advocated by Mr. Cobden to extend its doctrines permanently to more than 300,000,000 of the human race, and to communities many of which are the most prosperous, the most thriving, and the most rapidly increasing in the world ; and, on the other hand, it would open up to the Colonies an almost unlimited market for their agricultural and other productions. Of course, the details of such a scheme would require the most careful examination. There may have to be exceptions made to the principle, although I believe the principle itself must be adopted if any progress is to be made at all ; but I am not going to discuss these exceptions on the present occasion. I only want to impress on you my personal conviction that if a proposal of this kind came to us from the Colonies, backed by any considerable support on their part, it would not be met with a blank refusal by the people of this country."

PROPOSED IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech was followed by a most interesting discussion between the rival schools, during which considerable divergence of opinion was expressed. Mr. Sydney Buxton, the late Under-Secretary of State, supported Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion of

Inter-Imperial Free Trade, but the representatives of Liverpool and Manchester opposed it on Cobdenite grounds, and the Ottawa adherents on the ground that the Colonies could not abandon their principal sources of revenue by opening their ports to British goods. For a fuller discussion of the subject we refer the reader to Mr. J. G. Colmer's article in *The National Review.* He is one of the principal pioneers of the movement towards a commercial union, and contributed one of the most knowledgeable and fruitful speeches to the debate. Eventually the Congress adopted the following practical resolution :—

"That this Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire is of opinion that the establishment of closer commercial relations between the United Kingdom and the Colonies and dependencies is an object which deserves and demands prompt and careful consideration. The Congress, therefore, respectfully represents to her Majesty's Government that, if that suggestion should be made on behalf of the Colonies, or some of them, it would be right and expedient to promote such consideration, and the formulation of some practical plan, by summoning an Imperial Conference fully representative of the interests involved, or by such other means as her Majesty may be advised to adopt."

It is hoped that the 60th year of Her Majesty's reign may be appropriately celebrated by the assembly of an Imperial conference.

THE CANADIAN CONTEST.

The most keenly contested and exciting general election ever held in Canada was decided on the 23rd June—unfortunately too late to enable us to chronicle the result here. We may, however, note some of its leading features. Of the 213 members composing the House of Commons, only four are being returned unopposed, which gives some idea of the severity of the struggle. The party at present in power—the Conservatives—commanded a large majority in the late Parliament, and their leader, Sir Charles Tupper, the ex-High Commissioner, has eclipsed Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian campaign in the extraordinary activity he has displayed in travelling magnificent distances and delivering stirring orations. The most competent observers, however, do not anticipate that his strenuous exertions to preserve his big battalions *intact* will be successful in the face of the formidable coalition constituting the present Opposition. This consists of three parties: the Liberals, whose leader, Mr. Laurier, is the most attractive figure in Canadian politics; the Patrons of Industry, whose chief plank appears to be the taxation of luxuries; and a secession from the Conservative Party, called McCarthyites after their leader, Mr. Dalton McCarthy, who has

allied himself with the Opposition in resisting the Manitoba Schools Bill. The province of Ontario is regarded as the key to the position on account of the large number of seats held there by Conservatives who have alienated their extreme Protestant supporters by upholding the just claims, as we venture to think them, of the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba. Here they are bound to lose seats, but the question is, how many, and how far they can recoup themselves in Roman Catholic Quebec for losses in Protestant Ontario? This the reader will know by the time these pages are in his hands. We risk the mild prediction that great surprise will be caused in either of these contingencies: (1) The maintenance, or increase, of the present Ministerial majority; (2) The return of a Liberal majority independent of the McCarthyites and Patrons of Industry.

THE RUIN OF SPAIN.

The Times correspondent at Havana continues his harrowing accounts of the piteous and indeed appalling condition of Cuba. The rebels hold practically the whole island, except the actual camping places of the large Spanish army of 175,000 men, and have been very rarely molested. They have consequently been able to roam about and destroy all produce at their pleasure, sometimes under the very eyes of the Government troops. The insurgent leaders, Gomez and Maceo, stand in no need of allies so long as they can count on the almost incredible ineptitude of the enemy. But a very powerful reinforcement has joined them in the shape of the wet season, with its inevitable accompaniment of yellow fever. This ravaging disease will play havoc among the young unacclimatized Spanish soldiers, and the rains prevent any active operations from being carried out even if the Spanish commander-in-chief were disposed to rouse himself and his various army corps from their trance. The other side are prepared for the change of climate:—"The wet weather seems to have no terrors for the insurgents. One of these told me (*The Times* correspondent) that four new generals had now arrived to aid them, and said they were June, July, August, and September." No doubt the credulous Spanish public will continue to be fed during the wet season as they have been in the dry by glowing accounts of wholly imaginary victories, but it is difficult to believe that the brutal awakening can be long postponed. Indeed, one cannot see how the ruin of Cuba can be consummated without producing the bankruptcy of the so-called mother-country. And it is hardly believable that their own

insolvency could be successfully concealed from the people of Spain. During the next six months the Spanish Treasury will have to meet a deficit on Cuba of £16,000,000 sterling.

STARVING CUBA.

While Spain is approaching bankruptcy, starvation is stealing on Cuba. The towns are crowded with refugees, mostly women and children—the men having generally joined the rebels—and the food supplies are nearly exhausted. The insurgents are able to prevent their being replenished from the country districts, and the congested population will be dependent upon abroad for the necessaries of existence, but unfortunately it has not the means of purchase. *The Times* correspondent, whose fearless letters are most praiseworthy, summarizes the situation in a few figures:—

"The exports from now until the end of this year will be :—

Sugar—180,000 tons at £9	£1,620,000
Cigars—70,000,000 at £8 per 1,000	560,000
Leaf Tobacco—30,000 bales at £5	150,000
Fruit	200,000
Iron Ores	100,000
Total	£2,630,000

"This £2,630,000 represents the entire purchasing power of the community up to the end of the present year, and is clearly insufficient to pay for the foreign supplies of food necessary to support the population of the various towns, now certainly exceeding 1,000,000 souls. The Cubans are an improvident race, and have no savings with which to tide over the present time of scarcity. It is not too much to say that there is no money in the country. Unless relief in some form is provided, absolute starvation will overtake a large proportion of the population before many more months are passed.

. . . . . .

"In the face of the pitiable economic condition of the people it is only natural to suppose that the Spanish Government would deem it expedient and advisable to lighten the burden of taxation by reducing the duties on imported articles, especially on breadstuffs and other necessaries of life. Such, however, is apparently not the intention of the wiseacres who manage Cuban affairs. The estimates for 1896-97 show :—

Expenditure	92,000,000 gold dollars.
Revenue	30,000,000 ,, ,,
Deficit	62,000,000 ,, ,,

"Now in 1894, when there was no war, the revenue only amounted to $20,000,000. I asked how, with the country in its present state and the Government unable to enforce taxation in the country districts, a revenue of $30,000,000 was to be obtained. I was told by increasing the Custom House duties. This idea is simply midsummer madness. With the industries of the country ruined and the inhabitants starving, to make any such proposition is absolutely cruel."

It is not agreeable for England to reflect that 130 years ago her supineness restored Cuba to the fatal clasp of Spain, after one of the most successful wars in which we have ever been engaged. The story has recently been retold in an admirable little volume (*The Lost Possessions of England*, by Walter Frewen Lord), which all our statesmen of the scuttling type should take to heart. Spain had joined in against us towards the close of the Seven Years' War, judging that we were at the end of our tether, but we sent an expedition against Cuba during the wet season, and the island was captured at a cost of 5,000 men. Without rhyme or reason the British Cabinet surrendered this splendid possession at the Treaty of Paris. Does not our past connection with Cuba give us a constructive right of remonstrance against her destruction by Spain? An outrage in Armenia is everybody's business, but the death of Cuba appears to concern no one now that the United States have plunged into the critical stage of their Presidential campaign, unless President Cleveland comes forward in the matter.

THE KEY TO AMERICAN POLITICS.

Americans often complain that English people show no intelligent appreciation of American politics. There is some truth in the charge, but it may fairly be retorted that they are almost impossible for an outsider to understand owing to their intricacy and feverish fluctuations. Also it may be observed that the key to American politics is carefully concealed by those who are responsible for furnishing the English public with news, and never more successfully than in reference to the present political situation in the States. We read of a great gold uprising and of a great silver craze, and it is related how the Republican Party, which has long been wavering between a gold and silver "platform," has finally been compelled by the "hoarse common-sense of the country," as represented by bankers and bosses, to declare itself unequivocally in favour of the maintenance of the gold standard as the price of electing the next President. In fact the struggle is compared to that being waged here between the Bimetallic League and the Gold Standard Defence Association, and in the first encounter between the opposing hosts—at the Republican Convention of St. Louis which nominated Mr. M'Kinley as the Party candidate—the gold monometallists have won a signal triumph and the bimetallic lunacy has been exploded, "as it always will be when the friends of gold take the trouble to organize themselves." We also learn that [this great victory for

"honest money" is acting as a powerful incentive to the Cleveland or gold wing of the Democratic Party, and that whereas a few weeks ago it was considered inevitable that the forthcoming Chicago Convention—the gathering to nominate the Democratic candidate for the Presidency—would go solid for silver, a strenuous and possibly surprising effort will stay the stampede. As Mr. Thomas Platt and Senator Cabot Lodge worked a pure gold plank into the Republican "platform" at St. Louis, where silver was all the rage until their advent, so Mr. Whitney and his fellow gold monometallists may be able at any rate to perpetrate a "straddle" resolution at Chicago and save the Party honour from the unspeakable scandal of a declaration in favour of the free coinage of silver. So the legend runs smoothly from Mr. Smalley's pen, and may be read almost any day in his telegrams to *The Times*. It is none the less a complete caricature of the situation, and it is unfortunate that at a time when our relations with the United States are an anxiety to all the best friends of both that our only copious channel of information should be hopelessly tainted by prejudice. The currency campaign in the United States is not a struggle between gold monometallism and bimetallism as we understand those terms, but between two forms of bimetallism.

INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM V. NATIONAL BIMETALLISM.

It is worth trying to understand the two bimetallisms now fighting it out in the United States, as before long both forms will appear in Europe if we continue to allow Lombard Street to dictate our financial policy. The silver party in America are *national* bimetallists—that is to say, they are in favour of the United States acting independently of other countries, and placing herself immediately upon a bimetallic basis, with a ratio between silver and gold of 16 to 1. They decline to wait any longer for international agreement, and believe that their country is commercially powerful enough to maintain the ratio by herself. The anti-silver party in the States contains, no doubt, a fringe of gold monometallists of the Harcourt type, but the great bulk of its adherents are *international* bimetallists, and Senator Lodge, who has been so praised by *The Times* for saving the Republicans from silver, is a keen bimetallist of this type. He is most anxious to see a par established between the metals by agreement between the leading nations of the world, and would enthusiastically assent to America's being a party to it. In other words, he occupies the position adopted by Mr. Balfour. The reason that Senator Lodge

and his colleagues are exerting themselves against silver or *national* bimetallism is because they feel that America is not strong enough by herself to maintain the ratio, and that her unassisted attempt to do so would set up a premium on gold which would ultimately place her upon a silver *monometallic* basis. They are not prepared to take this leap in the dark, though how much longer they may be able to restrain their more impatient opponents—who comprise the great producing world of the West, which has been brought from prosperity to ruin by the appreciation of gold—is an open question. The declaration of the Republican Convention of St. Louis in favour of international bimetallism is remarkably clear and emphatic, although *The Times* hails it as a victory for gold. The following passage from the so-called "gold" resolution speaks for itself; it might have been framed by our Bimetallic League:—"We are therefore opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, except by international agreement, between the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote; and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved." This did not satisfy the extreme national bimetallists, who, under the guidance of Senator Teller, Senator Cannon, and others, withdrew from the Convention, and formally dissevered themselves from the party.

A Bimetallic Premier.

It is noteworthy that while astute politicians in the United States are balancing between the two forms of bimetallism—national and international—M. Mêline, the new French Premier, has been making a remarkable declaration in favour of the only form of bimetallism yet known to Europe. At the first annual meeting of the French Bimetallic League, he spoke, deploring that the principal nations of Europe should have renounced the monetary system which had done them good service for centuries, and which had secured to the great producing nations an unequalled era of prosperity. He stated what is incontestable, viz., that with the demonetization of silver in the early seventies by Germany, the Latin Union, and the United States, there opened an agricultural and industrial crisis to which no man can see the end. He admitted that the general fall of prices which began with the disfranchisement of silver was not entirely due to one cause, but affirmed that the appreciation of gold in relation to silver was one of the principal factors in this fall. The cheapening of prices is peculiar to the gold standard countries, while in the silver standard countries

prices are remarkably steady. In other words, silver has been a good servant, while gold has been a bad master. M. Mêline pointed out as a feature of our want of monetary system, no less grave than the disastrous fall of prices, the commercial instability due to the want of a fixed ratio between gold and silver which "slackens and paralyses international relations through the incessant variation of the exchange." This is more dangerous to the gold standard countries now than at any prior time, owing to the imminent opening up of a new world in the Far East, where cheap money will not only cripple imports from the Far West, but may, combined with cheap labour, capture neutral markets and threaten European markets. M. Mêline most categorically declared in favour of meeting the rising danger by a return to the system of international bimetallism, which would establish a fixed ratio between gold and silver, "which alone could re-establish the stability and confidence indispensable to the development of international trades." The French Premier concluded by pointing out that it did not rest with France alone to determine this question for "it was of the very nature of an international order":—

"In truth he felt that the hour of this agreement appeared to approach nearer and nearer. Under the pressure of events, and owing to the distress of the people, there was everywhere springing up a movement in favour of returning to bimetallism, which acquired strength as it went, and carried with it Peoples, Parliaments, and Governments. It had grown in England, in Belgium, in Germany, and in America. There was but an electric spark wanting in order that this movement might become universal, and might extend from one end of the earth to the other. They could remain assured that that spark would come—he knew not when or how—but it would come, in obedience to the force of circumstances, and because when a question was ripe it was sure to work out its own solution."

THE POSITION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

We are convinced that before long the British Government will be compelled to face a demand for a general conference of nations to discuss this great international question. The English monometallists maintain that such a gathering would be futile, owing to the impossibility of obtaining agreement upon a ratio between the leading commercial Powers. The Latin Union ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and the American ratio of 16 to 1 are so remote from the present market rate of about 30 to 1, and the conflict of interests so acute, that a conference between the parties would be as useless as one between Protectionists and Free Traders. While convinced that a conference would simply expose the irreconcilable attitude of the various adherents to a detestable heresy, the

monometallists move heaven and earth to prevent its being summoned and apply all the pressure of the City to that end. It may be that the attempted concert would fail, but we cannot see what harm would be done to the gold standard by such a failure. Having no bigotry on the subject we should much like to see such a meeting between the nations. Each should be represented by expert delegates empowered to fix a ratio provisionally which would subsequently be referred for adoption to the respective countries represented. There would then be a clear issue. "Shall we, or shall we not, join the International Bimetallic Union, and agree to make silver and gold legal tender at such and such a ratio?" At present the monometallist agressively calls upon the bimetallist to fix his ratio or throw up the sponge, while the bimetallist coyly replies, "Give me an International Conference, and you shall have a ratio to belabour."

THE FOUNDERING OF THE "DRUMMOND CASTLE."

The Castle Line steamer *Drummond Castle* struck a rock near Ushant on Tuesday night, June 16th, on her homeward journey from South Africa, and immediately sank. There was no time to get the boats out, and only three people were saved out of the whole number on board, which consisted of 148 passengers and 105 crew. One of them was a passenger, Mr. Marquardt, and the other two were seamen. They clung to wreckage all night, and were rescued by French fishing boats in the morning. The ship struck at about a quarter to eleven. An entertainment had just concluded to celebrate the return home; most of the women and children had gone to bed. "I had just bid good-night to a French lady, who had just put four children to bed, and was going to join them, when I was startled by a shock," said Mr. Marquardt. To those who have been much on the sea the surprising thing is that disasters of this character do not more frequently occur. Notwithstanding the most careful navigation and elaborate precautions, there are circumstances which baffle every device to escape danger. The unknown tide, which sweeps a vessel she knows not where, and the enshrouding fog, upset all calculations. How often has a lifting fog during daylight revealed the deadly rocks to an unsuspecting vessel, and enabled her to escape! There are few sailors who cannot recall such a case. The temptation to "make" Ushant Light on the part of homeward bound ships is probably a dangerous one, and lured the *Drummond Castle*, as it has lured other vessels, to her doom. She was in a fog and did not know where she was. Mr. Herbert Spencer, without much nautical experience, used to declare that lighthouses were dangerous inventions, because vessels were wrecked in searching for

them. When the light is perceived, however, the seaman has joyful security—he knows where he is and shapes his course accordingly. The danger is presented when the neighbourhood is reached and the light cannot be seen on account of fog. The Lighthouse Siren is supposed to warn vessels off by sound, but this is an imperfect signal. It has been reported as "not sounding" on the night of the disaster. Captain Peirce who was in command thought the watertight compartments would keep the ship afloat for some time—but these failed as usual, and the unfortunate vessel went down like a piece of solid iron. A number of corpses were gradually washed up on the French coast and were treated by the Breton islanders with pious care. They were wrapped in white winding-sheets and buried with an impressive funeral ceremony conducted by the Mayor and Curé, and attended with every mark of respect by the inhabitants of Molène.

THE HISTORIC PROTEST OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND THE QUESTION OF REUNION WITH ROME.

In 1868 was held at Lambeth, under the presidency of Archbishop Longley, the first Conference of Bishops of the Church of England and of other Churches in full communion with ourselves. The Pastoral Letter issued by the Bishops contained the following endorsement of the historic protest of the English Reformation of the sixteenth century:—

"We entreat you to guard yourselves and yours against the growing superstitions and additions with which in these latter days the truth of God hath been overlaid; as otherwise so especially by the pretension to universal sovereignty over God's heritage asserted for the See of Rome; and by the practical exaltation of the Blessed Virgin Mary as Mediator in the place of her Divine Son, and by the addressing of prayers to her as intercessor between God and man."

Ten years later, a second Conference assembled under the presidency of Archbishop Tait. The same position was still more carefully resumed and explained. On the subject of Relations with Foreign Churches the Bishops thus expressed themselves:—

"The fact that a solemn protest is raised in so many churches and Christian communities throughout the world against the usurpation of the See of Rome, and against the novel doctrines promulgated by its authorities, is a subject for thankfulness to Almighty God. All sympathy is due from the Anglican Church to the Churches and individuals protesting against these errors, and labouring, it may be, under special difficulties from the assaults of unbelief as well as from the pretensions of Rome.

"We acknowlege but one Mediator between God and man—the Man Christ Jesus, Who is over all, God blessed for ever. We reject as contrary to the Scriptures and to Catholic truth, any doctrine which would set up other mediators in His place, or which would take away from the Divine Majesty of the Godhead which dwelleth in Him, and which gave an infinite value to the spotless sacrifice which He offered, once for all, upon the Cross, for the sins of the whole world.

"It is therefore our duty to warn the faithful that the act done by the Bishop of Rome, in the Vatican Council, in the year 1870—whereby he assumed a supremacy over all men in matters both of faith and morals, on the ground of an assumed infallibility—was an invasion of the attributes of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"The principles on which the Church of England has reformed itself are well known. We proclaim the sufficiency and supremacy of the Holy Scriptures as the ultimate rule of faith, and commend to our people the diligent study of the

same. We confess our faith in the words of the ancient Catholic creeds. We retain the Apostolic Order of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. We assert the just liberties of particular and national Churches. We provide our people in their own tongue with a Book of Common Prayer, and Offices for the Administration of the Sacraments in accordance with the best and most ancient types of Christian faith and worship. These documents are before the world, and can be known and read by all men. We gladly welcome every effort for reform upon the model of the primitive Church. We do not demand a rigid uniformity ; we deprecate needless divisions ; but to those who are drawn to us in the endeavour to free themselves from the yoke of error and superstition we are ready to offer all help and such privileges as may be acceptable to them, and are consistent with the maintenance of our own principles as enumerated in our formularies."

And again, in the third Conference, held at Lambeth in 1888, under the presidency of Archbishop Benson, the Bishops used the following language in a resolution dealing with the Eastern Churches :—

"We reflect with thankfulness that there exist no bars, such as are presented to communion with the Latins by the formulated sanction of the infallibility of the Church residing in the person of the Supreme Pontiff, by the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and other dogmas imposed by the decrees of Papal Councils."

The "other dogmas imposed by the decrees of Papal Councils" are not difficult to enumerate. The Creed of Pope Pius IV., drawn up by that Pontiff in 1564 after the Council of Trent, and summarizing its decrees, adds twelve new articles to the Nicene Creed.

The first article most firmly admits and embraces apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other constitutions and observances of the Roman Church.

The second denies the right of private judgment.

The third professes the Seven Sacraments.

The fourth receives the Roman doctrine of Justification as declared at the Council of Trent, including Penance, Satisfaction, Expiation, Auricular Confession, and Absolution.

The fifth declares Transubstantiation.

The Sixth holds Purgatory, and that the souls detained there are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

The seventh teaches the Invocation of Saints and the Veneration of Relics.

The eighth asserts that due honour and veneration are to be given to the Images of Christ, the Mother of God ever Virgin, and the other Saints.

The ninth affirms that the use of Indulgences is wholesome.

The tenth declares the Church of Rome to be Mother and Mistress of all Churches.

The eleventh anathematizes and excommunicates all who do not agree with the decrees of the Council of Trent.

The twelfth declares that the preceding is the Catholic Faith, out of which none can be saved.

The dates at which these "other dogmas imposed by the decrees of Papal Councils" were formulated, are not difficult to ascertain.

The first book on Transubstantiation was written by Paschasius Radbert in A.D. 831. It was strongly opposed at the time by many Doctors of the Western Church, but was defined and declared an Article of Faith by the Fourth Lateran Council in A.D. 1215.

The refusal of the cup to the laity was ordered by the Council of Constance in 1415.

The number of the Sacraments was first mentioned as Seven by Peter Lombard in 1140. It was decreed by Pope Eugenius IV. in 1439, and made an Article of Faith by the Council of Trent in 1547.

Purgatory was taught by Pope Gregory in 600, and made an Article of Faith by the Council of Florence in 1439.

Tradition was placed on an equal footing with the Written Word of God by the Council of Trent in 1546.

Penance, Satisfaction, Auricular Confession, and Priestly Absolution were made part of the Roman doctrine of Justification by the Council of Trent in 1547.

The necessity of the Priest's intention to give validity to the Sacraments was decreed by Pope Eugenius IV. in 1439, and made an Article of Faith by the Council of Trent in 1547.

The Sacrifice of the Mass was decreed a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice by the Council of Trent in 1562.

The Invocation of Saints was made an Article of the Faith by the Council of Trent in 1563.

The Adoration of Images, condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 754, approved by the Council of Nice in 787, rejected by the Council of Frankfort in 794, was made an Article of Faith by the Council of Trent in 1563.

The Supremacy of the Pope, claimed for centuries, was first promulgated as an Article of Faith by Pope Pius IV. in his Creed in 1564.

Indulgences, which had been restricted by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, were upheld by the Council of Trent in 1563, which anathematized all who declare them to be useless.

In addition to these older novelties, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in the womb of her mother was made an Article of Faith by Pope Pius IX. in 1854, and the Infallibility of the Pope was proclaimed by the Vatican Council in 1870.

With the exception of these last two dogmas, the doctrinal

reasons for the Reformation of the sixteenth century, which gave the Church of England her present constitution and formularies, are to be found in the main in these additions to the Primitive Creeds. The Council of Trent formulated views, opinions, and beliefs which had been growing up and developing during the previous centuries.

These additions to the primitive creeds are not obsolete or fossilized opinions, of no practical importance, but are the most popular, characteristic, and energetic principles of action in the Roman system.

Has anything occurred which alters the position of the Church of England with regard to these "dogmas imposed by the decrees of Papal Councils"?

Mr. Gladstone, it is true, in his recent letter on Anglican Orders, referring to the changes introduced by the movement of Newman and Pusey, stated that "a very large part of these improvements has lain in a direction which has diminished the breadth of separation between ourselves and the authorized teaching of the unreformed Church both in east and west, so that while on the one hand they were improvements in religious doctrine and life, on the other hand they were testimonials recorded against ourselves and in favour of bodies outside our own precinct—that is to say, they were valuable contributions to the cause of Christian reunion." In other words, Newman and Pusey brought their followers near the Roman and Greek Churches. It is true, also, that the President of the English Church Union, speaking for himself and the section of the Church of England which he represents, says that there is now no serious difference in opinion or sentiment between themselves and the Church of Rome. But it is also true, and this is of far greater importance, that if the estimable and beloved members of that section of the Church were to make any real attempt to alter the Prayer Book and formularies of the Church of England so as to bring them into harmony with these new opinions, they would be trying to perform an impossibility. The very mention of such an idea causes the more prudent of the party to beg the rash speaker to be silent. The Church of England has not moved. Not to speak of the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Prayer Book is inspired from beginning to end by views of Christian truth directly incompatible with the teaching which, after centuries of development, was finally crystallized by the decrees of the Council of Trent. The Prayer Book remains as the Reformers left it, with few and unimportant changes. Our good friends the followers of Newman and Pusey have every right to speak for themselves, but they have not the right to speak for the Church of England.

What then has happened? Has the Church of Rome been re-

considering its doctrinal position? Has it been holding a Council to modify the Council of Trent, and to give up the Creed of Pope Pius IV.? Nothing of the kind has taken place. Or have the authorities of the Church of England, after public and deliberate discussion, determined, with the consent of its members generally, to approach the Pope and the Roman Curia with a view to the discussion of their differences? On the contrary, the Archbishop of Canterbury declared last year, once more, that "any corporate union with Rome, so long as she retains her distinctive and erroneous doctrines, and advances her present unprimitive and unscriptural claims, is absolutely visionary and impossible." Bishop after bishop has said the same. The words of the Committee of Bishops at the Lambeth Conference in 1888 have lost neither truth nor importance: "The Committee with deep regret felt that under present conditions it was useless to consider the question of reunion with our brethren of the Roman Church, being painfully aware that any proposal for reunion would be entertained by the authorities of that Church only on condition of a complete submission on our part to those claims of absolute authority, and the acceptance of those other errors, both in doctrine, and in discipline, against which, in faithfulness to God's Holy Word, and to the true principles of His Church, we have been for three centuries bound to protest."

What, then, has happened? Lord Halifax, President of the English Church Union and chief lay leader of the Ritualistic movement, spent the winter of 1889-90 in Madeira. There he met a French Roman Catholic priest, the Abbé Portal, with whom he frequently discussed the position and claims of the Church of England. The Abbé found Lord Halifax much more in harmony with him than he expected; and Lord Halifax, from his point of view, was able to give him a very different view of the Church of England from that which he had previously entertained. They agreed that the discussion of the question of the validity of English Orders would form a good beginning for making the members of the Church of Rome and the Church of England better acquainted. The Abbé on his return to France studied the subject, and published a treatise on English Orders under the name of Fernand Dalbus. As to the historical fact of the succession, especially the consecration of Barlow, the pamphlet was favourable; as to the Ordinal, it concluded that in itself it might be considered sufficient, but the departure made by the Church of England from the Church of Rome in the form and matter of the Sacraments decided him against the validity of our Orders. The Abbé Duchesne, however, on the assumption that the facts stated by the Abbé Portal were correct, pronounced in the

Bulletin Critique in favour of the view of validity; and interest began to be aroused in the subject both in Italy and France.

In July, 1894, the Abbé Portal visited England, and was made acquainted by Lord Halifax with various cathedrals, churches, bishops, clergy, the Cowley Fathers, certain theological colleges, and the like. Lord Halifax states that he could only give him a one-sided view of the Church of England; and that he told him that there was another side which could not, and ought not to be, neglected.

On his return to France the Abbé received a message from Cardinal Rampolla, Secretary of State to the Pope, expressing interest in the pamphlet, and inviting him to Rome. In conversations with the Pope and Cardinal suggestions were made as to approaching the authorities of the Church of England on the subject of validity. The Abbé, with his one-sided experience, impressed the Pope very favourably as to the Romeward condition of the Church of England. For example, the party to which Lord Halifax belongs believe that the Reformers had no intention of altering the Sacrifice of the Mass into a Communion Service, but only expressed an objection to Masses in the plural; and the Papal recognition of English Orders would, to a considerable extent, turn on the question whether the Reformers, in their Ordination Service, intended the clergy to offer the Sacrifice of the Mass or not. The Abbé's views, derived from Lord Halifax, would present this important point in a Romeward sense. The Pope was inclined to be amiable, and intended to ask the Abbé Duchesne to prepare a memorandum for his information.

The English Roman Catholics, however, who were familiar with the whole aspect of the Church of England and not merely with one side of it, sent a very different account to Rome. *The Tablet*, in a series of some eighteen articles, showed from our authoritative documents how strongly opposed to the Roman doctrines the Reformers intended them to be. As a matter of fact their repudiation of the Mass in the singular is far more frequent than of Masses in the plural. They make no distinction whatever between them. "What hath been the cause of this mummish Massing but ignorance?" (Homily 27, Part i.) "Thou needest no other man's help, no other sacrifice or oblation, no sacrificing priest, no Mass." (*Ibid.*) "Christ commended to His church a Sacrament of His body and blood; they have changed it into a sacrifice for the quick and dead." (Homily 28.) "We must then take heed lest of a memory it be made a sacrifice." (Homily on the Sacraments.) "There is set up a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice, to satisfy and pay the price of sins." (Bishop Ridley,

Works, p. 52.) "*Q.* 'In the Mass is the lively Sacrifice of the Mass available?' *A.* 'I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous.'" (Bishop Ridley, pp. 206-211.) Ridley in another place protests against the confusing "distinction of the bloody and unbloody Sacrifice: as though our unbloody sacrifice of the Church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; than a commemoration, a showing forth, and a sacramental representation of that one only bloody sacrifice, offered up once for all." And Cranmer (Works, i. 347): "I was in divers errors . . . the sacrifice propitiatory of the priest in the Mass." A recent writer (the Rev. N. Dimock) has cited a catena of some 124 authorities of the English Church to the same effect, including, in addition to those whom I have already mentioned, Tyndale, Bishop Geste, Bishop Hooper, Jewel, Coverdale, the Archbishops and Bishops of 1560, the Archbishops and Bishops in Ireland in 1566, Archbishop Parker, Bishop Pilkington, Dean Nowell, Archbishop Grindal, Archbishop Sandys, Archbishop Whitgift, Hooker, Archbishop Bancroft, Bishop Andrewes, Archbishop Laud, the Canons of 1640, Bishop Hall, Bishop Sanderson, Hammond, Heylyn, Archbishop Bramhall, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Cosin, Archbishop Leighton, Archbishop Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Waterland, and many other names of the greatest weight. It is quite impossible that the distinction imagined by the Ritualists between Mass in the singular and Masses in the plural, and the retention of the former by the Church of England while it condemned the latter, could have remained unknown to all these writers. They all condemn the Mass itself. *The Tablet* has done good service to the cause of truth in taking care that the Pope should be properly informed on this crucial point.

In the meantime the Abbé Duchesne drew up his memorandum, pronouncing that on the historical ground he considered English Orders valid; and his opinion was confirmed by Monsignor Gasparri, Professor of Canon Law at the Catholic Institute of Paris. The next step was the visit of Lord Halifax and his friend Mr. Birkbeck to Rome, where they had several interviews with the Pope. It appears that the Holy Office had very nearly been persuaded to pronounce the Abbé Duchesne's opinion "temerarious," which would have put an end to the question; but Lord Halifax's influence with the Pope was such that he postponed this decision, and ordered a committee of enquiry. In addition to this a Latin work, *De Hierarchiâ Anglicanâ*, has been published for continental use by two clergymen of the English Church, the Rev. T. A. Lacey and the Rev. E. Denny, with a preface by the

Bishop of Salisbury, stating the case for validity. It is understood that the Committee have reported to the Pope, that the Pope has referred the report to the Sacred College for the individual opinions of the Cardinals, and that Mr. Lacey and another member of the Ritualistic School have been interviewing the Cardinals and impressing them with their own view of the Church of England position. As far as historical grounds are concerned, it seems not unlikely that the learned Roman Catholics may advise the Pope that English Orders have been properly transmitted; on theological grounds, the probability seems the other way. The extremely favourable disposition of the Pope, Cardinal Rampolla, and the Abbé Portal are obviously due to the Ritualistic representation of the doctrine of the Church of England; their satisfaction must be less when they have learnt that these views do not extend beyond the limits of the English Church Union, and that they are not sustained either by the formularies or the history of the Church of England.

Lord Halifax has put this with his accustomed frankness. "One thing above all others is necessary. The Pope and the Roman authorities must be convinced that members of the English Church, in putting forward the question of the validity of English Orders, are actuated by an honest and sincere desire *to remove an impediment out of the way of future union*, and are not merely desirous of strengthening their own position." And yet to effect this the whole Roman system would have to be reviewed and reformed. Nothing could be more impracticable. As was said last year by the learned and High Church Bishop of Edinburgh to his clergy: "What the Church of Rome holds to be truth she never for one moment will compromise or explain away. As each new dogma has been added to her creed, it secures a place co-ordinate in certainty and authority for her own children with the doctrines that seem to us most clearly revealed in Holy Scripture. She teaches no doctrine that might be recalled, revised, modified, explained away. For the purposes of diplomatic negotiations with other religious communities she suffers from the very considerable *inconvenience of infallibility*. If two parties differ, and one is, *ex hypothesi*, always right on the fundamental points in dispute, it is plain that there can be but one issue to any successful effort at making up the difference. Union with Rome means, simply, acceptance of her creed and submission to her authority. What some of us venture to call 'her errors,' are with her immutable and irreformable expressions of Divine truth, having all the authority of God Himself. It comes, then, simply to this: Can we surrender the principles for which the Anglican Church has steadily contended for the last 350 years? Or, Can we hold the doctrines of our

Church, and with a due regard for the ordinary and rational rules by which historical documents are interpreted, can we reconcile the sense of our historical and authoritative standards of doctrine with the authoritative doctrine of the Church of Rome? The only answer to each question is—*It is impossible.*"

Other attempts at reunion have been made and have always failed for the same reason. The Emperor Ferdinand II. (successor of Charles V.) and his successor Maximilian, both laboured for a reconciliation between the Lutherans and the Roman Church, employing the pen of the Belgian professor Cassander. Their efforts, which involved a retreat from the Roman position, were met by vigorous rejection on the part of Rome. Other eirenicons were composed by Erasmus, Staphylus, Grotius, Duræus, Hall, Calixtus, Davenant, Molanus, and Leibniz; in France by Gentien Hervet, D'Espenser, and l'Hopital. The Jesuits, and Popes Paul IV., Pius V. and Paul V. showed no inclination to yield. The negotiations of Leibniz on the part of the Lutherans and Spinola on the part of Rome were better received in the time of Pope Innocent XI., but Bossuet and the French intervened and brought them to an end.

Some of the later Non-juring Bishops in the early part of the eighteenth century took steps towards establishing communion between themselves and the Greek Church. But the death of Peter the Great, and the subsequent extinction of the Non-juring Episcopate, closed the affair.

In 1718 the Jansenists, headed by Dupin, formerly Professor of Divinity in the Sorbonne, approached Archbishop Wake with a view to a union between the Gallican Church and the Church of England, through the mediation of Mr. Beauvoir, Chaplain to Lord Stair, then English Ambassador at Paris. Archbishop Wake was careful to show that the Church of England could not consent to Roman additions to the primitive creeds; but the negotiations continued some time, until the Jesuits took alarm, and on the demand of the Government the Sorbonne was forced to surrender the whole correspondence, which, on the 10th of February, 1719, was seized and sent to Rome, where the whole affair was condemned.

In 1857 was formed the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom as a part of the Oxford Movement. Its action is chiefly confined to the encouragement of intercession for its object. The aim of many of its members is to bring to its completion the movement directed by Dr. Pusey, to place the Church of England in the doctrinal standpoint of the time before the Reformation, and to establish entire and unrestricted communion between the Church of England and the Church of Rome,

as well as the unreformed Churches of the East. It is as a part of this movement that Lord Halifax wishes his enterprise to be viewed. He and his friends long that their confessions abroad may be received by Roman priests, and that they may worship and communicate at Roman altars.

What would be the result if he were successful? Directly, nothing at all. English clergymen on joining the Church of Rome would still require re-ordination. Our Ordination Service, even if regarded as conveying the succession of Orders, would, it is understood, be considered defective for Roman purposes. Members of the English Church would still be excommunicated because that Church repudiates the doctrines of the Council of Trent, the Supremacy of the Pope, his infallibility, and the Immaculate Conception. Until those doctrines should be admitted by the English Church, its members would still be formally schismatics and heretics. The aspiration of receiving absolution from Roman Priests and of communicating at Roman altars would still be unfulfilled.

Indirectly, the effect to the Ritualistic party would be considerable. Those who, like the Ritualists, attribute paramount importance to the machinery of ecclesiastical organization, have always felt nervous about the position of the Church of England, anathematized by the largest body of Christians in the world, the 192 millions of the Roman Church. The Ritualistic party would be greatly encouraged by the suggested recognition. The moment is to them one of intense interest. Their confidence in their position would be strengthened. Individual conversions to Rome would be fewer. They would labour with renewed hope to promote what they have called the Counter-Reformation, and to bring, as Mr. Gladstone says, the reformed nearer and nearer to the un-reformed Church. However sincerely they may assure Cardinal Rampolla that they do not desire to strengthen their own ground, but to hasten the day for which the Pope in his *Letter to the English* prays to the Virgin Mary, ("that with us in the one true fold [the Roman communion] they may be united to the Supreme Shepherd, the Vicar of Thy Son"), it is inevitable that the recognition of validity would make them more trustful in their own ecclesiastical legitimacy. In the meantime the English Church will never as a whole accept the Roman claims; so that as a net result the Roman Church would lose rather than gain by its act of self-reproach and condescension.

It seems strange that a negotiation of such importance, and in which it is of critical moment that the exact position of the Church of England should be definitely and clearly stated and

understood, should be conducted secretly, by private persons, with a strong bias against the historical standpoint of the majority of English Churchmen, and without commission from the authoritative Councils of the Church. Many of us have a feeling of impatience, not to say indignation, at the idea of the Church of England being supposed to be humbly knocking, in the persons of these unaccredited and self-appointed negotiators, however excellent and estimable in themselves, at the doors of the Church of Rome, and begging for recognition from a Church of whose doctrines and practices we can hardly trust ourselves to speak, and which is daily and hourly waging a campaign to undermine and overthrow our own national Communion. If there are to be negotiations, let them be conducted in the open, by the proper authorities on both sides, and with the full facts of the case ready for discussion. But, however that may be, the danger that might result from such an enterprise to the loyalty and sincerity of the Church of England at large is almost nothing. There is not the smallest chance of the English people, having once gone through the throes of the Reformation, returning to the despotism and superstition of the Roman obedience. The worst that could happen would be that the section of the Church which sympathizes with the negotiations, and which yearns for a recognition for the same reasons as the negotiators, should be mistaken by the general public for the great body of the Church.

There is a unity for which we ought all to be working and praying; and that is, union with each other by union with Christ. We can labour and pray in the words of the Communion Service that all who confess God's Holy name may agree in the truth of His Holy Word. It cost us great struggles and much bloodshed to return to the simple truth of primitive times; and we have no intention of being persuaded once more to embrace the errors from which God's Holy Spirit then freed our Church. We pray in the words which are used every time Convocation is opened: "Seeing that we all, according to the rule of our holy Reformation, have deservedly and seriously repudiated the errors, corruptions, and superstitions which formerly walked abroad in this land, and the Papal tyranny, grant us firmly and with constancy to hold the Apostolic and truly Catholic Faith, and to serve Thee fitly and fearlessly with a pure worship." We pray earnestly that the Church of Rome may have grace and enlightenment to cast off the additions which she has made to the primitive creed of Christendom. But as Catholics in the true sense of the word, we say with one of the greatest of living theologians, Dr. Salmon, of Trinity College, Dublin, "By Protestant I mean one who has examined

the Roman claims, and has reason to think them groundless; one who knows that there are great and precious truths on which we agree with the Church of Rome, but also points of difference so grave and fundamental as to justify our remaining in separate communion. If the Church of England be not, in this sense of the word, Protestant, her position cannot be defended at all." True unity can never be promoted by the sacrifice of Truth.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.*

FEW modern writers have roused a stronger feeling of personal affection than O. W. Holmes. His friends, known and unknown, have naturally looked forward to a life which might be complementary to the autobiography implicitly contained in his writings. Mr. Morse, to whom it has fallen to supply this want, apologizes by anticipation for partially disappointing their expectations. They will ask, he thinks, for more correspondence, and his answer is the very conclusive one that more correspondence is not forthcoming. Dr. Holmes, it appears, disliked letter-writing; and, although he systematically replied to hosts of unknown admirers, wrote comparatively little to his own circle of intimates. The unknown admirers appear to have kept his answers to themselves, considering them as autographs or literary curiosities not to be dignified as "letters." I certainly regret with Mr. Morse that more of these documents have not been sent to him. He might have formed from them a book which I have often desiderated,—a model letter-writer for the use of editors. It would have been exceedingly welcome. The problem how to tell a young author plainly that his rhymes are rubbish, and yet give no pain to an innocent aspirant, has weighed upon the souls of many sitters in the critical chair. A young author once showed me letters from two of the most distinguished men of the time, one of whom, while not committing himself, somehow suggested that he might be addressing the coming Shakespeare; while the other roundly declared that most lads had put better work in their waste-paper basket. They meant much the same thing, and Dr. Holmes was one of the few men who might have fused the two letters and combined the courtesy with the wholesome truth. I, for one, should have been glad to have had the secret communicated, or, at least, a few examples given of the method. It is some comfort to one who has failed to be told that even Holmes' good-nature was sometimes requited with abuse. In any case, as Mr. Morse had not the

* *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes.* By John T. Morse, Jun., author of *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, &c. With Portraits, Facsimiles, and other Illustrations. 2 vols., crown 8vo, 900 pp., cloth extra, gilt top, 18s. London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co.

materials, his excuse is unanswerable. One good result is that the life is given in two volumes of modest size; and for the record of so simple a history that seems to be ample. We do not, perhaps, know very much more than an attentive reader could infer from Dr. Holmes' own writings; but the facts are brought together in a definite and authentic shape, and combined in a simple and agreeable narrative.

Every reader of the *Autocrat* has his own distinct image of the author. As he remarks himself in a characteristic passage, there are three people on each side of every dialogue; the real John, and John's ideal John, and Peter's John; and no doubt there may be a real Holmes, different both from the Holmes of Holmes' own imagination and the reader's Holmes. There are, however, very few people of whom one believes that the three have a more substantial identity. The true man, as everyone remarks, shows himself with all his idiosyncrasies in every page of his writing. This suggests certain difficulties for the writer. Mr. Morse observes that the true Holmes was a New Englander "from the central thread of his marrow to his outermost rind." That is undeniable; but Mr. Morse proceeds to answer that nagging critic, who is invisibly present whenever one writes, and who hereupon suggests that Holmes was provincial. Mr. Morse replies that no creative writer, except Shakespeare, who has been cosmopolitan has also made himself a "place in the hearts of mankind." I should myself begin by denying that Shakespeare was an exception. Nobody, surely, ever reflected more fully and faithfully the great imaginative movement of his own time; and, if we knew the people of Stratford-on-Avon and the frequenters of the Globe Theatre as we know the people of Scott's Edinburgh, I suspect that we should recognize the Shallows and the Falstaffs of the plays as clearly as we recognize Scott's friends in the Waverley Novels. Or to drop Shakespeare, who is apt, I sometimes fancy, to intrude a little too often, was there ever anyone who was at once more full of personal and local idiosyncrasies, and, at the same time, more thoroughly "cosmopolitan," than Montaigne?—one of the numerous list of authors to whom, as Mr. Morse reminds us, Holmes has been compared. A man surely need not cease to be cosmopolitan because he is provincial, any more than he ceases to be an athlete because he plays the game of his country—cricket in England and baseball in America. What interests us in the sport is the display of strength and activity which may be shown in one game as well as another. The great writer is great because he displays a powerful intellect or a vivid imagination, and does not cease to be great because he applies his reasoning to particular questions or casts his imagery into the artistic mould of the day.

There are obvious dangers in "provincialism." A man shut up in a village may be ignorant of the thoughts that are stirring outside; he may express himself in a dialect unintelligible to the larger world, or his mind may be atrophied for want of collision and excitement, and he may therefore limit himself to trifles interesting to a petty circle alone. But every man has got to be incarnate at a particular time and place, and to apply his mind to the questions which are stirring there. Holmes was not the less a New Englander because he was also an individual; nor the less a citizen of the great world because he belonged to this particular province. The New England of his day, whatever its limitations, was seething with important movements as interesting, in slightly different applications, on this side of the Atlantic as well as on the other; and the fact that Holmes looked at them from a New England point of view does not show that he did not appreciate their wider significance.

His characteristic nationality has, however, one result; namely, that in criticizing Holmes one seems to be criticizing New England or the United States. That is always a little awkward for an Englishman. To speak of Americans is to steer between opposite difficulties. One fears to fall into the old tone, when poor Mrs. Trollope and the critics of her day roused all the wrath of the democrat under the sneers of kid-gloved gentility, while, on the opposite side, there are certain commonplaces about Shakespeare and community of race, which are not precisely true, and are apt to be flung back contemptuously in one's face. There is a more personal difficulty for such Englishmen as have received the hospitality of the society which Holmes frequented. Those to whom the name recalls the actual presence or the vivid memory of Emerson and Hawthorne and Longfellow and Lowell, can hardly trust themselves to speak with due critical coolness. A writer, especially one who has many recollections, which, for good reasons, he is unwilling to manufacture into "reminiscences," almost feels his tongue tied. I think of a young gentleman who, in the heat of the Civil War, was most courteously welcomed by the men I have mentioned, and who is half afraid to give full utterance to feelings which might seem overstrained, and yet equally anxious not to appear deficient in warmth of gratitude. I will, however, venture to make a few of the remarks about Holmes which are suggested by this biography; though I am not quite sure whether the vividness of certain very pleasant memories is a qualification or the reverse.

I have said that Holmes' career was singularly simple. He was born in 1809, and passed a long life almost continuously at Boston and the immediate neighbourhood, his only long absence being

caused by two years of medical studies at Paris. On returning he set up as a physician without obtaining much practice. He married in 1840, in 1847 became professor in the medical school at Harvard, and held the office for thirty-five years. He retired in 1882, at the age of seventy-three, and survived as a venerated and happy old man till 1894. His works are not voluminous; and, though he had published some of his best verses before he was thirty, he was nearly fifty before he began the series of essays which really made him famous. Few popular authors have had a narrower escape from obscurity. He would, in any case, have been remembered in his own circle as a brilliant talker, and there would have been some curiosity as to the writer of the *Last Leaf* and two or three other poems. But had it not been for the judicious impulse given by his friend Lowell which induced him to make his appearance as the "autocrat," his reputation would have resembled that of Wolfe, of "not a drum was beat" celebrity. Who, it would have been asked, was the author of the few lines which we all know by heart? and we should have turned up the article devoted to him in a biographical dictionary. But he would not have revealed himself with that curious completeness upon which all his critics have remarked. He often heard, as he says in an interesting letter, that he "had unlocked the secret of some heart which others, infinitely more famous, infinitely more entitled to claim the freedom, have failed to find opening for them." He cannot help believing that "there is some human tone in his written voice which sometimes finds a chord not often set vibrating." The secret of this gift is not hard to penetrate, though this biography will enable readers to understand it a little more fully. He remarks in the same letter that his life was "rather solitary than social"; and the society which he did frequent was not in one of the greatest centres of intellectual movement. In certain ways, too, even Bostonians must admit that the social atmosphere was of a kind to nip some of the luxuriant growths congenial to older abodes of art and letters. Holmes' attachment to his surroundings was as keen as if the conditions had been of the most genial. Indeed, he illustrates what has become a commonplace. Americans, as Colonel Chester proved, often take with special enthusiasm to genealogy; although the interest of the study would at first sight appear to be less in a country where the claims of long descent are supposed to be ridiculous. This perhaps illustrates the principle which accounts for Scottish skill in gardening. The materials to be mastered are not so multitudinous, and when you cannot trust to nature your own energy may be stimulated. So Holmes cherished whatever could be called historically interesting in his own country, because the supply of the appropriate material was so

limited. Men who live in the shadow of Westminster Abbey or go to universities which the great men of many centuries have filled with associations, are apt to become a little bored with the topic. Holmes loved the old "gambrel-roofed house" in which he was born all the more because a house which existed at the time of Washington represented exceptional antiquity in America. The deluge of growing civilization sweeps away such relics of the past so rapidly that their scarcity gives them exceptional value. The buildings of Andover Academy and of the Harvard University are not, in themselves, comparable to Eton or to King's College, Cambridge. But they represent the only persistent thread of historical continuity in the country, and the affection which they excite is proportioned, not to their absolute grandeur or antiquity, but to the degree in which they have to satisfy whatever instinctive affections there may be in their alumni. Holmes certainly loved his old home, and cherished his school and college associations as ardently as if he had been born in a Norman manor-house or played his boyish games under the statue of Henry VI. As he grew up his patriotism did not diminish in intensity. All that happened was that he became qualified to catch its comic aspects. When the "young fellow they call John" laid down the famous proposition that "Boston State House is the hub of the solar system," and adds that "you couldn't pry that out of a Boston man if you had the tire of all creation straightened out for a crowbar," the autocrat accepts the "satire of the remark," and admits that the "axis of the earth sticks out visibly through the centre of each and every town and city." But he does not pretend to conceal that the sentiment, outrageous if literally accepted, tickles his fancy agreeably. When we drink a man's health after dinner, we often express an estimate of his virtues which we might sometimes shrink from maintaining in cold blood. Yet our sentiment may be essentially genuine, though we have dropped some implied qualifications. Holmes as a man shares the young fellow's enthusiasm, though he wishes us to understand that he is aware in cold blood that it is not quite the whole truth. The little deformed gentleman in the *Professor* gives a still more vigorous mouthpiece of the same sentiment. "A new race, and a whole new world for the newborn human soul to work in! And Boston is the brain of it, and has been any time these hundred years! That's all I claim for Boston, that it is the thinking centre of the continent and therefore of the planet!"—in which respect its superiority to Philadelphia and New York is easily demonstrated. The little gentleman is one of Holmes' most spirited characters, and makes a very convenient organ for the utterance of opinions not to be turned into serious dogmas—but

also not to be overlooked. Boston is an ideal as well as a real city; it represents "the American principle," whatever that may precisely be. It is the three-hilled city as opposed to the seven-hilled city or reason against Rome. Democratic America has a different humanity from feudal Europe "and so must have a new divinity." Religion has to be "Americanized," and Boston is in the van of the struggle.

This might suggest a good many remarks for which Holmes would, perhaps, leave his deformed gentleman to reply. He has not committed himself to an unreserved support of a personage who reflects only one of his moods. One point, however, has to be noticed. Holmes, like others, had revolted against Calvinism as represented by the Westminster Confession. Many pages in his essays are directed against the old-fashioned creed; and, as we are told, made him the object of warm denunciations by the orthodox. Young people, Mr. Morse informs us, were forbidden to read the *Autocrat*, and *Elsie Venner* was regarded as a dangerous manifesto. This, it must be admitted, sounds strange at the present day. Were any books ever more obviously harmless? People who remember certain English controversies about Maurice, which happened a little before the appearance of the *Autocrat*, may succeed in understanding why, in the country of the Puritans, Holmes should have passed for a heresiarch. Yet it now requires an effort to put oneself in that position, and certainly Holmes' remarks would now hardly excite a shudder in the best regulated families. Still they represented what seems to have been the most important passage of his mental history. The old Puritanism, one may guess, appeared to him in a new light when he had sat at the feet of Parisian professors. The old Boston, at any rate, was not quite the "hub of the universe" in the physiologist's point of view; and he fancied, when the old and the new currents met, a good deal of the sediment of old-fashioned dogma would be precipitated. Still, the old problem which Calvinism had answered in its own way came up in a new form. The doctrine of hereditary sin might be abandoned, but the problems of scientific "heredity" took its place. Jonathan Edwards' discussions of moral responsibility have a serious meaning when they are dissociated from the ghastly visions of hell-fire. Holmes gave more place to these controversies than some of his readers liked; and I need say nothing as to the merit of his own conclusions. They interest us chiefly because they gave rise to that provoking book, *Elsie Venner*. I call it "provoking" merely because it will not square nicely with any orthodox canons of criticism. In the first place, it has an air of being didactic, or is a book with a tendency, or, in the old-fashioned phrase, is a novel with a purpose. I confess that I

should have no objection to it upon that ground. I always found *Sandford and Merton* a delightful work in my childhood, and I partly preserve that degrading taste. I like books with a moral. Some authors, it is true, are cramped by their morals, and occasionally tripped up into flat absurdity. Still, a writer often gets a certain unction from the delusion that he is preaching as well as story-telling; and so long as anyone is working with a will, and defying the critics and all their ways, he has the root of the matter in him. Holmes, it must be remarked, did not suppose that he was proving anything in *Elsie Venner;* he recognized the truth of the axiom propounded in the *Rose and the Ring* that blank verse is not argument; and the imaginary behaviour of an impossible being cannot possibly lead to any conclusion. When we meet a being who is half woman and half a snake it will be time to settle the moral code for judging her. Holmes, in fact, says in his prefaces that he only took an imaginary case in order to call attention to the same difficulty in the common course of things. To that I can see no objection. Clearly, every great tragedy involves some interesting question of casuistry; and casuistry may repay the debt by suggesting a good plot for a novel. The only question is, whether the extravagant hypothesis, be it purely fantastic or contrived to illustrate a point in ethics, has really been turned to good account. Here I confess to a conflict of feeling which, I suspect, is shared by others. The book makes me read it just whenever I take it up, and yet I am never satisfied. Perhaps it is that I want more rattlesnake; I want to have the thrill which my ancestors felt when they told legends of were-wolves; I wish the snake-woman to be as poetical as Coleridge's Geraldine, to tremble while I read, and to be encouraged in my belief by such an infusion of science as will reconcile me to the surroundings of the nineteenth century in New England. That is, no doubt, to wish at the lowest that Holmes could have been combined with Hawthorne—not to suggest the creator of Caliban—and that their qualities could have coalesced with as little interference as those of Elsie and the snake. So much is suggested that one wants a more complete achievement. The fact is simply, I suppose, that Holmes had not the essential quality of the inspired novelist. He did not get fairly absorbed in his story and feel as though he were watching, instead of contriving, the development of a situation. That, for example, is the way in which Richardson declares himself to have written, and which partly explains the fascination to our forefathers of his moralizing and long-winded narratives. Holmes is distinctly a spectator from outside, and his attention is too easily distracted. I do not, in the cast object to a novelist discoursing or supplying comments if it

be his natural vein; I am not simple-minded enough to care for the loss of the illusion. But the novelist should not give an analysis in place of a concrete picture, or wander into irrelevant remarks. Now, Holmes' intellect is so lively and unruly that the poor snake-lady gets too often squeezed into the background. He is struck by the peculiarities of New England villages, their houses, or their "cólations," or their "hired men," and is immediately plunged into vivacious descriptions and disquisitions. We have to change moods too rapidly: to feel on one page a shudder at the uncanny being, with something not human looking out of her eyes; and, on the next, to be laughing at the queer social jumble of a village gathering. If, in spite of these artistic defects, the book somehow takes so firm a grasp of one's memory, it is the stronger proof of the excellence of the materials which form so curious a mosaic. After all, the writer never goes to sleep, and that is a merit which redeems a good many faults of design.

One condition of the excellence of the *Autocrat* and its successors is of course that in them this irrepressible vivacity and versatility finds in him a thoroughly appropriate field. They have, as we see at once, the merits of the best conversation. Mr. Morse, in speaking of this, assures us that Holmes' talk was still better than his writing. We have unfortunately to take such statements on faith. No one, except Boswell, has ever succeeded in the difficult task of giving us a convincingly accurate report of conversation, or rather of something better than a report—a dramatic presentation of the position which would be lost in a detailed account. Would the talk at the "club" have been as impressive as it appears if we could have it reproduced by phonograph? Locke, it is said, once wrote down the actual words of Shaftesbury and some great men of the day, to show them how trivial it looked on paper. The moral was, if I remember rightly, that they ought to talk about the origin of ideas instead of discussing their hands at cards. But I fear that the test, if applied to the very best of talk, would have a depressing effect. The actual words would be depressingly flat when dribbled out at a century's distance. The brilliant things, even of the most brilliant talker, are exceptional flashes; they are the few diamonds among a mass of pebbles, and generally want a good deal of polishing before they get moulded into the famous gems which we admire. The actual talk includes all the approximations and the ramblings round about the point. The "master-bowman," as Tennyson puts it, may come at last and hit the target in the centre; but even he generally wastes a good many arrows in the process. Then, of course, half the effect of most good talk is dramatic; its success depends not only upon what is said, but upon what is omitted and upon the mental attitude at the moment of the other players in

the game. As Holmes says himself, "the whole force of conversation depends on how much you can take for granted"—that is, in your hearers. I have no doubt of the excellence of Holmes' talk; but it was, I guess, partly due to the fact that it was part of a spontaneous concert. Talking is, as Holmes said, "one of the fine arts," and it is one which requires above all things a harmonious co-operation. The hearers must join themselves, and must also act as an effective sounding-board. They must catch the ball quickly, and return it nimbly, or the best performer will flag.

Holmes found his best co-operators in his famous "Saturday Club." He was always referring to it fondly, and Mr. Morse produces various testimonies to its merits. Lowell said that he had never seen equally good society in London. Colonel Higginson observes that Holmes and Lowell were the most brilliant talkers he ever heard, but suggests a qualification of this comparison. They had not, he says, "the London art of repression," and monopolized the talk too much. They could, he intimates, overlook the claims of their interlocutors. He once heard Lowell demonstrating to the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that *Tom Jones* was the best novel ever written; while Holmes was proving to her husband, the divinity professor, that the pulpit was responsible for all the swearing. Dr. and Mrs. Beecher Stowe, it is implied, must have been reduced to ciphers before they could be the passive recipients of such doctrine. In spite of this, I can easily believe that the Club deserved its fame. The "art of repression," I fancy, is very often superfluous in London. Conversation in ever-shifting crowds requires stimulation more often than restraint, and it is sometimes as hard to set talk going in the fortuitous concurrence of human atoms at a large party as to start a real exchange of ideas in an excursion train. The best talk that I have ever heard has certainly been in obscure corners, where a few friends meet habitually, and distribute their parts instinctively. A society which included all the best scholars and men of genius within reach of Boston had abundance of the raw material of talk. They might be compared in point of talent even with the men who met Johnson at the "Turk's Head," and certainly had as great a variety of interests in men and books. They had, it would seem, fewer jealousies, or, as the sneerer would put it, were readier for "mutual admiration"; and such admiration, when it has a fair excuse, is the best security for forming the kind of soil in which the flower of talk grows spontaneously.

Talk, said Holmes, is "to me only spading up the ground for crops of thought." He was half the time "interviewing himself" and looking for his own thoughts, "as a school-boy turns his pockets inside out to find what is in them." The *Autocrat* is the outcome of this investigation. It might have been more amusing to watch

the actual process; but a reader may be content to get the fine extract. Holmes, as he intimates himself, was his own Boswell. He had a quaint satisfaction in following the career of Johnson, whose age differed by exactly a century from his own, and missed an old companion when he outlived his parallel. It would be absurd to make a comparison, as a Johnson fused with a Boswell would have been a singularly different person. Indeed, the most obvious peculiarity of Holmes' mind is one to which his ponderous predecessor could make no pretension. Johnson went into conversation like a gladiator into the arena; and if Holmes could have met him the pair would have been like a Spanish bull encountered by a dexterous picador. Holmes would have been over his head and behind his back, and stabbing him on the flank with all manner of ingenious analogies, and with squibs and crackers of fancy instead of meeting the massive charge face to face. To invent an imaginary conversation between the two is altogether beyond my powers, and I can only hope that it is taking place somewhere in Elysium. Holmes' most peculiar excellence is foreshadowed in a passage which Boswell quotes from Barrow's sermon's as applicable to Wilkes. "Facetiousness," as Barrow says, among other things, "raiseth admiration as signifying a nimble sagacity of apprehension, a special felicity of invention, a vivacity of spirit and reach of wit more than vulgar; it seeming to argue a rare quickness of parts, that one can fetch in remote conceits applicable: a notable skill that he can dexterously accommodate them to the purpose before him; together with a lively briskness of humour, not apt to damp those sportful flashes of imagination. Whence in Aristotle—" but there I had better stop. Barrow probably knew Holmes as pre-existing in one of the ancestors who transmitted to him the power of "fetching in remote conceits." The *Autocrat* might suggest a series of riddles or problems for some future examiner in English literature. Why is controversy like the Hydrostatic Paradox? Why is a poem like a meerschaum? What is the "very obvious" resemblance between the pupil of the eye and the mind of the bigot? In what respects may truths be properly compared to dice and lies to marbles? Why should a trustworthy friend be like a cheap watch? How does the proper treatment for Guinea-worm illustrate the best mode of treating habitual drunkards? The answers to these and many equally ingenious parallels illustrate Holmes' power of perceiving analogies; and show, too, how his talent had been polished in the conversational arena. The commonest weakness of popular writers in the eyes of severe critics is that they resemble barristers addressing dull juries. Such an one feels that he must not simply state a reason, but pound it into a thick head by repetition. If a joke seems to be answer-

ing, he makes it again and again till the stare of puzzled suspicion that the man may be not quite serious passes into the broad grin of steady conviction that he is actually making a joke. The instrument upon which Holmes had performed, the circle of congenial friends, was, of course, far more responsive. Still an after-dinner criticism requires to be played with and flashed in different lights if it is to win the ear of the party. In that act of dexterously manipulating a subtle analogy, playing with it long enough to excite attention, and yet not so long as to bore the intelligent, Holmes had certainly become a master.

Wit of this kind has a close affinity to logic; and Holmes is the man of science playing with a weapon available for more serious purposes. According to himself, he played with it a little too much in his professional capacity. A man who could say that the "smallest fevers would be thankfully received" had not the excessive gravity which we desire in our medical advisers. In some hands the danger would be rather that the wit would be too heavily weighted with the logic. Holmes succeeded in making his logic sparkle and play over the surface of his sentiment; and achieved the feat happily described by his friend Thomas Appleton—famous for many good sayings—by the remark that he had "put the electricity of the climate into words." The force which may crush a fallacy can also coruscate like mild summer lightning. This logical tendency makes a characteristic difference between Holmes and Charles Lamb, the most obvious parallel to him in our own language. Holmes, as became a quick logician, was an unequivocal lover of clearness and common-sense. He may play with an extravagance, as in the case of Boston, but he is anxious always to show that he sees its extravagance. Lamb loves the quaint and grotesque for its own sake; falls in love with his prejudices; delights in yielding to them unreservedly, and caressing them and flouting the reasonable matter-of-fact person, the solid Scot who demonstrates that an absurdity is absurd. He may be quite reasonable at bottom, but he will not condescend to interpret his meaning to the hopelessly commonplace. So, for example, he dilates upon his "imperfect sympathy" with the Jews. He has, "in the abstract, no disrespect for them. They are a piece of stubborn antiquity compared with which Stonehenge is in its nonage." But he adds, "old prejudices cling about me. I cannot shake off the old story of Hugh of Lincoln." Holmes meets some Jews "at the pantomime" and remembers the same legend:—

> "Up came their murderous deeds of old,
> The grisly story Chaucer told;
> And many an ugly tale beside,
> Of children caught and crucified."

But Holmes makes this merely a pretext for a reproach to narrow prejudices, and for pointing out the superlative claims of the race upon the regard of Christians. No doubt Lamb would have been heartily pleased with Holmes' application of the story; but for his own part is content to allow his readers to find out that he is not an embodiment of stupid antipathies. This is, perhaps, to say that Lamb's humour was more thoroughly ingrained in his character; and the effect appears in their literary tastes. Lamb delights in the quaintness and mysticism of the seventeenth century; likes to lose himself with Sir Thomas Browne in an *O. Altitudo;* and so loves the splendid audacities of the old dramatists that he half loves even their extravagance. Holmes, on the other hand, though born when Lamb was thirty-five, adheres to the tradition against which Lamb and his friends had revolted. His real affinities are with the wits from Addison to Goldsmith, the believers in reason and common-sense, who had sharpened their brains, as he had done, in small social gatherings. He liked to call the hotel where his club met after Will's Coffeehouse sacred to Dryden; and he seems to have regarded Emerson and his disciples much as his English predecessors looked upon the "enthusiasts" of their day. One of his most characteristic letters is a very courteous reply, written in 1846, to a remonstrance from Lowell, who had complained that he did not attack war and slavery in his poems. He does not differ from Lowell in his judgment of those evils; but he must follow his natural bent, and was glad to leave these burning problems to more eloquent advocates. It is quite clear, in fact, that his natural predisposition made believers in what we call "fads" uncongenial. He saw their absurdities, their one-sided extravagances, and their appeals to a kind of inspired authority from the common-sense point of view. Their vehemence and their blindness to the practical shocked his taste and kept him for the time at arm's length. And so, in spite of his thorough patriotism, he was, in some directions, a conservative and even an aristocrat. He was for "Americanizing" religion—for that meant making religion reasonable; but not for Americanizing literature, for the phrase had been used to mean vulgarizing. "I go politically for equality," says he, "and socially for *the* quality." He wished, in short, to preserve the traditions of refinement and harmony, suavity and tact, which can, as he held, only be produced in two or three generations lifted above squalor and the hardening influences of coarse manual labour. In literature, therefore, he was naturally a purist; he was simply disgusted when it was proposed to make a literary declaration of independence by introducing broad jokes in slang suited to a western backwoods-man. He shuddered at the thought of a possible President of the Republic

saying "häow" instead of "what," or "urritation," for "irritation." Some lovely woman, he hopes, will playfully withdraw the knife which the great man is about to use as a fork, or sacrifice herself by imitating his use of the implement—"how much harder than to plunge it into her bosom like Lucretia!" The true canons of good literature as of good behaviour are founded upon the eternal laws of good sense and good feeling: and therefore a revolt against them is not the way to independence, but to degeneration. Holmes, of course, maintained that refinement was compatible with democracy, and that a thorough American might also be the most polished of gentlemen. But he had the keenest contempt for the confusion of mere eccentricity with originality, or the theory that man gains real self-respect by forgetting his manners. When the Civil War broke out, Holmes most heartily adopted the patriotic view of the situation, and spoke, too, in the language of a thorough political republican. He uses the familiar shibboleth without hesitation. His old sympathy with abolitionists had been tempered by his fear that their excessive devotion to a good cause might, as he told Lowell, precipitate a frightful future of "war and bloodshed." Now the sympathy could have full play, and the enthusiast be at one with the man of reason and common-sense.

Whether, as Holmes hoped, democracy will prove to be the reign of reason and of true refinement of respect for man as man, and also of respect for the traditional culture is not a question to be asked here. The shorter and more answerable problem concerns his own character. Holmes shocked the orthodox by some of his theories: and perhaps, if he had fully perceived or uttered some of their consequences he would have shocked them more. He might have been respected: but to the ordinary reader he would have appeared as a scoffer, or at least as a blast from the nipping north-east air, blighting the fairest flowers of old tradition. One can perhaps fancy Holmes under other surroundings, producing a book not unlike *Candide*, incomparably witty, but not exactly conciliatory to the other side. But with all his power of ridicule Holmes had not a touch of the satirist about him. He shrinks from painting even his enemies in too black colours. He can denounce bigotry, but he always prefers to point out that the bigot in theory may be the kindliest of men in practice. In one of his early bits of pure fun, he tells how his servant was thrown into fits by reading some of his merry lines :—

> "Ten days and nights with sleepless eye
> I watched that wretched man;
> Since then I never dare to write
> As funny as I can."

Certainly he never wrote as sharply as it is abundantly plain that

he could. He always remembered that the other person was a human being. It was very shocking to burn the witches, but he could not find it in his heart to sentence the burner to his own flames.

If Holmes, that is, had revolted from his early teachers, he had never become bitter. This was, perhaps, because he never grew to manhood. He requests all but youthful readers to abstain from one of his papers, and explains that "youthful" includes some "from the age of twelve to that of four-score years and ten." Youth is "something in the soul which has no more to do with the colour of the hair than the vein of gold in a rock has to do with the grass a thousand feet above it." No one has ever insisted upon that text so emphatically and persistently. The "poems of the class of 1829" have no doubt been surpassed in the highest qualities by some autobiographical series that might be mentioned, but, besides their merits as occasional verse, they have an almost unique personal interest. Every year from 1851 till 1889 sees the laureate of the old set of friends proclaiming—as long as it can be done by even a poetical fiction—that they are still "boys," and when even the fiction would be too sad, still claiming undying youth for the old affection. So, as he says in 1884, after setting forth a characteristic analogy:—

> "So, link by link, our friendships part,
> To loosen, break, and fall,
> A narrowing zone; the loving heart
> Lives changeless through them all."

Although when Lamb wrote his pathetic *Old Familiar Faces*, bewailing the loss of school-friends, he was a little over twenty, his mood seems appropriate to one who, in the decline of life, feels his solitude to be almost unbearable. Humour which reveals the seamy side of life generally goes with a melancholy temperament, and Lamb's sweetness is generally toned by the sadness, due both to circumstance and to disposition. It is Holmes' special peculiarity that the childish buoyancy remains almost to the end, unbroken and irrepressible. He could hardly indeed have sympathized with the doctrine that heaven lies about us in our infancy, for we do not cherish that—illusion is it? or faith, till we are forced to admit that we can only see the light of common day. Holmes never seems to have lost the early buoyancy—only to have acquired new toys; even physiology which he studied seriously enough, and which is not generally regarded as amusing, supplies him with intellectual playthings, quaint fancies, and startling analogies to be tossed about like balls by a skilful juggler. The early poems, written in the pure extravagance of boyish fun, like the *Spectre Pig* and *The Mysterious Visitor*, show characteristics

which may be overlaid but are never obliterated. I don't know that any of his poems are more thoroughly himself than the early lines on a portrait:—

> "That thing thou fondly deem'st a nose,
> Unsightly though it be,—
> In spite of all the world's cold scorn,
> It may be much to thee."

The inimitable *One-Horse Shay* was written when he was near fifty, and the *Broomstick Train*, almost equally full of fun, when he was over eighty, and had sorrows enough to quench most men's last sparkles of vivacity. No human being ever fought more gallantly with the old enemy who defeats us all in the end.

Holmes' boyishness appears in his quaint love of athletic sports, more eccentric in America when he wrote than it seems to be at present: his love of boxing and rowing and walking. We can almost believe the Autocrat when he says that he was tempted to put on the gloves with the "Benicia Boy," though that hero was of twice his weight and half his age. His exuberant feelings betray him into some bacchanalian lyrics, for which he half apologizes. He goes back in spirit to the jovial old British squires who once possessed his punch-bowl:—

> "I tell you there was generous warmth in good old English cheer,
> I tell you 'twas a pleasant thought to bring its symbol here!
> 'Tis but the fool that loves excess; hast thou a drunken soul,
> The fault is in thy shallow brain, not in my silver bowl."

This, indeed, may remind us that the everlasting "boy" in Holmes is not to be confounded with the young of the human species as known to us by actual experience. The real boy is sometimes a brute, who loves boxing and the punch-bowl after the manner of brutes. Holmes' boyishness means the actual possession of such qualities as are attributed to boys—rashly sometimes—by loving mothers; the perfect simplicity, the confiding trustfulness of a nature which has not been soured into cynicism; and the confident assumption that their own happiness implies the general goodness of all their fellow-creatures. Holmes' early revolt against Calvinism had left to him, as I have said, the belief that a Calvinist was a really good man with an offensive dogma floating on the surface of his mind. His heretical outbursts may be taken in good part by the judicious, because they remind even the orthodox not so much of the assaults of a determined enemy as of the naïve irreverence of a child who expresses in pure simplicity his view of some accepted dogma. He may have hit upon a really grave objection, but it implies no personal antipathies. This, as it requires no wizard to say, is the secret of the method by which Holmes unlocked the

doors of so many hearts. The tenderness and simplicity combined were irresistible passports to admittance; even his logic appeared in the form of a dazzling display of wit; and the pathos touches us because it is presented without the slightest tinge of affectation. Nobody can be at once more feeling and more free from sentimentalism. His compliments, always delicately turned and sometimes exquisite, often remind me of Boswell's portrait of Garrick "playing round" Johnson with a "fond vivacity" and looking up in his face with a lively archness, till the old gentleman was warmed into "gentle complacency." If Garrick was presumably a better actor, he could not have been more dexterous in administering praise. But I need not try to expound what everyone perceives who has read his poems, such especially as the famous *Last Leaf* and *Dorothy Q.*, and the *Chambered Nautilus*. The last of these, I humbly confess, does not quite touch me as it should, because it seems too ingenious. Like Blanco White's famous sonnet, it rather tempts me, at least, to think what reply I could make to the argument. But the *Last Leaf* might be made into the text of all that I wish to say. The exquisite pathos of the verse about the mossy marbles linked to the fun of the irresistible though sinful "grin" is the typical instance of Holmes' special combination of qualities. He is one of the writers who is destined to live long—longer, it may be, than some of greater intellectual force and higher imagination, because he succeeds so admirably in flavouring the milk of human kindness with an element which is not acid and yet gets rid of the mawkishness which sometimes makes good morality terribly insipid. This biography, in spite of the scantiness of material, falls in at every point with the impression derived from the books, and leaves us with the satisfactory conviction that we have no errata to correct in our previous judgment.

LESLIE STEPHEN.

A PLEA FOR AMATEUR ARTISTS.

THE decline of the amateur draughtsman of late years has been so marked that I cannot but think a few words of encouragement to those who wish to embrace this occupation, from one who has had a life-long experience of amateur art, its great joys and its many heart-burning disappointments and difficulties, will not be entirely without use. It has been the fashion to speak of the very existence of the amateur artist as a nuisance to the family and to society. But why should so much scorn be poured on one who, as his very name implies, adopts a pursuit because he loves it? Other things being equal, will not that work which is done from choice and with no ulterior aim be better done than that which is undertaken from necessity, to earn a bare living, or for the love of money or position? This is so generally acknowledged that, but for the almost invariably demoralizing effect of patronage on character, many believe a young artist would do better, more poetical, work if relieved by an admiring patron from the pressure of sordid cares. If the amateur foregoes his luxuries and curtails his amusements to brave the discomforts of the student and the sketcher, to face the inherent difficulties of the position and the discouragements he so often encounters, he does this for the sake of entering in a race in which he knows he must be distanced by his professional brethren. It must be owned that he shows at least as much devotion to that jealous mistress, art, as those who serve her for the laurel or the guinea.

The increased taste for art and many other causes have tended during the last twenty years to diminish the number of those who draw for pleasure alone. There is no doubt, on the other hand, that some such influences have swelled the ranks of those who, in the hope of making a livelihood, or at least of supplementing their income, fill our exhibitions at all times and in all places. But I wish to protest against the confusion which so often exists in the public mind between the indifferent professional and the genuine amateur. This confusion is very general. It arises partly from the natural desire of the amateur to test his or her powers in the open market, and there is no other way of doing this than by sending their work occasionally to an exhibition.

In spite of these exceptions, however, I maintain that it is the professional artist who has increased in numbers, not the amateur. As the obliteration of class distinctions enables all who have talent and merit to rise in professions which in earlier days were confined to the aristocratic class, so public opinion and family pride, which once thought starvation and beggary more honourable than work, now no longer prevent our sons and daughters from earning their bread as artists, musicians, or actors. But it is not to these that I wish to allude. They have found their vocation, their course is clear. I am speaking of the amateur proper, common enough a generation ago. Nine-tenths of the amateurs are women, and it is upon amateur art as an occupation for women that I wish to insist. Five-and-twenty or thirty years since, serious education for women of the leisured class was hardly invented. The teaching of domestic economy, as well as all serious mental training, was neglected in favour of superficial accomplishments. It was then far more common to meet with the young lady whose æsthetic impulses found vent in the flower-painting and landscape art of her generation than it is in the present day. Mr. Ruskin's teaching, the constant reading of art criticism, above all the more thorough grounding now insisted upon in every branch of education, has opened girls' minds and increased their diffidence. They have a far more widespread and intelligent interest in art, but the actual number of amateur workers has greatly diminished. These influences, by educating the taste and increasing the knowledge of a large section of the public, have combined to deter those who, in former days, would have been only too ready to dabble in water-colours. They are now withheld by an exaggerated sense of the difficulties of the undertaking, or by a consciousness that they lack time or opportunity to learn to any purpose. Unfortunately, this diffidence principally affects the more sensitive and poetical of the young people. Those who have real artistic tastes leave the practice of amateur art to the less intelligent and the less imaginative, and so give the enemy an extra reason for blaspheming. For the sake of these, and just because encouragement is needed, I wish to point out some of the reasons why their courage should not fail. It is my conviction that there is much profit and enjoyment to be derived from an occupation which brings into the home none of the irritation so often produced by the piano or the fiddle.

Many seem to think that the most wholesome advice to give to a young girl is to bid her devote herself to idle games or frivolous exercise. At best, purely domestic employments are recommended her rather than intellectual pleasures or artistic occupations in which, from the very nature of the case, she must fail of the highest excellence. Every generation, as we all know, has its

own affectations and its special follies, its wants to supply and its difficulties to combat, but there is no cant more wearisome than the wholesale depreciation of the age we live in, as if other times had all the virtues and our own all the vices. A very slight degree of culture exposes the absurdity of this view. The strenuous idleness in the luxurious classes of the present day is after all a less evil than the frivolous sensuality which called forth, in the last century, the satire of Pope and the gentler admonitions of Addison. The restlessness and strife of this generation, born of the not unworthy desire in the breasts of many to justify to themselves their own existence, is perhaps an ungraceful contrast to the cultured leisure whose disappearance George Eliot deplored. Though not common, and perhaps never very frequently met with, these favoured idlers still exist, as each of us can testify from his own experience. But even if such a life were suited to many temperaments, the favouring circumstances which make it possible are very rare. Surely we have no right to blame those who have felt the influence of the now far away teaching of Carlyle and Kingsley, Thackeray and Tennyson, and who hear in their hearts the echo of the warning: "Work, for in idleness alone is perpetual despair." Nor can any dare to say that such teaching was meant for men and not for women, for what are called in common parlance the lower classes and not for the higher.

Tennyson bade Lady Clara Vere de Vere employ, in what is now called philanthropy, the hours which might drag wearily with her if she desisted from playing with hearts. He recognized the fact that women who, through no fault of their own be it remembered, are born to no very distinct duties, must have some occupation to fill their minds and lives or they will infallibly take to some form of mischief. No doubt it is a gain that so much should now be almost universally acknowledged. The question of finding wise and fruitful work for the many women, married or single, who have time and heart and brain insufficiently occupied, still remains, whether we like it or not, one of the burning questions of the day. But the experience of the last twenty years has shown, I think, beyond dispute, that the late laureate's solution of the difficulty is not a satisfactory one. Far be it from me to cast discredit on the noble work which has been done, and is still doing among the poor of London and other great cities, but in the opinion of all who have thought on the subject, and still more those who have practical experience of it, there is no channel from which the activity of amateurs should be more carefully diverted. The long apprenticeship, the severe application, the entire self-devotion to the exclusion of other occupations, which distinguish the professional from the amateur, should be required before people are allowed to

deal with burning social questions, to tamper with the lives of others, to risk pauperizing individuals by indiscriminate charity, or, as is continually the case with visiting in hospitals, unintentionally stirring up class hatred by injudicious interference. It is a growing opinion that almost all such work requires not zeal and intelligence alone, but the whole time and individual energies of those who devote themselves to it. Not all who can give these are endowed by nature and education with the qualities which render them capable of being useful in that line.

In deprecating the fashionable amusement of philanthropy one must comprehend clearly the distinction between such philanthropy as is seriously an instrument for good or evil according to the hands that wield it, and such efforts as the Kyrle Society makes for the encouragement of art, or the smattering of physiology acquired in the ambulance classes. These amusements are not very profitable to anyone, perhaps, but they are at least harmless. In pouring forth vials of scorn on the painting princess, the hospital lady, the East End visiting countess, one is apt to forget in a burst of democratic fervour that these are not the people whose lives are vitally affected by the question. In the first place, they are so distinctly the exceptions that it is as absurd to generalize from them as to speak of all mountains as Alps, or all cathedrals as St. Peter's. Secondly, in what is known as society, rank, wealth, or position impose duties and entail responsibilities. Even where these are evaded or non-existant, the constant round of social intercourse in town and country, empty and useless as it may be, at least relieves the pressure of *ennui*. But it is different with the daughters of professional men, of country squires, and of those *nouveaux riches* who have risen to affluence from small beginnings. Amongst these there is great need of some innocent vent for activities and aspirations which, when cultivated and directed into the right channels, ennoble life, but if thwarted or deprived of free play are productive of more harm than the most grovelling stupidity. In such families the father often takes a pride in giving his children the advantages of education and culture which his own youth, and his wife's youth, lacked. Yet when the girls grow up, unless they can find for themselves some intelligent occupation, the result of this state of things is merely idleness, discontent, and vanity. Youth is naturally happy and does not feel the burden of the hours. A girl, however, must realize the necessity of an interest in life over and above her affections and any trifling domestic duty that may come in her way. If not, the time will come when, either as a young married woman whose husband's duties keep him absent during most of the day, or as one whom accident or choice has withheld from marriage, she will feel that *desœvrement* which

drives so many women into frivolity and folly, and sinks many more into ill-health and fretful misery. Only imagine for a moment the home in which the typical young woman of whom I am speaking grows up. There is the large handsome drawing-room furnished by a West End upholsterer. The decorations are dull, showy, often vulgar, and it is filled with ornaments such as prompted one who has done much to improve the taste of our houses to exclaim: "I never go into a rich man's home without thinking how much better it would be if half the things were put on to the fire." Perhaps the one redeeming feature in this dull ugliness is the presence of a few fine water-colours bought by the father when the children were still young, partly from real taste, and partly as a safe investment. But few enter this room, kept as it is for state occasions which are rare and terrible. Society in such circles is difficult and generally dull—a duty, not an amusement. Invitations are few; often the friends of the younger generation are not made welcome to the house from a jealous consciousness on the father's and mother's part that they are different to their own. The mother is flustered by any attempt at a genuine and spontaneous hospitality. In youth she probably could not afford it, and in age she does not understand it. She thinks that a ponderous and ostentatious dinner two or three times a year discharges all the duties she owes to society. Nor have the girls any resource in the way of domestic occupation. The mother, as a rule, almost jealously retains in her own hands the entire direction of affairs, and that assistance in the household details which used to be common, in the country at least, is rendered absolutely impossible by the conditions of modern life.

Under these circumstances, and they are not too highly coloured, can anything be more desirable than that girls should turn to such art as they can practise without taking the inadvisable step of leaving their homes, which, in those families I have in mind, would be rarely permitted? Music is the art most frequently allowed, and indeed, until lately, enforced, even when to all appearance the aptitude was wanting; it is certainly true that nothing is so developed by cultivation as an ear for music. No doubt, not only in cases of real talent, but also when only ordinary proficiency is attained, music, and the knowledge of it, which draws other musical people to the house, gives far more pleasure to family life than drawing. In our over-crowded and over-cultivated leisured classes, however, there are many natures which have the temperament of genius without its creative power. I doubt very much whether music gives the same vent and the same satisfaction to these which even a slight taste for drawing affords when cultivated. There is a rare delight in the exercise of creative power however limited, and this

pleasure is given by drawing even at its most elementary stage. What was a piece of white paper has something on it, and you have put it there. It has also the great advantage that it can be practised at all times and in all places, when travelling, at the dull sea-side lodging, in town, or at the empty or sad back-water times of life that everyone experiences. Lastly, and this alone should be sufficient to make us encourage any young person in it, different natures have different tastes and aptitudes, and to the person with no ear for music and no taste for independent study in science or literature, drawing may prove a lasting delight, a source of peace and content, a stimulus to moral and intellectual growth. Its danger to each individual is the same as that of all other pleasures and occupations to which we give our hearts, it encourages selfish absorbtion. But everything has its reverse side. The least of the many advantages drawing has for amateurs is the production of a mere drawing, especially as it is always so inferior to what they hoped to produce. The occupation, to those who have learnt to love it, causes time to fly on the wings of pleasure, it adds new interest and zest to life, opening the eyes to a whole world of beauty which has hitherto lain unknown or unnoticed. The leaves in a hedgerow, the hues of the sky, the grand perspective of the rain-cloud, the tints of a wind-swept field, the shapes and darkness of cast shadows, the tender quivering gradations of a reflection—all these become a vivid actual delight unknown to nine people out of ten with uncultivated eyes. It educates the taste in the highest sense of that much-abused word. It increases immensely the appreciation of works of art both ancient and modern. It often leads to a reasoned study of the history of art, its interesting evolution, and its biographical and critical literature. Besides these, to come to more homely matters and the most feminine side of a woman's life, namely, the management of her dress and the decoration of her house, the knowledge of colour and the study of form will make both these more beautiful and less commonplace. They will also give her assurance to free herself from the often tasteless tyrannies of the dressmaker and the upholsterer.

Leaving such general considerations, we come to a serious practical difficulty. Granting the wish, how is an ambitious girl to set about learning to draw? She may do a great deal by herself, but in the initial stages help is very desirable. Much waste of time and energy is prevented by a few timely lessons, even though solitary effort with the aid of books, especially such a book as Ruskin's *Elements of Drawing*, might, in the end, conquer the difficulties. The old accusation against amateur work of showiness and superficiality was certainly well deserved in the days of Harding, Richardson, and Collingwood Smith. Then the one idea of teaching the ignorant

how to draw was to send for one of these fashionable drawing-masters. At considerable cost to his pupils, he taught them to make feeble copies of his own drawings, which copies he most unfairly touched up to make the results more satisfactory to parents or guardians. Of course, this system was deplorable; but these evils have disappeared to give place to their exact contraries in modern art-teaching. The dryness of the grounding, the difficulties of getting through the earlier stages of an art school, often discourages the student who cannot give up all his time and energies to conquering these initial difficulties which are made so great. The modern girl who works in a studio now spends months, even years, drawing rough charcoal studies of the nude. This, of course, is a form of study essential for a genius who is seriously going in for figure painting. But to the ordinary amateur it brings about the desired results no more than the knowledge of the alphabet would give the mental development to be desired from literature. The upshot of all this serious study is that, as the girl's life gets fuller her drawing can no longer be, as it should be, the accompaniment to her life. It is given up in despair, just as the violin is shut up in its box for want of time to practise, while the less severe difficulties of the piano might for many years brighten her home.

It may be thought that it is well these half-hearted workers should be turned back at the outset. This would be right if amateur drawing were to be measured merely by its results. But, as I have already urged, and yet vehemently urge again, the really important thing is the influence on character, the employment of time, and the attainment of innocent happiness. All this is really of much greater importance than mere technical skill. I do not deny the usefulness of the schools, nor the impetus they may have given to our national art. But their system has its faults, even as regards the training of professionals or of those amateurs whose great talent may carry them quickly through the drudgery they impose. I do think there is room now for well-qualified teachers of water-colour sketching, and this without any revival of the old-fashioned and very superficial system of years gone by. Anyone who teaches should himself have been grounded in free-hand, design, and perspective. He should be able to guide the pupil through these early stages into the happier plains of still-life or landscape painting from nature more quickly and with less tedium than could be done in the school or the studio. I know that, with patient work, a girl may do all this alone. I don't want anything to be expected of the instruction I recommend beyond the smoothing of the path. It will avail nothing unless it teaches her to depend in the long run on herself, her own industry, and her

own exertions. A certain amount of technical skill in the use of pencil and colours, certain rules of composition, the knowledge of how to stretch paper, prepare materials, and set about a drawing, may be imparted by a teacher. This saves all the time and vexation it would cost to learn these things alone. But though we may learn from another to some extent how to think, no one in the world can tell us what to think. The faculty and the will must be supplied by the learner. No teacher can instil them, though he may remove obstacles and help to quicken the growth of the powers within. Unless a girl have it in her to feel, in however small a degree, the beauty of the light summer cirrus which floats above her head, or to know how to look with joy into the glowing heart of a flower, no books and no teaching will ever give it her. A girl once called the attention of a companion to the beauty of a September sky intensely blue with stately sailing clouds. "Yes, it is pretty," was the indifferent answer; "but would anyone ever have noticed it if Ruskin had not written about the clouds?" As the first speaker had not then read a line of Ruskin, the remark carried no sting, but it provoked the thought that even he could not give sight to the blind. Mr. Ruskin himself says in Præterita he formerly thought that everyone would like clouds and rocks as much as he did, if once told to look at them. After fifty years of trial, however, he finds it is not so. Without an inborn love of natural beauty, no one will ever care enough about drawing to persevere; with it, no one can fail to make progress, however slight. Nevertheless, all are not, and cannot be equally gifted with vision and the faculty divine. Progress depends on a general brain power, and is not so surely proportioned to effort as the sanguine and the clever are apt to believe. It is, unfortunately, quite possible for amateurs to spend a great deal of time over their drawings to take a real interest in the pursuit, and yet to achieve but small, very small, results. Such failure is sometimes due to circumstances, and to preventible causes. These may be slightly indicated for the benefit of those who are struggling with the many difficulties of amateur art. The most common of them is the constant interruption to which all home work, and especially women's work, is liable. The curious selfishness of even the best of mothers in this matter often immensely surprises me. It is hard, indeed, to convince parents and relations that women have any right to the undisturbed use of any portion of their time. I think a great deal of that desire, so commonly displayed now, for girls to leave their homes and undertake some work, has been brought about by this want of realization of the necessity of quiet if work is to be done. These interruptions, so often quite needless, not only cause an immense loss of time, but are actually a great

hindrance to improvement in art. It is always difficult, nay, almost impossible, to take up work again in the same spirit in which it was laid down. The threads are broken and cannot be joined together again, to say nothing of the intense annoyance of finding the subject moved, the colour-box upset, or the water spilt. The power of working in spite of such drawbacks can be cultivated, especially if it is possible to set up a table either in the pupil's own bedroom, or if some disused room can be handed over to her where no one touches her things but herself.

As a compromise to the undesirableness of leaving home altogether, these difficulties may very well be met if one or two amateurs club together and hire a suitable room somewhere outside their own homes. It might also be possible to get the loan of a room in the house of a young married woman who is the mistress of her time, where all materials remain undisturbed, and where the surroundings are not annoying or distracting. Unpapered walls, simply white-washed, a plain deal table or two, a few pieces of cheap pottery, are able to be procured at the cost of a very few shillings, a bunch of leaves or a handful of poppies and marigolds giving the touch of colour which is dear to the soul of the most incipient artist. Besides the advantage to the work of quiet and seclusion, it is to many women both a rest and stimulus to go out to their work daily as men do.

Another point I would beg may be remembered is that water-colours are far more suitable to amateurs than oils. The use of oils encourages all those defects of slovenliness and carelessness, speed and showy display, to which amateurs are liable. A bad sketch or study in oils is far more distressing than a bad sketch in water-colours. Lastly, the materials of water-colours are more manageable and convenient for those who have neither much space nor much time at their command, that is to say the majority of amateurs. Moreover, water-colour painting is our national art, and it perhaps can never be fully understood or appreciated save by those who have some experience of its great technical difficulties.

Beginners should, I think, never destroy their drawings. It is a false humility that tears up a drawing in a pet. They should be kept, not in conceit but as a proof of progress. Every drawing ought to be made with a definite purpose. The curse of amateur art is the vast number, in some cases yards, of sketches which serve merely as a sentimental reminder of times and places, but otherwise are of no use to anyone. They are not worth mounting, still less framing, and they are valueless as real studies. It is best, as a rule, for each one to draw what he most fancies. The result will probably not only be more satisfactory, but more original. But

to begin sketch after sketch and study after study and then give them up or throw them away half finished, is a form of self-indulgence most fatal to progress. It debilitates the intelligence and weakens the moral fibre which alone conquers difficulties. In art, as in life, it is essential buoyantly to rise on the crest of the wave that tries to submerge us.

On the other hand, it is not uncommon for unfortunately conscientious persons to fall into the contrary error. They may perseveringly linger over unattractive studies merely because they offer certain difficulties on the ascetic principle of hair shirts and peas in our shoes—a waste of time and energy which, in my opinion, is to be deprecated. To these I would say: If you were pursuing a country path and turned back at the first stile instead of climbing over it, you would never reach your destination. If, on the other hand, you decided that because climbing a stile is a tedious and disagreeable process, therefore it must be good for us, and you promptly climbed back again, you would delay your progress to no purpose. This homely illustration points the distinction between overcoming obstacles which obstruct our onward and upward path, and idly creating difficulties for the fancied glory of conquering them.

Pure landscape is usually the highest result of an amateur's labour. Figure-drawing requires severer training and special advatages both as regards natural endowments and technical education. Yet the art which represents faithfully and honestly, however humbly, the fields and the downs, the woods and the lanes, the storm and the sunshine, the waves and the shore of our native country, is not to be despised.

No amateur, of course, can hope to rival Turner, still less Mason, Walker, or Pinwell, whose art is so subtly interfused with the deeper emotions that have stirred our generation. Representations of nature, though devoid of any meaning beyond that which breathes in the sunset and rides on the storm, if properly executed and characteristically chosen, have no slight interest of their own. Moreover, the influence of close and constant intercourse with nature, whose "quiet ministers move on, their glorious tasks in silence perfecting," brings peace and repose to minds distracted and wearied by the vain turmoil of this restless generation.

Therefore, let amateurs persevere through all difficulties and every discouragement. The time will come when they will win a great reward for all their weakness and all their many disappointments.

One word to those who are willing to give beginners such help as they can. In the case of children encouragement cannot be too lavishly bestowed, and all drudgery likely to cause dislike of the

occupation should be studiously avoided. It is a mistake, in my opinion, to suppose that any real training in drawing should begin in childhood. When serious study begins, encouragement becomes more difficult, as it does in all the relations between the young and the old, to draw the fine line between judicious praise and harmful flattery. This has been better said than I can say it, and in conclusion I quote the words of John Ruskin, who has been for long the guide, the master, and the helper of all amateurs in painting:—

"Whenever you see that a young man's work is either bold or slovenly, then you may attack it firmly, sure of being right. If it is bold it is insolent, repress his insolence; if it is slovenly it is indolent, spur his indolence. So long as he works in that impetuous way the best hope for him is in your contempt; and it is only by the fact of seeming not to seek your approbation that you may conjecture he deserves it. But if he does deserve it, be sure that you give it him, else you not only run a chance of driving him from the right road, but you deprive yourselves of the happiest privilege you will ever have of rewarding his labour. For it is only the young who can receive much reward from men's praise. The old, when they are great, get far beyond and above you to care what you think of them. You may urge them with sympathy and surround them with acclamation, but they will doubt your pleasure and despise your praise. You might have cheered them in their race through the asphodel meadows of their youth, you might have brought the proud bright scarlet into their faces, if you had but cried out to them 'Well done,' as they dashed up to the first goal of their early ambition, but now their pleasure is in memory, and their ambition is in Heaven. They can be kind to you, but you never more can be kind to them; you may be fed with the fruit and fulness of their old age, but you were as the nipping blight to them in their blossoming, and your praise is only as the warm winds of autumn to the dying branches."

Maria Theresa Earle.

THE COMMERCIAL FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.

Although the commercial relations between the different parts of the Empire have been the subject of discussion for many years in a more or less abstract manner, the question can only be said to have been brought into prominence as the result of the deliberations of the Ottawa Conference. On that occasion, when all the self-governing Colonies were represented, various resolutions were passed with the object of promoting the extension of trade within the Empire on a preferential basis, and of securing the removal of the obstacles which stood in the way of its realization. The Earl of Jersey, the representative of the United Kingdom, simply held a watching brief at the Conference, but his admirable report has made it abundantly clear that he was in sympathy with its objects, and with the desires of the Colonies to develop and strengthen the existing bonds of unity. On only one of these resolutions has any action been taken. The Imperial legislation which prevented the granting of preferential duties in some of the Colonies has been repealed, and the Colonies are now at liberty to make such arrangements with one another, with the exception of Victoria and New South Wales. There certain local acts of a restrictive nature still remain in force; but they can be removed by the Colonial Parliaments. Cold water was turned upon the proposals for the modification of the Belgian and German Treaties by the Colonial Office, as well as upon those referring to preferential arrangements between the Colonies themselves, and between the Colonies and the Mother Country. The despatches of the Marquis of Ripon, written a day or two before his retirement from office, in June 1895, did not, however, discourage the aspirations of the Colonies, and have not had the effect, as was possibly intended, of relegating the question to the background. Indeed, thanks to the persistency of Sir Charles Tupper, to the interest aroused by *The Statist* Competition, to the courageous manner in which the problem has been grasped by Mr. Chamberlain, and to the debates at the recent Congress of Chambers of Commerce in London, the Commercial Federation of the Empire now occupies a more prominent

position than ever before, even if it has not been brought quite within the region of practical politics.

It is inevitable that the matter should be approached by the Colonies and by the United Kingdom from different points of view. It can, however, now be said with certainty that public opinion recognizes the necessity of closer commercial relations between the different parts of the Empire. This was especially emphasized during the debates at the recent Commercial Congress, and found expression in the resolution passed unanimously, and amid enthusiastic cheers. The resolution is by no means so colourless as many people seem to imagine. It defines two propositions —(*a*) that the establishment of closer commercial relations between the United Kingdom and the Colonies and Dependencies is an object which deserves and demands prompt and careful consideration, and (*b*) that an Imperial Conference should be called together, if the Colonies, or some of them, make the suggestion, for the purpose of formulating a practical plan. No meeting representing 200 Chambers of Commerce of the Empire would have been able to pass such a resolution unanimously a few years ago. Another evidence of the great advance made in public opinion is to be found in Mr. Chamberlain's bold proposals. Not very long ago the possibility of a statesman of Mr. Chamberlain's prominence, sagacity, and experience suggesting an Imperial Zollverein, or in other words Free Trade within the Empire and discrimination against foreign imports, would have been scouted. Mr. Sydney Buxton, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the late Administration, also stated, in effect, on the same occasion, that, Free Trader as he is, partly responsible, perhaps, for the discouraging despatches of Lord Ripon before mentioned, he would not be opposed to the reimposition of certain duties which in the past were taken off, if it tended to secure freer trade within the Empire. Indeed, the burden of the speeches of Free Traders at the Congress appeared to be that the Colonies are giving too little and asking too much; and, reading between the lines, it is evident that if an arrangement were proposed in the nature of a "good bargain" for Great Britain, Free Trade doctrines would not be allowed to stand in the way.

It will be apparent after even a casual examination of what has transpired recently, that, after all, there is no great divergence of opinion between the Colonies and the Mother Country as to the lines upon which Commercial Federation may be brought about. They mutually want closer commercial relations, and are prepared to grant better treatment to British than to external trade. It is largely a question of degree. The Colonies are unable to adopt Free Trade, at present at any rate, and the United Kingdom is not likely to adopt the Colonial policy; but Mr. Chamberlain in his recent speech

stated, "Of course the details of such a scheme would require most careful examination. There might have to be exceptions made to the principle." These two sentences indicate that the proposed Zollverein is put forward as a basis for discussion, and that if it could not be adopted, in its entirety, by the Colonies or by the Mother Country, the door would not be closed to further negotiations. There must be sacrifices on both sides, there must be "give and take," and an arrangement in the nature of a compromise seems both feasible and practicable. What the Colonists want is preferential treatment in Great Britain in the twenty or thirty articles in the export of which they are interested. There are about 220 items of imports in the Board of Trade Returns, but it would be of no advantage to the Colonies to receive any benefit over the foreigner in regard to articles they do not produce. A much more moderate scheme than that of a Zollverein would content them as a commencement, and it would only require a slight rearrangement of the existing tariff, with small duties on certain foreign imports, similar imports from the Colonies to remain duty free. This proposal, at any rate, would not involve the turning topsy-turvy of the fiscal system of the United Kingdom. In fact, all that would be necessary to satisfy the Colonies would probably be the taxation of about one-fourth, at the outside, of the present imports into the United Kingdom, instead of the taxation of more than three-fourths which the proposition for Free Trade within the Empire would necessitate. The adoption of a scheme on the lines mentioned, in the United Kingdom, might involve an additional revenue to the extent of about three millions per annum. But by taking off the duties, or part of them, now levied on Colonial imports of tea, coffee, and cocoa, not only would the prices of these staple commodities be reduced, but the scheme could either be made to balance, or to leave a comparatively small debit balance, in view of the provision of a fund for defence purposes.

Statistics show that the import trade of the Colonies and India is equal to, if not greater than, the volume of the foreign imports in the United Kingdom, the taxation of which would form a part of any Imperial preferential agreement. Judging by the resolutions of the Ottawa Conference the Colonies would be prepared to give a substantial advantage to British, over foreign imports in their markets; and probably a similar concession would be possible on the part of India, in return for like privileges in the United Kingdom. An arrangement of the kind would enable the United Kingdom to retain its hold upon the trade of the Colonies and India, which may be in danger if the present system continues, especially in view of the activity displayed by the various countries of Europe to secure a portion of the trade of the Colonies. But it is very

doubtful if the Colonies would be able, at present, to grant Free Trade to British imports. A large proportion of their revenue is derived from customs. Most of it is obtained from the taxation of British imports. Even if the system were changed, the foreign trade is too small—about one-sixth of the whole—to admit of the deficiency being made up on such imports. Besides, the Colonies are not accustomed to direct taxation, with its inconveniences, and if it is ever to be adopted, it must be done very gradually. Then, again, while direct taxation may be all very well in thickly inhabited countries, it is not so easy to collect in sparsely inhabited countries of large areas, a description which applies to many of the Colonies, and the taxes would frequently cost more to collect than they would realize.

Of course there are obstructions in the path that leads to commercial federation. There is the opposition of those who consider that the proposition involves a departure from Free Trade principles. They fear an increase in the price of raw materials, and in the articles of food upon which it is proposed to place small taxes when coming from foreign countries. But can it be argued that a moderate duty, not exceeding say 5 per cent. in favour of our Colonies, would do violence to the doctrines of Free Trade, or that it could be called Protection? A large quantity of the same classes of products would continue to come in duty free from the Colonies, and there would be great competition between the foreign and Colonial imports and the similar commodities raised in the United Kingdom. In those circumstances, any increase in prices to the extent of the duty is extremely unlikely. The duty free articles and the home products would regulate the markets. Wholesale prices already vary to a much greater extent than would be probable under a scheme of the kind, without making any appreciable difference in the retail prices.

It is also contended that customs duties are paid by the consumers, that prices are increased not only to that extent, but by 25 per cent. in addition, as an indirect result of the policy, and that the values of commodities raised at home are enhanced in nearly the same proportion. This may be so in theory, but not in practice, and it is not borne out by experience in countries where the policy prevails. In any case, however, it is surprising with what equanimity the people in almost every country in the world support their tariffs, and pay the extra taxation political economists claim that it involves! It is also a favourite argument against any change in the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom that duties on imports tend to bring about a contraction of the export trade. This is not the experience of the Colonies, or, indeed, of foreign countries, whose export trade appears to be advancing at a much

more rapid rate than that of Great Britain. It cannot be urged either that the absence of import duties in England has tended in the last twenty years to bring about any great expansion in the foreign export trade. For the five years ending 1874, the average export of British and Irish produce, leaving out re-exports of Colonial and foreign produce, was £174,280,000 to foreign countries, and £60,445,000 to the Colonies and India. In the five years ending 1894, the averages were £155,830,000, and £78,521,000 respectively. These figures serve also to illustrate the fact, generally kept in the background, that the duties in the Colonies, which are much more moderate than those in foreign countries, have not tended to retard the growth of British exports within the Empire. It may be urged that although the money value of the foreign exports is smaller, the volume is greater. But the retort must be that such an argument would upset another pet theory, that duties on the imports serve to increase the price of commodities in the countries which impose them and to restrict trade.

Too much importance is attached to general statements about the extent and growth of British trade, and it is calculated to disguise the true state of affairs. The imports of the United Kingdom are generally put down at £400,000,000, and the exports at about £300,000,000, but the former includes about £60,000,000 of goods that are simply imported for re-export, and the exports include also that amount of exports which cannot be termed British and Irish. It is not intended in any way to undervalue this transit trade, but simply to state the fact. And indeed it is not a trade that is likely to continue, in view of the extension of means of communication. Lord Ripon in his famous despatches wrote of it as a doomed trade. It cannot be denied that the value of our exports to foreign countries is falling off, largely owing to tariffs and to the local development of manufacturing industries, and that they are increasing to the Colonies and India. Attempts may be, and are, made to explain away its importance, but one cannot get away from the facts. The Colonies are the best customers of the United Kingdom, especially when we consider how comparatively small are their populations ; and the Colonies are the only fields to which British shippers can look for any great expansion in the future. Would it not be a wise precaution, therefore, to take steps to secure a favourable position in these markets for all time ? That is what the Colonies offer. Would it not be wise also to stimulate the development of the Colonies and their trade with the United Kingdom and encourage them to send us a larger quantity of raw materials and of food supplies than they do now ? That is what the Colonies ask from the United Kingdom. It would mean the increase of their population, the strengthening of

the Empire, and the provision of new markets for the manufactures of the United Kingdom. Are not these advantages worth the sacrifice, to the slight extent suggested, of some of our economic theories, which, however proud we may be of them, have not had all the results expected from them? There is a tendency in some quarters to underrate the value and importance of the Colonial trade. The imports and exports of the Colonies and India now amount to nearly £400,000,000 per annum. In the Colonies, excluding India, the trade amounts to nearly £300,000,000 per annum. The total import and export trade of the United Kingdom is about £600,000,000, the exports being about £240,000,000. The exports of the Colonies in 1893 were valued at about £148,000,000, or larger than those of France, and about the same as those of Germany. It should be borne in mind that the trade of the Colonies and India is practically carried on by a white population of little more than 12,000,000. It is not a matter for surprise that in these circumstances, in view of the enormous development of the Colonies, the opposition to the Commercial Federation of the Empire should show signs of weakening. Viewed from an Imperial standpoint, the Colonies are, and have always been, bound to the Mother Country by a slender thread. If the results with which we are familiar have sprung from a union so unique and so novel, what might not be expected from a union of hearts and of material interests, a unity for commerce, a unity for defence, a unity which would give the different parts of the Empire a voice in all matters connected with its general well-being, and a unity in which they would feel more than they do now that they shared the responsibilities of the Empire to which they are proud to belong?

The serious difficulty in the way of carrying out any scheme of preferential trade is found in the Belgian and German Treaties. Under these "unlucky treaties," as Lord Salisbury describes them, the United Kingdom and the Colonies receive most-favoured-nation treatment in matters of trade, and in regard to subjects. We extend similar advantages in return. In addition, the Colonies have been bound, without their consent, to give to Belgium and Germany any fiscal advantages they may extend to the Mother Country, and for that concession no adequate return is contained in the treaties. Canada has been pressing for the last sixteen years for their modification, by the omission of the two clauses which are objected to, but without result. It is true that their request was submitted in 1881 to the Governments concerned, but it was not strongly supported by Her Majesty's Government of the day, and it is not surprising that, as the proposition of Canada alone, it was not favourably received. The position of Her Majesty's Government in the matter has now

been strengthened by the action of the Ottawa Conference, and by the prominence that the question of closer commercial relations within the Empire has attained; and a further request for the modification of the treaties, if accompanied by a hint that refusal might lead to denunciation, would probably bring about the desired result. Belgium and Germany have much more to fear from the abrogation of the treaties than Great Britain or the Colonies. Their exports to the Empire are greater than British exports to them, and in the other matters dealt with in the conventions the advantages are on their side also. Both the Colonies and the Mother Country would still remain subject to the general most-favoured-nation clauses if the treaties were modified, and perhaps some other means might be found to induce Belgium and Germany to regard the question favourably, in view of our relations with them in the other parts of the world. Those who are not disposed to move in the matter claim that the treaties do not prevent preferential treatment between the Colonies themselves, and that they do not debar the United Kingdom from extending preferential treatment to the Colonies. But is it likely that the enforced discrimination against the Mother Country, which would inevitably result from closer commercial arrangements, among the Colonies under present circumstances would be favourably regarded in the Colonies or in the United Kingdom? And is the suggestion a wise one to make to the Colonies? The extension of any concessions to the United Kingdom would involve similar privileges being granted to Belgium and Germany, and to all other countries with whom we have treaties. And, further, it is hardly probable that the United Kingdom would extend preferential treatment to the Colonies without requiring a *quid pro quo*, which could not be given so long as the treaties remained in operation. Objection is raised in some quarters to opening the question of the modification of the treaties with Belgium and Germany before some workable scheme for inter-Imperial commerce is arranged. But the possibility of a satisfactory arrangement being arrived at appears to be greater at the present time than if the matter were postponed pending an agreement between the Mother Country and the Colonies. The treaties form a standing obstacle in the way of such an understanding, and until they are modified no great progress is likely to be made.

Retaliation is an ugly word, but it seems to be feared by many persons who might otherwise be in favour of closer commercial arrangements between the Mother Country and the Colonies. They are afraid that the duties on English goods abroad would be still further increased. But have we not the most serious form of retaliation in force in most foreign countries that could

well be devised? In return for the favourable treatment of imports in the United Kingdom, high taxes are levied on the exports from Great Britain. Other nations are jealous of British trade. They know that it is the cause of England's power and strength, and it is only natural that they should wish to build up their own manufactures. But the matter has another side. We buy of foreign goods much more than foreign countries purchase of British goods. Foreign countries would hardly jeopardize their large exports to Great Britain by increasing the duties on British exports. It would not be business, it would not pay. A customs arrangement between the different parts of the Empire would place the United Kingdom in a very different position to that it now occupies for dealing with the question of retaliation. It would be a powerful factor in the arrangement of better trade relations between the Empire and the rest of the world. We should no longer be in the position—not a pleasant one to contemplate—described by Lord Salisbury not long ago. He stated:—

"I observe that while A is very anxious to get a favour out of B, and B is anxious to get a favour of C, nobody cares two straws about getting the commercial favour of Great Britain. What is the reason of that? Is it that in this great battle Great Britain has stripped herself of the weapons by which the battle has to be fought? The weapon with which they all fight is admission to their own market,—that is to say, A says to B, 'If you will make your duties such that I can sell in your market, I will make my duties such that you can sell in my market.' But we begin by saying 'We will levy no duties on anybody,' and we declare that it would be contrary and disloyal to the glorious and sacred doctrine of Free Trade to levy any duty on anybody for the sake of what we can get by it. It may be noble, but it is not business."

It can hardly be believed that Mr. Chamberlain will have long to wait before he is asked to summon an Imperial Conference to consider the question. There is no doubt as to the feasibility of closer commercial relations between the Colonies and the United Kingdom, if the matter is approached in a broad spirit of compromise. Certain principles will have to be kept in mind in the negotiations if they are to bear fruit in the near future. The scheme must be simple, and it must be moderate in its incidence in the United Kingdom. It must upset as little as possible the Free Trade theories which prevail in the United Kingdom, and the fiscal system that has been in force for so many years. The same remark applies to the fiscal conditions in operation in the Colonies, and certainly no scheme will have any chance of acceptance in the Colonies which involves the giving up of any of the powers of self-government which they now possess. While any closer union between the different parts of the Empire must inevitably be on a commercial basis; out of such an arrangement will surely grow an Imperial Council giving the Colonies a voice in Imperial

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. BEN WINDOW

affairs, and, in all probability also, a fund for the better defence of the outlying portions of the Empire, although it may not take the form of a direct contribution to the navy. No more important subject is before the statesmen of the Empire at the present time, and as the late Mr. Stanhope wrote of the Colonial Conference in 1887: "However modest the commencement may be, results will grow out of it affecting—in a degree it is at present difficult to appreciate—the interests of the Empire and of the civilized world." It is impossible to over-rate the advantages that would be derived by the United Kingdom, and by the Colonies and dependencies, from the adoption of a scheme of Commercial Federation. It would bring the Mother Country into closer union with the Colonies. By giving preferential treatment on a moderate scale to British trade, within the limits of the Empire, the bond of unity would be made material as well as sentimental. By such preference the doctrines of Free Trade that prevail in the United Kingdom need not be seriously endangered, and freer trade than at present would be possible within the Empire. The British manufacturer would retain his pre-eminence in the rapidly increasing Colonial markets. Greater attention than ever would be directed to the Colonies. Emigration would flow to their shores, and the demand for British goods would be increased. The investment of capital in the Colonies would be stimulated, and their powers of production so enhanced, that the United Kingdom would year by year depend less upon foreign sources for her food supplies and much of her raw material. And further, it would inevitably lead to the settlement of the question of the better defence of the Empire, and to the formation of a great Imperial Council. The Colonies expect great things from Mr. Chamberlain, and it is not likely that they will be disappointed. His administration of the Colonial Office shows him to be an Imperialist in the highest sense of the word. It is evident that he realizes the immense heritage we possess in the Empire; the importance of conserving its trade; the possibilities it offers for indefinite commercial expansion; and the desirability of the most intimate relations being maintained between the different parts of an Empire which has so much at stake. A fitting conclusion for an article on this subject is found in the closing sentences of Lord Jersey's report on the Ottawa Conference, every word of which Mr. Chamberlain has endorsed in his recent speeches. He wrote:—

"The success of commerce in any part of the Empire must have beneficial effects on this country. I am impressed with the belief that the three proposals of the Ottawa Conference are sound, practical, and full of great Imperial advantages. Commerce cannot be based on sentiment alone, but it is possible to clear away the snags and obstacles which may divert its stream into new regions. The Mother Country is asked to help in keeping clear the channels between her Colonies and

herself, so that the flow of trade may be increased and the feeling of kinship uninterrupted. Never, perhaps, in our Empire's history has such an opportunity presented itself. The 'passionate sentiment' of Canada, as Sir John Thompson so well described it, and the hopeful attachment of the growing Colonies of Australasia and the Cape, turn eagerly at this time to the Mother Country for some sign of her regard for their development. Their leading statesmen appreciate the value of the connection with Great Britain, and the bulk of their population is loyal. It is within the power of Great Britain to settle the direction of their trade and the current of their sentiments for, it may be, generations. Such an opportunity may not soon recur, as the sands of time run down quickly. There is an impatience for action which would be tried by delay, and most sadly disappointed by indifference to the proposals which are now brought forward."

These remarks deserve to be read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested by those who are interested in the Commercial Federation of the Empire, and especially by those who are inclined to oppose the grand ideal of the closer unity of the British race which is now receiving the attention of British statesmen—both in the United Kingdom and in the Colonies.

J. G. Colmer.

THE SCIENCE OF CHANGE OF AIR.

ALTHOUGH "change of air" is one of the most generally recognized means of restoring lost health, very little is known as to the reasons why a temporary removal to a new district is frequently of such great benefit to invalids. No recognized treatise exists dealing either with the physiological effects of change of air—with the exception of certain works on climate as a means of treatment in phthisis and allied diseases—or with the causes and nature of the difference in the air of different localities which are subject to the same general climatic conditions. Neither, so far as I am aware, has any explanation been attempted of the remarkable fact that vagrant habits are more conducive to a robust state of health, both among men and beasts, than those habits of stay-at-home respectability which the precepts of civilization enjoin on most of us.

It seems worth while, therefore, to discuss in a brief and popular manner certain aspects of the subject which are of interest to others besides the physician, and to offer a few suggestions in explanation of the phenomena which appear to be worth further notice.

That progress has been made on the practical—as distinct from the purely scientific—side of the subject is made plain by the fact that most of the views and customs prevalent among physicians a hundred years ago have now been almost entirely discarded. Better methods of observation and a more exact habit of recording results of treatment—if not more enlightened theories on the physiological effects of change of air—have enabled us to take several considerable steps in the right direction. It seems odd enough to us in the present day that our great-great-grandfathers and their physicians considered sea-air to be peculiarly unwholesome, and spoke warningly of its dampness and chilling effects. In Dr. Johnson's day chronic invalids flocked to inland towns such as Bath and Tunbridge Wells, and would have considered it a suicidal proceeding to have resorted to our modern coast watering-places such as Oban, Lowestoft, or Torquay. The air of mountainous regions was looked upon as raw and

trying for delicate lungs. In the olden time dwellings were scarcely ever built on an eminence except for purposes of defence, the more favourite sites being those in sheltered valleys. Most of our ancient mansions and farm-houses occupy damp and low-lying positions, such as no sane modern house builder would think of selecting. English literature tells the same story. From the time of Elizabeth to that of George the Third we find "fruitful vales" and "shady nooks" continually spoken of as the ideal places for human dwellings. Up to the time of the present generation consumptives were ordered to warm and damp regions such as the West Indies or Madeira, because it was thought that phthisis, "the English disease," resulted directly from the harshness of our climate. A very favourite last resort of the eighteenth century physician was to send a patient to visit the place of his birth, since it was thought that "natal air" would be likely to prove peculiarly beneficial. This last theory, although somewhat ludicrous when viewed from our modern standpoint, strikes me as being something more than a mere piece of plausible empiricism. It shows that, in spite of their terrible faith in physic, the doctors of those days did not lose sight of the importance of conforming to Nature's programme.

Although the beneficial effect of sea voyages was to some extent recognised, it is easy to understand that the ships of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, damp and stuffy below, and provisioned with salt junk and hard biscuits, scarcely gave a broken-down invalid a fair chance of deriving any great amount of good from a change of air taken under such conditions.

Generally speaking, we now consider that sea and mountain air owes its virtue to its freedom from organic impurities. Probably it is this quality, more than any other, which gives it its reviving effect on those who have been living in the clogged and polluted atmosphere of large towns. Yet purity of the atmosphere *per se* is no preventative of those very ailments which bring the majority of patients to seaside watering-places and highland sanatoriums. If any invalid who has thus sought relief were to take careful note of the natives of his favourite health resort, he would probably be disquieted to find that pale sickly children and ailing adults were by no means uncommon. Patients with weak lungs are often sent to winter in Devon and Cornwall, although the mortality from pulmonary diseases among the permanent residents of these favoured counties is not a whit less than among the dwellers in the midlands and the north. Yet the undoubted fact remains to be accounted for that such migrants to warmer climes almost always derive marked benefit from the change.

When the late John Addington Symonds first went to live in

the searching and rarified atmosphere of the Engadine, not a few of his friends thought that he was making a fatal mistake, and that he would certainly increase the tendency to phthisis which compelled him to leave England. But since then opinion has so veered round that this Alpine Valley has become one of the most orthodox places of refuge for consumptive patients. Latterly certain dry and elevated parts of South Africa and Australia have surpassed it in public favour, because it has been found in many cases that the safety of the patient depends upon his remaining permanently away from the bitter winds of Britain; and the colonies offer greater advantages in the way of occupation than do the Alpine regions of Europe.

It is by no means easy to indicate all the reasons why the air of health resorts such as these proves so beneficial in cases of weakness of the lungs. As we have seen, it is not a question of temperature, as our ancestors imagined; and although dryness may have something to do with it, we find that our parching east winds are peculiarly trying to sufferers from chest complaints. There can be no doubt, however, that the extreme purity of the air in these regions is an important factor in aiding recovery. Consumption, like all other diseases in which micro-organisms are the chief agents of mischief, is, according to the latest medical philosophy, a strife between the constitutional garrison consisting mainly of *phagocytes*, or white blood corpuscles, and the invading hordes of the enemy. The various characteristic symptoms which arise in the course of such a malady are so many phases of the combat. Many physicians hold the view that the rash on the skin in such diseases as scarlet fever and measles results from the fact that the skin, as an excretory organ as well as the chief frontier line of the body, is a highly important strategic point, and therefore attracts the combatants of both armies. In the near neighbourhood of each tiny coiled sweat-gland a deadly strife goes on between the *phagocytes* and their microscopic antagonists, and the result is a certain amount of redness and irritation of the surrounding tissues. As a rule, the defence and attack are so conducted that the war is prolonged for days or weeks, during which time the forces on each side are nicely balanced. If the invaders can be kept in check in this manner the disease soon wears itself out, for the micro-organisms cannot stand a long siege, owing to the readiness with which they exhaust the provisions around them. There is also good reason for believing that these living poisons provide their own antidotes, for it is found that in places where they have lived a new material has been developed (probably a waste product excreted by the bacteria themselves) which is inimical to their continued ex-

istence. It seldom happens that the human fortress is carried by assault at the first onset; although in some cases of cholera, pneumonia, and in fact nearly all kinds of diseases caused by micro-organisms, such a rapid and fatal termination of an attack may take place within a very short time of the first invasion.

An infinitely more frequent result of an attempt on the part of such foes, fortunately for the human race, is a decisive victory of the defenders, before ever the besieging hosts have won a foothold on the ramparts. When we are in robust health, and in consequence our *phagocytes* are in good fighting trim, we often escape contracting infectious diseases, although exposed to specific contagion. The germs may reach us in thousands, but not one is allowed to pass the stout cordon of our guards. During the long and often dubious struggle which follows an inroad through a breach of the outer defences, it is easy to see that there may be many circumstances in the conditions of the patient which will tell in favour of one or other of the opposing forces. If he be well nursed and have proper medical care the ultimate victory of the loyal militant corpuscles is rendered more certain. But should the defence be hampered by adverse conditions, such as the absence of proper medicines and food, or should strong reinforcements of the enemy arrive at a critical stage of the fray, defeat and death may be the consequence.

Now in the air of this thickly populated country it has been abundantly demonstrated that living organisms and disease germs literally swarm. Not only are they set afloat in countless myriads from their breeding places (generally some living fellow-creature), but the humidity and temperature of our atmosphere serves to maintain them for some time in a lively condition and possibly to enable them to increase. It is not unlikely that many readers of this article will actually inhale scores of the *bacillus tuberculosis* while they are perusing it! Still, there is no great cause for alarm. Our bodily defenders are quite as capable, under ordinary circumstances, of effectually disposing of these gentry as the London police are of dealing with a few roughs. But, unfortunately, the actual sufferer from consumption is in quite another plight. In his case the battle is already raging within the gates, and the gallant body-guard of *phagocytes* is sorely handicapped by the continual arrival of fresh squadrons of the enemy. Imagine a Blucher marching up at every breath! However well the garrison might be able to hold its own under other conditions, this constant introduction of new invaders must tell terribly against a favourable issue. It is plain, therefore, that if we can lessen or abolish the influx of reinforcements the loyal phalanx of *phagocytes* will have a much better chance of conquering and expelling the foe. One

way of bringing this about is the removal of the patient to a climate where the physical wear and tear is somewhat lessened, and where the atmosphere is not only normally free from disease germs, but is inimical to their existence outside the body.

All this is fairly comprehensible; but it is evidently not the whole story. There are contiguous regions in South Africa where the air is equally pure, according to physical tests, and yet one proves favourable to consumptive patients and the other rather the reverse. We have often to await the actual experience of invalids of this class on the spot before we can judge whether a district is likely to prove generally valuable as a health resort, in spite of the promising character of its climatic conditions. Not unfrequently also it is found that an invalid improves rapidly on first arriving at a new place, and then ceases to make progress. In such cases recovery is often completed by his moving on to another region; and at times repeated migrations have been found necessary.

This brings us back to the evident fact that there is a peculiar virtue in mere change. It seems to give a fillip to the whole system, and especially to increase the recuperative power. The persistent languor and debility following an exhausting illness such as an attack of influenza or whooping-cough will often disappear like magic under the influence of a change of abode. Nor is it essential that the patient should go to the seaside, or to some spot of acknowledged salubrity. Often the mere removal from one part of a town to another will result in an immediate and manifest improvement. I know of an instance in which a gentleman, a sufferer from asthma and bronchitis, whose home was in a healthy part of Surrey, obtained very great relief by a short residence among the slums of Seven Dials. Children seem especially benefited by a change of air; so much so that it is often found advisable to remove them even during a severe illness. In two cases which occur to me in which such a course was adopted, the little patients had been given up by their medical attendant because they had reached that fatal stage of exhaustion so dreaded by the physician, when all rallying power has ebbed away, and there is no more response to remedial measures. Although it seemed doubtful in both cases whether the children would even survive the journey, an instant improvement took place as soon as the removal was accomplished, and in each case complete recovery followed. Both of these children came from homes where every comfort was provided, and from neighbourhoods considered healthy.

I have little doubt that the marvellous vitality of gipsy urchins whom one sees running about clad in an irreducible minimum of

raiment in damp and wintry weather, and who are nevertheless as hardy and jolly as young colts, is attributable in a great degree to their constant roving habits. It is well known that wild beasts in travelling menageries, in spite of the rough and limited accommodation which they have to put up with, are more healthy and live longer than those which have all the care which science and money can provide in the Zoological Gardens. Among the first elephants to breed in captivity were those in Barnum's travelling show, and this almost unprecedented event asserts in the most positive manner that the circumstances under which the animals lived were more conducive to their general well-being than those of the elephants in Regent's Park, or even in the Government establishments in India. Race-horses, it is said, are more likely to become "stale," and to deteriorate in condition when they are kept in one place than when they are travelling about to different race-meetings. Not a few owners of dray horses in London, such as railway carriers, brewers, &c., find it answer their purpose to have a farm in the country, to which the horses are sent for a change when they show signs of failing health. I have seen young Irish cattle which arrived in "store condition" at an English farm improve so rapidly that they outstripped the beasts of the same age which had been bred on the spot, although the latter were in every way of superior quality from a grazier's point of view.

When we consider how unstable a substance air is, and that on at least six days out of every seven it is continually moving from place to place at the rate of several miles an hour, the difference of character in the atmosphere at neighbouring spots, and the constant qualities it maintains at different times in the same locality, are very difficult to explain. One can understand that at different altitudes certain respiratory properties of the air, depending on the density of the various strata, will vary with barometric pressure, and that these qualities will remain fairly constant in any one situation. But how are we to explain the fact that in the case of two coast towns only a few miles apart, and both situated at the same general height above the sea, one should have a "bracing" and the other a "relaxing" climate? What could have been the special virtue of the air of Seven Dials which so benefited the asthmatic gentleman already mentioned? To an ordinary observer it only differs from that of the rest of London in having a peculiar odour of bird fanciers' and dog fanciers' shops, and of superlatively rank fried fish.

All attempts of chemists to account for these minute aerial differences, which, nevertheless, have so weighty an influence on the bodily health, have hitherto been futile. The chemical composition of air, as far as gaseous inorganic matter is concerned,

varies in an extremely slight degree in different localities. Out of doors the proportions of nitrogen, oxygen, and argon remain practically constant in all regions; and carbonic acid varies only to the extent of one part in a thousand even when we compare such extremes as the air on a Swiss mountain top and that in the most densely populated cities. The popular notion that sea air owes its vivifying effects to ozone is not sanctioned by science; for although a certain amount of that much-vaunted gas is generally present in the air of sea-side places, its action for good on the human frame is more than doubtful. On the whole, too much has been made by writers on Hygiene of the deleterious effect of carbonic acid; for as long as this gas remains pure, and is unassociated with the deadly carbonic oxide or "choke damp," it does not seem to produce anything like the serious effects which were at one time supposed to follow from breathing it. Only when it is present in such large quantities as to displace the indispensable amount of oxygen does it endanger life. Men who work in the lead-mines of North Yorkshire and Durham not unfrequently have to be content with an atmosphere in which a candle will scarcely burn, and yet they do not suffer appreciably in health, although, of course, no great amount of exertion is possible while breathing under such conditions.

It is now generally recognized that the injurious effects of overcrowded rooms, in which ventilation is deficient, is attributable, not so much to any excess of carbonic acid or diminution of oxygen as to certain poisonous organic substances exhaled from the lungs and bodies of the persons present.

Concerning the effect of the innumerable living micro-organisms other than those which are the specific causes of disease we know very little. Probably their influence, whether for good or evil, is of no great moment; unless, that is, they are accountable for some of the mysterious differences in the quality of the air which we cannot explain, yet which so profoundly influence our health and spirits.

Such evidence as we have would seem to indicate that the character of the air in most localities is affected in some subtle way by emanations from the soil, from vegetation, and from other animate and inanimate objects; and that this influence soon ceases when the aerial molecules are wafted away from the spot where it originated. What the nature of the evanescent material may be we are not yet in a position to say, but in most cases it is probably organic. Our delicate sense of smell tells us how full the atmosphere is of extremely attenuated organic matter. Each room, each house, each district, has its distinctive odour, which we are continually recognizing again after months or years of absence, and for

which it is often impossible to account. How infinitely minute such odoriferous particles may be has been shown by the familiar experiment with a piece of musk. A small portion of this substance has been known to scent the air of a room for many months without undergoing any appreciable diminution in weight. Nothing seems more likely than that there may be a great number of substances which thus gradually evaporate and impregnate the air without our olfactory apparatus becoming in any way cognizant of them. Considering the well-known depressing or exhilarating effect of many substances (chiefly carbon compounds) which are introduced into the lungs in a vaporized or finely divided state, I am inclined to think that the invisible air-borne matters which may so affect us for good or the reverse are chiefly organic in their origin.

But even if these hypotheses were proved correct, we should yet have to explain the physiological side of the question. The reasons why mere change has such a stimulating effect on the vital forces must be sought within the body itself. Where the relative purity of the atmosphere in two localities is the same the effect of change of air may be of the nature of a stimulus to the pulmonary excretory apparatus, so that the system is freed from effete and poisonous material which would otherwise remain and prove detrimental to health. If so it would be comparable to a change of diet, which often stimulates the excretory functions of the alimentary canal, or to one of the numerous drugs wherewith we aid such operations in various parts of the system. And just as one agent of the latter kind is liable to lose its effect if long continued, so the air to which we have become accustomed may cease to provoke efficient function in the lungs. In fact, when the effect of a change of air is compared with the action of certain medicines, many points of resemblance become apparent. In the case of both, the good results hoped for often reveal themselves only after a certain amount of discomfort and constitutional disturbance. Personal idiosyncrasy is also an important factor in both cases. Just as there are persons who cannot take quinine, but who find that one of the other alkaloids of cinchona, almost precisely similar, very beneficial, so there are individuals who find that the air of some well-known health resort is "too strong" or "too relaxing," although another place a few miles distant may suit them in every respect. I do not wish to suggest that there is any close parallelism between the action of drugs and the action of fresh air, and merely mention the foregoing points of resemblance for purposes of illustration.

Enough has now been said to show that, recondite as are the problems concerning local variations in the chemical and respira-

tory qualities of the atmosphere, those which are involved in the physiological effects of a change of air are even more obscure. Differences which are otherwise absolutely inappreciable may prove a matter of life or death to the stricken invalid who flees for refuge to some place away from home in the hope that a change of air will lengthen his days. The human body is, after all, an infinitely more delicate testing apparatus than any possessed by the analyst or the meteorologist. We are reminded of the marvellous faculties possessed by many birds and animals (notably the apes on the Rock of Gibraltar), which, by their actions, show that they are aware of the approach of a change of weather before the barometer or the wind-vane give the least sign of warning.

There are, however, certain biological laws which may help us to understand, to some extent, why a change of air is so conducive to the maintenance or the recovery of health. We have learned, since Darwin's great discovery, to seek for the explanation of widely distributed vital phenomena in the distant past rather than in the present. For just as the visible framework of the modern inhabitants of the earth is the work of vast epochs, so the complex functions, habits, and susceptibilities, which puzzle latter-day physiologists, had their origin in the life-habits of ancestors which flourished in ages infinitely remote.

Let us see if what we know concerning the evolution of the human race will aid us in unravelling the present problem.

Without going back to any pre-human being for evidence we shall, I think, find some suggestive facts in the conditions of existence of our primitive ancestors. The discoveries of archæologists have abundantly proved that civilization, and all the customs and traditions which have followed in its train, are mere modern innovations, and occupy but a very small portion of the long history of the human race. The epoch during which man was a savage hunter with no fixed place of abode was so incalculably longer than the most extended estimate of historic time that it is impossible to ignore the influence of such a state of existence upon human nature as we find it to-day. That early man was a wanderer on the face of the earth, like all modern savages who get a precarious livelihood by hunting, is abundantly proved. With the change of the seasons, or as game became scarce in the vicinity of his cave dwelling, he was compelled to migrate from place to place, in search, not of change of air, but of bare sustenance. That such habits, prevalent through so long a period, would be likely to leave a lasting impress on every cell and fibre of the human frame is more than probable. And if these were the prevailing conditions of environment during the manufacture, so to speak, of our physical constitution, it seems reasonable to infer that somewhat similar

conditions would be those most favourable to the smooth working of the bodily machinery in modern times. It was found that the unfortunate natives of Tasmania, bred among the hills and woods, perished rapidly when removed to a totally different environment on Flinders Island; and the dwarfs which Stanley discovered in the dense and gloomy forests of the Aruwhimi only lived a short time if forced to dwell in a more open and sunny region. If, therefore, a race of nomads, to whom vagrant habits had become a second nature, were compelled to live permanently in one spot, one would expect that some evil consequences would ensue, and that these would be especially liable to show themselves when the general vitality had been lowered by disease. And, conversely, it seems reasonable to conclude that a renewal of the conditions to which the constitution of man was originally adapted would contribute to the recovery a normal state of health.

As was remarked above, a change of air seems to benefit many animals as well as man, and this seems to be especially true of those beasts which are great roamers when in a state of freedom. Probably we have inherited such a tendency from our own arboreal ancestors, and, if so, vagrancy is even more deeply rooted in our nature than we have hitherto supposed.

Man has only become a dweller in permanent abodes since he took to agriculture, and had to "stay by the stuff" to ensure the safety of his harvest. The primitive herdsman was almost as much a vagabond through necessity as was his ruder predecessor who lived by the chase. Most men of the present age have the wandering instinct still strongly developed; and this, like the innate passion for field sports, asserts in the strongest manner that our minds and bodies are still linked inseparably with that dim and boundless Past, when the flint-axe was the high-water mark of human invention, and when every new moon brought "a change of air."

Louis Robinson.

CANADA AND THE EMPIRE.

GEOGRAPHY and the French-Canadian element in our population unite in forbidding Canadians to dream of becoming a nation; the Union of Canada with Great Britain means for the former commercial atrophy, and for the latter political weakness to the point of national peril; Canada and Australia will give no assistance to Britain in the hour of danger; and "that mysterious unity called the British Empire" is a myth, these doctrines are so surely believed by Dr. Goldwin Smith that he is never wearied with impressing them on the English-speaking world, in season and out of season. As he has lived for many years in Canada and is known to be Unionist to the core, it is not wonderful that his testimony, or rather testifying, has weight with influential persons in the Mother Country. But Canadians generally, while still respecting him as a benevolent and a literary personage, know that he is the victim of preconceptions, and so blind to the outstanding facts of their past and present that his testimony is as worthless as his conclusions. No one, however, has written so voluminously about Canada in the organs which are supposed to represent or influence British opinion. He has abundance of leisure and literary skill, so far as the art of putting things is concerned. Few Canadians are similarly endowed; and even if they were, they would be unknown to British editors and little likely to be asked for contributions. Consequently, the British public hears only one side, and what is set before it contains scarce a morsel of bread to an intolerable quantity of sack. If may therefore not be amiss to make a brief statement of the case from the Canadian point of view. At least, the other side should be heard.

Last century England lost her American colonies simply because her intelligent classes did not understand the temper, aims, and character of the colonists. She lost much more. Dragons' teeth were sown that have borne a plentiful crop for a century and a quarter. Alienation took the place of alliance, and persistent suspicion the place of the old loyal feelings. In every crisis since then the Republic has acted as if she had a right to consider herself what *The New York Sun* says she is—"the hereditary foe" of the Mother

Country, "whose ruin they should survey with undisguised delight." The loss was not only on the one side. The States lost as much as Britain, perhaps more. The continuity of their national life was broken; lower ideals became increasingly predominant in all regions of public activity; a feverish emotional spirit took the place of that self-restraint, without which no man or nation can be great. And it is still a matter of doubt whether the unity of the race, with a common citizenship, on which much of the world's welfare depends, can ever again be secured. So much for the evil results of ignorance in the past. Strange, too, that there should have been such dense ignorance and misunderstanding. If Englishmen had but realized that "Yankee" was only a French-Indian name for "English"; that the people of Massachussetts and Virginia were simply Englishmen, who had fled from royal or clerical or Puritan tyranny because they loved liberty, Englishmen a little more determined, even than their fathers had been, to assert individual rights, and a little more inclined to be obstinate in contending for constitutional rights, owing to the atmosphere and the rough training of a new world, difficulties that arose would soon have disappeared. Peaceful separation might have come as a matter of temporary expediency, but the moral union of the two branches of our race would have been preserved.

It was not to be. The people who lived at home at ease had forgotten their own heroic past. They did not see that the colonists were standing on one of those fundamental principles that belong to the innermost nerve and fibre of our beings. "It be against the right of Englishmen to be taxed but by their representatives," Alexander Spotswood, of Virginia, had on a former occasion affirmed, as bluntly as if he had never been a Royal Governor. George Washington took his stand on precisely tho same ground. "We are contending for a principle," he said; and statesmen should have known that Britons have always fought, and, let us hope, always will fight, as resolutely for a principle as other races for bread. "As Englishmen," Washington wrote in 1774, "we could not be deprived of an essential part of our Constitution." Hampden had taken the same stand in the previous century.

This memorable lesson, that in grave national affairs ignorance is almost criminal, should never be forgotten by politicians who aspire to Cabinet rank. For ignorance is still the enemy; ignorance in the Mother Country of the deepest feelings of the self-governing Colonies, and ignorance among Colonists of the real heart of England. To fight against it is a duty incumbent on all of us, and it is a never-ending battle that has to be fought. In this campaign there can be no periods of truce. Every victory is a summons to a new conflict; for the

ignorant exceed the enlightened in number, and, what it worse, they are always ready for action. Sinister influences, too, are at work on the wrong side; and worse than all is the false light that seems to come from heaven, because it comes from a man whose ability and good intentions can hardly be questioned. In saying this I have in my mind Canada and Professor Goldwin Smith. Long ago he left England for the United States; but soon after took up his residence in Toronto, where he received a most cordial welcome. Popular sentiment was flattered by the open preference for life in Canada shown by a great English scholar; while reflecting men felt that he would interpret us aright to the reading people at home, and would contribute to our own current literature that element of criticism required most of all in raw democratic communities which are apt to see little beyond their immediate horizon. He might have been a potent factor for good, for "young Canada" longed for a leader. Had he set himself patiently to work to study our historical development, his wide knowledge and quick insight would have soon led him to divine the forces which have determined and will continue to determine our course. But, from the outset, he assumed to teach with the dogmatism of a god.* Not only had he formed his conclusions before coming to Canada, which, of course, rendered further study unnecessary, but—in spite of his nervous energy, a force, by-the-bye, not to be mistaken for the power of continuous work—he has always shrank from the drudgery of that close personal examination of innumerable details which, when combined with the philosophic and imaginative temperament, makes the historian. A cynicism which is partly natural and partly cultivated, accentuated the defects of his Oxford training, and rendered him incapable of sympathizing with popular feeling. Nowhere is that John Bullism, which was expressed in Dr. Johnson's serene conclusion, "It seems to me that all foreigners are fools," so securely entrenched as in Oxford. There, too, we find that "condescension towards foreigners," which Mr. Lowell has marked, united with an ignorance of affairs, and of that part of the world summed up in the one word, "abroad," which is at times appalling. The late accomplished Master of Balliol, for instance, was never able to get it out of his head that a friend of mine, a graduate of the University of Toronto, who subsequently spent four years in Balliol, had come from New-

* True, the sources of early Canadian history were not accessible at Toronto, as all that were there had been burned when the United States forces got temporary possession of the little capital in 1813,—a fact, it may be mentioned, which, like their burning of our former capital, Niagara, is not dwelt on with so much fervour by American authorities as the subsequent reprisal, the burning of Washington by the British troops,—but it is doubtful whether Dr. Smith would have taken the trouble to study archives had they been within his reach.

foundland. "So, you have determined to return to Newfoundland!" was his persistent greeting to the Canadian. Another of my friends, who had been on duty in Hong Kong for some years, was asked by a distinguished scholar on his return how he had "managed to live under Chinese law"! Recently, a letter of enquiry, from the Secretary of a Royal Commission, was addressed to me—at the instance of another Oxford authority—"Kingston, Ontario, U.S.A."! Dr. Goldwin Smith is well acquainted with this crass ignorance, and has himself given some curious instances of it, over which he is wont to make merry, all unconscious that he himself is possessed of the very limitations and the very spirit which make it possible. For all that he knows of the deeper feelings and convictions of Canadians, he might have lived for the last twenty or thirty years in an English cathedral close; and he is therefore continually rasping the thin-skinned among them by oracular declarations which would be considered insulting were they not ascribed to dyspepsia or disappointment. Yet he is about the only writer on Canadian topics who ever reaches the British politician!

Two or three comparatively recent specimens may be given. In his *Canada and the Canadian Question* (p. 271), he says: "If England ever has occasion to call on her children in Canada for a real sacrifice, she may chance to repeat the experience of King Lear." The sacrifice which he thinks we should make is that of our body and soul; and since Canada will not offer these she must be a Regan or Goneril. "United to the States, Canadians would render to the Mother Country the best of all services and the only service in their power, by neutralizing the votes of her enemies." . . . "Since there is no wickedness which may not possibly be committed by demagogism pandering to Irish hatred," we are to try and stop the possible wickedness of others by ourselves becoming false to all that we have hitherto been and done and professed!

More recently, writing in *The Contemporary Review* for January, 1895, concerning the Inter-Colonial Conference which had met in Ottawa, and which seemed to thoughtful observers the most significant object-lesson yet given to the world of the feelings and aims of the self-governing Colonies, he calmly asserts that "morally speaking we may take it as pretty well settled that the Colonies will not contribute to the defence of the Empire"! The delegates had met to discuss specific and specified questions, and because they did the work given them to do, and not other work which, in his opinion, they should have done, he coolly draws an inference unwarranted, odious, and so well calculated to inspire distrust of the great Colonies in the minds of people at home, that we may be

pardoned for saying that that must have been the intent of his words.

Still more recently, in *The Saturday Review* of 22nd February last, he says:—"At the urgent call of their military advisers, Americans are going to vote $60,000,000 for coast defences. Of this expenditure, the menacing presence of England is the sole cause. England has carried a road, avowedly military, all along the northern frontier of the United States, connecting her with the naval station at Esquimalt." There is more of the same, to which one would think that no answer except "Fudge!" should be given, were it not for the fact that *The Contemporary* and *The Saturday Review* are not supposed to print mere nonsense. The Canadian Pacific Railway had no more to do with the recent war scare in the States and with the cry to arm than had railways in China or at the Cape. How England's presence can be "menacing," when she has not a soldier, a fort, or a gunboat along the four thousand miles of frontier between Halifax and Esquimalt, is beyond the comprehension of ordinary mortals. But England, it seems, has built the railway. She has done no such thing. She has not contributed "one brass farthing" to construct the Canadian Pacific. Canada built it, and never before in history did a people so weak, numerically and financially, undertake a public work of such magnitude. It was necessary to our national existence. It is the symbol as well as the material bond of our national unity. Therefore, it had to be built. Of course, the shareholders hope that the Imperial Government may find it useful, the more frequently the better, for the transportation of stores, reliefs, munitions, and men, because the Imperial Government is good pay. The American Government has used the Union, Central, and other Pacific roads, and probably would use them more, to the unfeigned satisfaction of shareholders and directors, if trouble should arise in the Japanese and Chinese seas. Would there be one man in the British Empire to object? If there were, his friends would surely want to put him in Bedlam within twenty-four hours.

It seems, too, that it is all Mr. Chamberlain's fault! "Till lately Americans rested in the belief, created by the concession of virtual independence to Canada, that Great Britain was gradually relaxing her hold upon the Continent, and that in due course the line of manifest destiny would be allowed to have its way; but Chamberlain proclaims that you intend to tighten instead of relaxing your grasp." The recent outburst of Anglophobia was due, then, to the expressed desire of Mr. Chamberlain to increase trade between Britain and her Colonies, and to his faith in the unity of the Empire! I think it was Mr. Dillon who pleaded that bad language had been provoked from him by wicked conduct on the part of

the British authorities or the police, till Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that the bad language had preceded the conduct complained of. Dr. Smith is in the same box with Mr. Dillon; for he himself, in *The North American Review* of May, 1890, explained why Americans "identify patriotism with hostility to Great Britain." The explanation made no reference to Mr. Chamberlain, and the hatred of England was admitted to be "genuine years before Mr. Chamberlain became Colonial Secretary.

Could more melancholy illustrations be given of the extent to which a man, naturally truthful, can so poison his mind with preconceptions that he becomes blind to facts and helpless in the hands of the spirit that denies? His aims are good, but as he insists that they shall be carried out in his and in no other way, he is all the time defeating instead of furthering them. He loves his native country, yet misrepresents its action. He sees that the best hopes of civilization lie in the direction of the unification of the English-speaking race, yet he excites evil suspicions between its different members. He believes that the saving elements in the Canadian people are so strong that they could do much for the healing of bitter waters in the States, yet he belittles us and mocks at our continuous and resolute struggle to become a nation.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he is now without the slightest weight in Canada. Yet in England he is still regarded as an authority on Canadian matters. Wherever superficial notions are entertained regarding French-Canadians as a people hermetically sealed against the influences and principles of modern civilization, or regarding the spread of annexation views in English-speaking Canada, or the weakness of Canadian sentiment and the geographical impossibility of our becoming a nation, or the duty of Britain to conciliate the States by abandoning the Dominion, there the evil seed has been sown by him more than by any other man. He has been a diligent sower for a long time, and continues his labours as earnestly as if he had to write for money to buy his daily bread, or as if he were working out his soul's salvation.

In justice to Dr. Smith, it should be remembered that formerly his views were held by very eminent men, who constituted a prevalent, if shallow, school of thought. As far back as 1828, Mr. Huskisson, then Colonial Minister, thought that the time had come for the separation of Canada from the Mother Country, and her assumption of the position of an independent State. In 1854 Lord Ellenborough urged the same views in the House of Lords, and adduced Mr. Huskisson's testimony:—"What was the use, what the practical advantage of continuing our connection with the Colonies? The connection might be of some small use in time of peace; but on the other hand, consider the danger arising

from it in matters relating to war? There could be no doubt that the chances of collision between this country and the United States were greatly increased by our connection with the North American Colonies. It was equally certain that in the event of war occurring between this country and the United States, on grounds totally unconnected with the Colonies, they must, from their connection with us, be drawn into the war, and their whole frontier would be exposed to the greatest calamities." He thought, therefore, that the Government should consult with the leading men in the Legislative Assemblies of the North American Colonies, in the most friendly spirit, as if they were members of one and the same family, with the view of ascertaining their opinion on the subject of a separation. The Duke of Newcastle spoke on the other side, but Lord Brougham followed him and declared himself of those who desired a separation of Canada from the Mother Country. The idea of separation, he said, was by no means novel. "It had been entertained and expressed by many eminent men. It was an opinion shared in by Lord Ashburton and Lord St. Vincent; and those who held the doctrine of separation did so, not because they were disposed to undervalue the importance of Canada, but rather because they highly estimated the importance of that country. They believed that after a certain period of time, after what was called 'the passing the youth of nations,' that of a Colonial life, the best thing that could happen to a country in Colonial connection with an older State was that, without any quarrel, without any coldness or alienation of any sort, but with perfect amity and good-will, and on purely voluntary grounds, there should succeed to that connection a connection between two free and independent States."

Sir George Cornewall Lewis and John Bright held the same views. On one occasion, even Mr. Disraeli spoke of those wretched Colonies "that were a millstone round our neck," and *The Times* considered Canada "a deadweight to England."

There was a time, then, when Dr. Smith was in good company. But his school has quietly given up the ghost. All his comrades have died or 'verted, and to-day his followers are little better than Falstaff's regiment. When Free Trade found favour in the eyes of the British public, its beauty dazzled them. It was regarded as a Morrison's pill, warranted to cure all the ills and to be a substitute for all the needs of mankind. Nations existed merely for the purpose of interchanging commodities, and man lived by bread alone. The Colonies would continue to buy from the Mother Country as long as it was their interest to do so, and what more could Britain ask or desire? If they did join a rival or hostile nation, that was their own business. If Canada united politically

with the States, so much the better. The Free Trade area would be enlarged, the general prosperity would be increased, and the workshops of Britain would share in the prosperity. All this prattle was accepted as expressing absolute truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But now the glittering generalities are seen to be only half truths or sophisms. Time has brought with it new points of view, and it is felt even by the man on the street that a nation is a complex organism, and that the excellent law of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, far from expressing the fulness of its life, may be checked or transcended by other laws.

Dr. Goldwin Smith, however, will not learn. No Bourbon could refuse more resolutely to be enlightened by events. Though in an excellent position for seeing, he keeps the telescope to his blind eye and cries aloud visions of the night to those who, being less favourably situated, still look to him for guidance. He succeeds only in making ignorance more dense and misunderstanding more probable.

As perhaps the best way of giving the other side, I may be pardoned for sketching in bold relief some crises in our national evolution. Even the briefest summary is sufficient to show to plain men the real and resolute will of all sections of the Canadian people. It is that—as expressed in history—and not the opinion of any man or woman, which should be opposed to oracular assumptions.

In 1765, Canada, with the consent of all parties, became British. By the Quebec Act, French-Canadians gained the liberties of British subjects, with generous recognition of their ancient customs, laws, and religion, and the people who had fought us with all the gallantry of their race for a century were thereby made contented. Accordingly, when in 1775 Montgomery and Arnold invaded the province, though there was in it only one battalion of regulars, numbering about 500 men, and though Montreal was captured, the invasion failed. The people refused to join the Continentals and all attacks on Quebec were successfully repulsed. It is enough to point out that of the 1,600 bayonets that opposed the combined forces of Montgomery and Arnold, 1,400 were in the hands of Canadian volunteers.

Then came the migration of the United Empire Loyalists from the revolted colonies into Canada, to the heroism of whom language fails to do justice. Involved, a generation later, in the war of 1812-15 by no interest or fault of theirs, but solely because the war-hawks of the States thought it a good time to fall on the rear of Britain while she was engaged in a life and death struggle with the enemy of the liberty of Europe, our fathers accepted it and bore

its brunt during three campaigns without a murmur. "Practically almost every able-bodied man in Canada was then under arms."

In 1837, sympathizers crowded across the frontiers of Upper Canada to aid rebels. We put them down without the aid of a single British soldier. Soon after, Governor Fairfield of Maine called out the Militia of that State to settle the North-eastern boundary question by an invasion of New Brunswick. While that province prepared for action, Nova Scotia fell into line, revising its Militia Law in a single day, giving power to his Excellency the Governor to spend every pound of the revenue and call out every man in Nova Scotia for the defence of the sister province. Then, the Members of the Legislature, standing in their places, with the Speaker in the chair, gave three cheers for the Queen and for New Brunswick! That demonstration prevented invasion, collision, and probably war. What followed? What Lord Palmerston called "the Ashburton capitulation." Lord Ashburton, a prominent member of the school which held that the Colonies should separate from the Mother Country and that Canada should annex itself to the States, gave away the territory in dispute, and thus drove a huge wedge between New Brunswick and Lower Canada. "The provincials laid down their arms, and accepted peace on such terms with shame and sorrow, not much relieved by the subsequent discovery of an old map, which showed how our diplomatists had been practised upon." *

Again, when war broke out between the Northern and Southern States, Canada sympathized with the North. The storm of abuse that followed the Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality, and the insult to the flag, when Mason and Slidell were forcibly taken from the deck of the *Trent*, changed the current of feeling. We knew that, if war came, Canada would be the theatre, and at once drilling commenced all over the land. We hate war. It would be as absurd, too, to charge us with being aggressive towards our big neighbour as it was for the wolf to complain of the lamb, or as it is for the Kurds to descend on unarmed Armenians because of their aggressiveness. But we know that the cry of "peace at any price" simply means "selfish indulgence at any price." Our interests and every day thoughts are in accord with our immediate neighbours. Why should they be angry because we live our own life, under free institutions which we have wrought out for ourselves, along British lines, and because we live in amity and unity with our common parents?

So, too, last Christmas, when Mr. Cleveland's Message threatened invasion, in connection with the Venezuela dispute, doubtless we

* Letter to the Right Honourable Mr. Adderley by Joseph Howe, December 24th, 1862.

could have arranged by negotiation for peace with the States, and have kept entirely out of the quarrel. The thought did occur to one man, and he was quietly ignored. I know of only two newspapers, among our thousands, which advocate separation. The tone of those two was as stout and calm as that of all the others. Like the Scots round their King at Flodden, no one failed the Old Mother. Every man and woman accepted the necessity, and without a word of complaint began to prepare for war. Homes in England were safe, and ours in peril. What of that! Britain had been threatened, and therefore we, as part of the British Empire, accepted our responsibilities. Already the scare has cost us three millions of dollars, and no one has uttered a murmur against the expenditure.

Does all this—and the story might well be lengthened and made luminous with details—mean absolutely nothing? If an Englishman can read it with unruffled pulse, he need not querulously complain of it; or carp at the actual which always comes short of the ideal; or think it his highest duty to set before us the monetary and other advantages to be gained, and before Englishmen the perils to be avoided, by being false to what we and Englishmen alike consider honour—honour which in the long run means profit as well. Though he has persuaded himself that his abstract conceptions are reliable, they cannot be as reliable as a century of continuous fact.

What, we may ask, is the value of those abstract conceptions? There is, first, our geographical position. The Dominion consists of four great sections, each of which is said to be naturally more allied to a portion of the United States than to the other sections. There is a certain amount of truth in this, but the point of view which makes it an insuperable difficulty is wholly external. When we are told that it is impossible to fight successfully against geography, a little reflection assures us that all history teaches the opposite, and that each new triumph of science is simply another victory of man over nature. Besides, this difficulty is on the surface, and has been seen and discounted by us at every stage in our history. It has no more terrors for us than the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains had for the people of the States, or than the Atlantic and "the long wash of Australasian seas" had for our forefathers. Instinctively, at every crisis, we have realized that a nation must be ready to pay a price for its freedom, must be willing to transcend and even laugh at difficulties in order to realize itself and secure a distinctive and worthy future. We have therefore said, with Nehemiah, "Let us rise up and build." We have established an unequalled system of internal navigation from the Straits of Belleisle into the heart of the continent, and we have added to

that an unparalleled railway system, along lines where Indian guides and old-fashioned engineers and scientific officers had declared that railways could not be built. We were told that the traffic would not pay for greasing the wheels of the locomotives. It has paid those who put their money in the road better than any other Trans-Continental railway. In to-day's paper I see that Northern Pacific is quoted at 5 per cent., Union at 7, Central at 14, and Canadian-Pacific at 64. And, now, when the external difficulties have been overcome, when every part of our great Northern Confederacy has been linked together by steel as well as sentiment, when dry docks have been built at Halifax, Quebec, Kingston, and Esquimalt, when our coasts, rivers, and lakes have been lighted with hundreds of lighthouses; now, when, through the faith and toil of a handful of people scattered over half a continent, we have built our nation's house, and are able to reach out one hand to Great Britain and the other to Australia, a philosopher assures us that "manifest destiny" was all the time forbidding, and that our house was built only to be smashed! Destiny, if you like, but certainly it was not and is not manifest.

Another dominating conception of Dr. Smith arises from the superficial view that he takes of Quebec province. According to him, French-Canada before the conquest, owing to the exclusion of the Huguenots, "fell into the hands of the Catholic Reaction and of its incarnation and apostle, the Jesuit," and so became "a Jesuit mission grafted on a station of the fur trade." This is epigram but not history. It is doubtful if history can be written epigrammatically. The truth is that—as might have been expected by anyone who knows the character and development of the French people—there was a vigorous Gallicanism in Quebec down to the conquest. The Canadian peasant, under the nominal feudalism of the New World, was never a serf or villein. Proudly he called himself the "habitant," or dweller in the land. In the same spirit, though a devout member of the Holy, Catholic, Apostolical Roman Church, he always stoutly asserted his own religious rights. Nor was he without Constitutional protection of a kind. Just as Louis XIV., though under priestly influence, did not shrink from putting bishops in their place and holding his own against the Pope, so a strong Governor in Quebec, the representative of the King and head of the State, did not shrink from bullying the bishop and protecting the rights of the laity. This Gallican spirit, as might also have been expected, died out after the conquest. The reasons will easily be divined by anyone who knows the history of Ireland from within. It has revived, however, since the Confederation of 1867; it is a factor of ever increasing significance in the development of French-speaking Canadians; and to ignore

which it may be pardonable in the average politician but is not in the historian or statesman.

The difference of language and race is another of the bogeys that forbid the banns between French and English-speaking Canadians. Dr. Smith's only hope lies in submerging the former in the vast mass of English speech to the south. That mass will have its influence, no matter what the political arrangements may be; but to suppose that national unity requires uniformity of language and race is an abstract conception scarcely worth refuting. It is a remnant of the individualist view of society which prevailed in the eighteenth century, but which is now universally discarded. The highest form of national life does not depend on identity, but rather on differences that are transcended by common political interests and sentiments; and it is most interesting to trace the growth of these in Canada, especially since 1867. The result is before the face of all men, in a fact which is half a continent in size. The fact was there before, but it could be seen only by the penetrating eye. Now the blind may see, unless blinded by preconceptions. Under the Constitution of 1791, which gave only an irritating shadow of political liberty without the substance, the French-Canadians fought splendidly against the armies of the States, though these came as practical allies of the Corsican, who at the time was the idol of every Frenchman. Subsequently, when the union of the two Canadas in 1841 ended in a deadlock, statesmen never dreamed of the formation of the two provinces into distinct nationalities as the solution. They saw that the deadlock had come, because the Act of Union had an inherent defect. It had attempted to combine the federal principle with unity of action in local matters. Hence the clumsy expedients of dual majorities and dual leaders, which could not possibly be permanent. The solution of the difficulty was sought for in a wider union, and though that made Quebec one province of four, now one of seven, and—a few years hence—to be one of twelve, instead of one of two, Cartier assented to it as loyally as George Brown. The Confederation of 1867 cured the defect of the Union of 1841 by assigning local questions to provincial legislatives, and it laid the basis for a Dominion which soon extended from ocean to ocean.

Of course we have had our difficulties since, but they are simply growing pains. Dr. Smith identifies the extreme Ultramontanes or the Nationalist section in Quebec with the province, as they, for their own ends, identify the "Orangistes" of Ontario with English-speaking Canada. But the tailors of Tooley Street are not the people of England, nor are he and his handful of Commercial Unionists the Canadian people. In forming a nation which, while including all sections of the British people, plus Germans,

Icelanders, Belgians, Hungarians, and Indians, is mainly composed of the two great historic races that have taken root in the land, we are making a most interesting experiment, and one that has had already a large measure of success. The French-Canadian sees that he must teach his children English, if they are not to be handicapped for life in America; and the British-Canadian, finding that the man who is master of two languages is often preferred to him, resolves that if he cannot speak French his children shall. For this and other reasons, actual fusion of speech is going on, slowly but surely. But unity of national life is independent of the fusion.

Coming to Imperial questions, and especially to proposed arrangements, commercial and other, calculated to bring about a closer union of Britain and the self-governing Colonies, and in that way eventually a moral union of our race, I confess that I have never seen sufficient reason why "the old Pelican is eternally to shed her blood for the nourishment of offspring who fly away when they are strong," nor any reason at all why Canada should secede from the Empire. Dr. Smith thinks differently. Speaking, too, in *Canada and the Canadian Question* (p. 291) of "Free Trade within the Empire," with a measure of protection against the foreigner in the markets of Britain in favour of the Colonies, he said: "It is hardly necessary to discuss a policy in which Great Britain would have to take the initiative, and which no British statesman has shown the slightest disposition to embrace." Now that Mr. Chamberlain has shown the disposition, the time has come to discuss the policy; but this cannot be done at the close of an article which has dealt with so many other points, and which is already quite long enough.

G. M. Grant.

THE AMERICAN SILVER REBELLION.

To express any opinions about the so-called Silver Party in the United States requires a little courage and a little caution. The point of view represented in the following few observations is that of an Englishman who has tried to understand the Silvermen and the questions which actuate the Battle of the Standards, now being fought in many countries, but most keenly in America.

Some recent weighty words of the English Chancellor of the Exchequer may serve as a cloak to one who feels some timidity in venturing upon a vexed question which dominates, or threatens to dominate, American politics, as it has in various ways long dominated American finance. Speaking in the debate of March 17th in the House of Commons on monetary standard reform, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach said :—

> "What I wish to impress upon the House is the vast importance of this question to the country; I believe no more important subject to the country can be conceived."

Those words must be equally true of America. America is indeed groaning under their truth. But the struggle over the monetary standard in America is of much more than American importance. As Mr. Arthur Balfour truly said in the debate above referred to, our own monetary standard is not and cannot be isolated from the standards of other nations; and if we are fraternally interested in this upheaval across the ocean, we cannot help also being vitally affected by its results.

What is a Silverman, or Silverite? An American who wishes to restore to silver the freedom of the national mints, *i.e.*, who wishes, while keeping the mints open to the free coinage of gold, as they are now, to open them also to the free coinage of silver, so that both gold and silver, in any amounts of either, shall be received at the mints and turned respectively into gold dollars or silver dollars of the present weight and fineness, the ratio being 16 in weight of silver to 1 in weight of gold, and every dollar, whether of gold or of silver, to have the same full and final debt-paying power, except where the debtor may have specially contracted otherwise. That was the monetary system of the United States until the closing

of the mints against free coinage of silver in 1873; and to that system the Silvermen wish to return.

It will be seen at once that the system is not in terms silver monometallism, whatever it might prove to be in effect, but is bimetallism; and the Silverman calls himself a "national bimetallist." He is by profession a bimetallist, but not an international one. He wishes that his country shall start, or attempt to start, bimetallism at 16 to 1 (the national ratio chosen in 1834), without waiting for common action with other nations, even though such attempt may fail, or fail at first, to restore silver to the market equivalence of 16 to 1 of gold, and may therefore result not in effective bimetallism but in silver monometallism. The international bimetallist is for waiting till by simultaneous reopening of their mints to silver at an identical ratio with gold two or more great nations may ensure the practical equivalence of the metals in the world's markets at the parity chosen. There is an International Bimetallic League in the States, and the opponents of free coinage of silver there all wish for international bimetallism, except a small gold extremist party, mostly of recent growth, who take their tune from the monometallists of Lombard Street and the London Press.

The distinction between national and international bimetallism is important. Trained economists and experts mostly agree in thinking that the United States could not, at least for some time, restore the equivalence at 16 to 1 by their unaided action; opinions would be divided as to how long it might take them to do it, if they were assisted, as they presumably would be, by the reopening of the Indian mints. On the other hand, an overwhelming preponderance of trained opinion holds that the United States and (say) France, with the Indian mints reopened, could restore and maintain without difficulty a working parity of 16 to 1.

The Silverites, then, are opposed by the Goldmen in the United States on the clear ground that the resumption of free coinage by the United States alone at 16 to 1 would mean silver monometallism, with an uncertain future. But the Goldmen of the United States include both international bimetallists and gold monometallists, the latter being but a small minority. Goldman in the States does not mean what is meant by monometallist in England—an opponent of bimetallism, whether national or international. It follows from this that the quarrel between the Silverites and the international—or, as we may call them, the conservative—bimetallists is a very different thing from the quarrel between the Silverites and the gold monometallists. The conservative bimetallists oppose free silver because they want to move forward to effective bimetallism without an intermediate

period of unachieved parity, gold premiums and uncertainty; but they are at one with the Silverites in disapproval of the single gold standard and desire for the rehabilitation of silver. The out and out goldmen, on the contrary, with the monometallist here, want to keep and confirm the single gold standard in the States, are hostile to all idea of rehabilitating silver, and preach that between the two standard moneys of the world there must be strife and variance, not parity and harmony.

In England there are no Silverites. We are all either for gold only, or for gold and silver at a sure and secure parity. We are all agreed, therefore, in hoping that free coinage of silver may not come in America, bringing with it a silver standard and a gold premium. But as to what we hope *may* come, and as to the extent and conditions of our unfriendliness to free silver, there is and must be division and difference, according as we desire the alternative of real bimetallism or confirmed gold monometallism. Our attitude of mind on the question of the standard will determine whether we regard the Silvermen as friends to be chidden and restrained, or as foes to be routed and destroyed.

If we come now to ask how the Silvermen are commonly regarded and spoken of here, and which is uppermost, the voice of those who moderate, or the voice of those who execrate, there can be no hesitation in answering. King Gold, though far from easy even here upon his unshared throne, has a hold upon the sentiments of a great part of the business community, and numbers among his courtiers a host of obsequious pressmen. With some notable exceptions in the provinces, but very few in London, the Press of England breathes out only threatenings and slaughter against the silver aggressor, as against one who cannot be brooked, or even spoken with in the gate. Balaam rides in haste to curse for Balak, not dreaming yet that he sees less than the ass.

Very recently, when a direct polemical outburst in the United States against England threatened us with a peril far worse than the upset of their monetary standard, or even of our own, how different was the tone of the English Press! Never have our journals behaved with greater moderation, greater dignity, greater reasonableness, and—best of all—greater sympathy. Hardly a newspaper but approached the subject with an almost ideal charity, first from the American point of view, and afterwards from our own. So now an apparently big movement of an important kind among our kinsmen might command our sympathetic attention, if not our sympathy. We might ask what is the motive and significance of this movement? What are the grievances of the reformers in this case? We claimed justice for the Johannesburghers—rebels as they were—against President Krüger and his unprogressive Boers:

ought we not, perhaps, to claim justice for the constitutional silver agitators against President Cleveland and his impracticable oligarchy in New York and London? After that, we might go on to ask how far the movement is a personal or impersonal matter to us, whether we are ourselves implicated in the causes of it, or interested in its effects.

Unfortunately, it is only the last of these later questions, and that only in its crudest form, which has occupied the English mind in general. It is a patent fact that England has lent very largely to the United States in the form of American investments. Therefore, it is urged, as these loans are expressed in money, and American money consists of dollars, the maintenance of the dollar is the interest of Englishmen; to repay in "depreciated" dollars is dishonest; and English capital will be defrauded in the present, and driven away in the future, if the dollar is not maintained. That, interspersed with much promiscuous bad language and cuckoo-cries about industrial and commercial ruin to America, forms the English case against free silver, as formulated in the Press at large, from *The Times* downwards.

True, there is in the beginning of English thought a religious predisposition against silver, a habit of the gold cult which has become in many minds inveterate, and colours all attempts at reasoning about things monetary. Fetish-worship has always degraded freedom of thought, and a price must be paid for superstition. Any silver movement, however loyal in its spirit to gold, presents itself as an insult to a national idol; and religious reformers have always met with bitter opposition, often most bitter when they have been most right. Wrapping himself in orthodoxy, the average Englishman looks about for a weapon, and finds a pretty one in his fancied right as a creditor and capitalist, and the fancied sharp practice of his debtor and customer. Prejudice and interest, dressed in the livery of King Gold, join hands across the threshold of the question, and bar enquiry.

Yet the Socratic spirit will have its way, even in the City of London, nay, even in the Court of King Gold. If Englishmen are strong in religious conservatism they are also strong in commonsense. I quote from the epilogue to Mr. J. H. Tritton's paper, "The Assault upon the Standard" (address delivered before the London Institution, May 15th, 1895):—

"We, upholders of our gold standard, are making no attack against silver. We think it an admirable substance for coinage, and extremely well fitted for the purposes of a standard. *We should like to see it rehabilitated by all means by those who are primarily interested.*"

The italics are mine. Mr. Tritton is a gold monometallist, but is honoured by his opponents as a man of consistent moderation. I

fear that, though nominally representing his friends, he was really speaking for himself. Yet, the British House of Commons amply endorsed his view on March 17th last, affirming that Great Britain was deeply interested in the rehabilitation of silver. More particularly in reference to America I quote Mr. Lloyd (*Statist*, June 16th, 1894, "The American Outlook"):—

> "We do not doubt that the prosperity of the United States would be very little affected" (if they lost their gold); "that, after a while, business would adapt itself to the new conditions, and that the country would go on prospering just as before. After all, the greatness and wealth of a country depend upon the qualities of its people and the extent of its resources, not upon the kind of money it employs."

We are forbidden, then, to rest in religious prejudice for gold by the teaching of gold apostles, even if we might ignore facts, such as that Japan is a silver monometallic country, and India was the same until 1893. Nor can any foothold be found in mere conservatism; no one will say, indeed, that monetary laws should be as the laws of the Medes and Persians, least of all a gold monometallist; for the history of this century teems with alterations of monetary laws and monetary standards, made, sanctioned, or encouraged by him.

Dismissing prejudice, then, and coming to the argument from interest, we find Englishmen harping exclusively on the "fifty-cent dollar" string. Depreciation, interest of creditor, injustice, frightening of capital, these are the notes of the fifty-cent dollar string, the burden of free silver according to the general English Press.

Not one of these catch-words is subjected to analysis; not one of them is put under examination as to its true meaning, if there be any.

Let us consider them in their order.

American debts are partly gold debts (including those in sterling), and partly "currency" debts. With respect to the former, the fear of free silver is thoughtlessly premature and exaggerated. There can be no reasonable doubt that such of these gold securities as are now sound, that is, which are held in or guaranteed by properly-managed undertakings, and are protected by a respectable margin of earnings behind their interest, would continue good for gold, without interruption, under any such premium as is likely to arise with free coinage of silver. With regard to others not so strong, there might be in some cases a temporary difficulty, while the debtor undertakings were adjusting their earnings to the new conditions. But, speaking generally, America under free silver would pay her gold debts according to their tenor, with gold or its equivalent. The thing which would enable her certainly to do so, delays or no delays, would be the great increase in prosperity which

would come to her, through free silver, with relief from the burden of low prices and the augmentation of her production and trade and earnings in dollars. The gold premium, now 100 per cent. in silver as compared with the parity of 16 to 1, could not remain 100 per cent. in silver freely convertible into dollars, and, whatever it were, would tend to decline, while the extra dollars required to provide it would be earned in increasing quantities.

There remains the class of debts payable in dollars current, or in "coin." In this class are included a great quantity of railroad and other bonds, a miscellaneous mass of current commercial loans, bills, and credits, and nearly the whole of the United States public debt. In regard to all these loans there is not, and never has been, any obligation to pay in gold; the lenders have taken the risk of the currency, and have no ground of complaint if the dollar be changed in material pending repayment, however much they may grumble at its depreciation.

Depreciation of the dollar may take place in distinct ways: either in gold value (if there be a gold premium with free coinage of silver), or in general value, *i.e.*, purchasing power over commodities. If there be depreciation in gold value, then any creditor who by the terms of his loan should receive gold dollars, or their equivalent, and does not, has a right to complain. But if the depreciation be not in gold, but in general value, no one can have a right to complain, unless such depreciation be unconstitutionally brought about or be broadly unjust in a social sense. The distinction is of the highest importance; for the depreciation of the dollar in general purchasing power would follow necessarily both from free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 and from international bimetallism at 16 to 1, but the free coinage of silver would lead to the depreciation of the dollar (it is generally agreed) in gold value as well; for the silver dollar is now worth a gold dollar by the still effective legal tender law, but under free coinage would be worth less gold than the gold dollar contains. Clearly, then, depreciation cannot be complained of (without going thoroughly into the social justice or injustice of it on the whole), except so far as through rupture of parity there might be a failure to repay loans according to their strict terms. And, therefore, if America could attain free coinage of silver without disturbing the parity between gold dollars and silver dollars, as she certainly could through international bimetallism with the cooperation of other powers, the complaint about depreciation would be left without any ground at all.

That money should be as stable as possible in purchasing power is highly desirable; but until we have ideal money, *i.e.*, money regulated to ideal stability, no creditor can expect always

to receive back his money undiminished in purchasing power. Free coinage of silver would depreciate the dollar in purchasing power, but it would also by natural causes depreciate the sovereign in purchasing power. Would English capitalists in that case think themselves injured because the money owed to them by English borrowers had depreciated? If so, all the Press-writers who are hoping and praying for a rise in prices, are hoping and praying for injustice to their most valued patrons.

Perhaps an "out-and-out Goldman" would select, as the least vulnerable part of his panoply, the advantage of low prices, that is, of valuable money, to money-lenders and high-class investors. Great confidence is shown in arguing that the recent fall in prices has benefited this class in general, and a rise would injure it. This proposition passes as a sort of axiom, and is often illogically supported by the popular maxim, "people know their own interests best." "Wisdom is justified of her children" seems a safer proverb. An able correspondent of *The Statist*, Mr. H. R. Beeton (19th May, 1894), writes very pertinently, "As to investors, they more than any other class of the community suffer by an impairment of the solvency of debtors, national or corporate, and by a reluctance on the part of borrowers to take loans which involve an increasing and indefinite sacrifice in repayment. What they require is security, and fresh openings for new investment at remunerative rates."

At remunerative rates. The rate of interest on loanable capital depends necessarily on the demand for it not less than on the supply of it, and nothing is more certain than that continued periods of falling and unremunerative prices kill the demand for loanable capital, and bring down the rate of interest, while rising and remunerative prices excite and maintain such demand and cause higher rates, besides rendering the loaned money more secure of repayment. It is true that the loaned money, if called in finally and spent upon commodities, will prove less valuable when prices have risen in the meantime; but it is also true that money-lenders and regular investors—all that influential class who have a fund of surplus capital—do not, as a whole, ever call in their money finally and spend it, but continue to lend it, whether in one way or in another. These get the benefit of progressing rates of interest, if they are good husbandmen of their capital, and only the income of their investments, and that perhaps only partly, comes into their pockets for spending. If there is correspondence between the rise of prices and the rise of interest—which is probable, and to some extent necessary—then these permanent creditors are fairly compensated by their increased income in money for the depreciation

which that money has suffered. Meanwhile, they get the benefit of a better investors' market, and a greater choice of securities.

It must always be remembered that appreciation and depreciation of money properly affect only those who have to convert it into real wealth and recover it again by reconversion of such real wealth. These are the borrowers, the producers, the farmers, growers, manufacturers and entrepreneurs, and all those who, though called their employés, are interested with them as partners in the selling value of their products. They are, in any country, the active agents of production, on whose continued prosperity the welfare of the country depends, and they have had to bear the brunt of the falling prices of the last twenty years. That is why it is truly said that appreciation of money hurts debtors more than it can possibly benefit creditors, and hurts, therefore, more than it can benefit any nation as a whole.

Coming to the accusation of injustice, which is naturally the most important as involving a reflection upon the morality of the Silvermen, I may best make them speak in their own defence. I quote, therefore, from *The National Bimetallist,* a leading Chicago Silverite paper, No. 22 of Vol. I., 11th March, 1896. This is a special double number, prepared for the purpose of "giving the reader a general idea of the entire silver question, particularly in its bearing and effect upon the United States." It forms a handy manifesto of the Silver Party, and I can only say that those who read it carefully will not question that by its conspicuous fairness and moderation of tone it may teach a lesson to the other side, while students of economy here will also admire the high ability with which most of it is written, and be surprised to find so very little in it to disagree with. Under the heading, "The alleged swindling the creditor with cheap money," it says :—

"This is the string most played upon by the gold standardist, and upon the whole it has perhaps had more effect than any other point made. The people are generally honest, and appeals to their integrity on behalf of 'honest money' and the honest payment of every just due naturally has a powerful influence. It must be conceded at once that, as nearly as possible, every honest debt should be honestly paid. . . . As nearly as possible absolute justice should be done, and every debt should be paid, according to the equity of the contract. The weakness of the cheap money argument lies in the fact that it assumes the gold dollar to be an honest dollar, and that every debtor is bound to pay in gold or its equivalent. It completely ignores the very essence of the whole controversy, namely, that *gold has nearly doubled in exchange value during the last twenty-two years.* There is no legitimate ground to question that in part, at least, this tremendous rise in the value of gold has been caused by the remonetization of silver, which up to 1873 occupied a common field with gold, and met a portion of the demand. If this be true, then it necessarily follows that the complete remonetization of silver would again relieve gold of a portion of the demand for it, and to some extent lower its value, at the same time raising the value of silver. The effect of this would be to

make money cheaper; that is, prices would rise. The tendency of this would be to injure creditors who have recently loaned money on a gold basis. On the other hand, it would be simple justice to those who contracted debts some years ago on the basis of money cheaper than money is now. The greatest general good is the principle that should govern all legislation."

There is not a word in that statement which the great majority of living economists would not heartily endorse, as to both doctrine and policy. As to "sound" money, it can in truth mean no more, though in use it means less, than "honest" money. The soundest money is that which does best what money ought to do.

The most important functions of money in the body politic are not difficult to understand. Money stands as the chartered representative of real wealth of all kinds, through its average purchasing or exchange power; and as debts, obligations, and contracts enduring over periods of time are expressed in it and measured by it, social justice requires that this average purchasing or exchange power of money should remain reasonably stable; else the real wealth which passes behind the money with the discharge of the liability is either more or less than what the money represented when the liability was undertaken, and hence the "equity of contract" is not preserved.

In the case before us there is no need to enquire into degrees of equities between individuals. Such an enquiry, where there has been a long period of continuous and pretty steady fall of general prices, and as yet no turn towards rising, could indeed only reveal a piled-up balance of unfairness to borrowers and producers. But as between the United States and ourselves, we have two nations confronting one another, in the clear and prominent relation of debtor and creditor (for they are our largest debtor, and we are their largest creditor), and over a period of more than twenty years—no inconsiderable chapter in the commercial life of progressive nations in a progressive age—the value of the money measuring their mass of debt to us has steadily grown and grown to nearly double its former figure, and threatens with the confirmation and extension of the gold standard to grow still more. It seems incredible that Englishmen should lecture the United States in sorrow and anger from the creditor's standpoint, and not even see that the facts of the case turn their argument dead against themselves. The English nation has no wish to be dishonest, any more than the American nation. If Englishmen as a whole saw, as their advisers might make them see, what a heavy and grievous additional burden this unforeseen and unintended appreciation of the money measure has laid upon their debtor kinsmen and rivals, they would surely as a whole echo Mr. Arthur Balfour's indignant protest against the doctrine which Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt, with the approval of some other public men, were not ashamed to

utter in the House of Commons—that the appreciation of gold was welcome to England as a creditor nation. Just because we are the great creditor nation of the world, our boasted love of fair play should make us constantly anxious for a standard which preserves justice between ourselves and our debtors.

It is not that we can impute over-hastiness and impatience to the United States reform party in agitating for a change of standard. The present century has been one of experiment in standards, of successive changes in the new and untried direction of gold monometallism by various nations. England herself led the way, not knowing whither she was going. For nearly two generations her lead was not followed; when it was followed blindly by Germany in 1871, then reluctantly by bimetallic France, and unwittingly by bimetallic America in 1873, the single gold standard became for the first time a reality, and the world began to see what it meant. If the United States reformers have learnt the lesson thoroughly, and believe that England stands out for the single gold standard against their just interests and for her own selfish ends, can England wonder? It is enough for the Silvermen that in 1873 the United States remonetized silver. They know that, if this had not been done, a great part of the fall in prices which has worked them so much harm would not have happened. Therefore, they say, let us undo it. It is surely an intelligible policy, if wanting in the breadth of view so highly desirable in the projection of monetary reforms. But England cannot expect to enjoy a monopoly of narrowness of view as to money. It is quite true that England's national interest is not opposed to that of America in this matter. England's real interest is that of justice to her producers and borrowers; only through their well-being can the country prosper. But if the capitalists make themselves, though falsely, the spokesmen of the nation, the Americans will draw the natural conclusions.

Banking houses in New York and—though a little less enthusiastically—financial writers here are reiterating just now that masses of capital are waiting in Europe to be invested in American securities the moment the gold standard is confirmed by satisfactory declarations from high places. This kind of talk is by no means new, and is regarded now even by many of the average public as a little "thin." No doubt more money would have been invested from Europe in the United States during the last few years (always excepting for the Venezuelan boundary war scare), if the "currency" question had kept somewhat further in the background. But free silver has only quite recently forced itself upon general notice as an imminent danger. The fear of silver was not the main reason why securities were steadily returned to

the United States on balance for years, even before the Treasury borrowings of gold began. The main reason was that the investments were disappointing in themselves, because the railways of the States and the great industries on which they depend were not progressing, but were becoming less and less remunerative. Disappointment followed disappointment, and reconstruction followed reconstruction, till, in 1894, a sort of culmination was arrived at by the simultaneous insolvency of six great roads, representing, it is said, 25 per cent. of the roads of the States. All this happened before a more than passing gold premium became—for it has only this year become—a probability of the near future. Should the fear of a gold premium be deferred, even indefinitely, by mere confirmation of the *status quo*, what is there in the circumstances of the States to justify large new investment? A little simple reasoning supplies the answer. The United States pay their debts in Europe by sales of their produce in Europe for gold money; their difficulties are caused by the low gold prices of their produce, which increase the burden of their debts and make them harder to pay. The confirmation of the gold standard will certainly not, by all experience, lead to higher gold prices; therefore, the Americans will not be more prosperous than they were before. Or again; the profits of American railroads depend upon the freight rates they can charge; these depend, always closely in America, where competition is extremely keen and railroads do not enjoy parliamentary protection, upon what the freight will bear; and what the freight will bear depends upon the price it will fetch at market. If prices do not rise, how are the railroads, with little margin left for economy in working, to increase their profits? One of the most remarkable products of latter day gold standard defence is the argument that prices have fallen because freight-rates have fallen. The cart never so obviously pulled the horse.

Prophecies that the United States will not be able to borrow money under free silver are hardly justified by present circumstances. We lend money to China and Japan and Mexico, though these countries have the silver standard; and we lend money to Argentina, although in that country silver itself is at 50 per cent. premium. On business terms, which they could well afford to pay, the Americans upon a silver standard could raise foreign loans in silver; if they preferred it, they could consent to gold loans, and would be all the more ready to do so if they saw gold falling in silver value, as a consequence of their dispensing with it at home.

This last consideration forms a fitting conclusion to the foregoing outlined criticism of the "fifty-cent dollar" argument. To judge by the daily parade of this phrase, one would think it to be the

general belief that, if America opens her mints to silver, the melting value of the silver dollar will still be what it now is, about fifty cents in gold, and that consequently gold will be at 100 per cent. premium. Does anyone really believe this? If the adoption of silver as free standard money by the United States does not raise the value of silver in regard to the gold thereby partly or wholly dispensed with, nothing in economics is true. The bullion in the silver dollar will rise greatly above fifty cents gold with free coinage, or rather with the announcement of it. To suppose otherwise is foolishness, beside which the belief of many Silvermen that it will rise immediately to 100 cents gold is almost wisdom.

Whatever be the immediate outcome of the present struggle (and that is rather a question of American politics, whereon reticence is best), the general position of the Silvermen is clear. They know what they want, and say it with no uncertain sound. The present monetary condition in America is intolerable; what alternatives are there? Two; either to confirm the gold standard, or to move definitely towards the restoration of silver. Now the Silvermen have at the outset an awkward question to ask the confirmationists: What means of confirmation are you going to take, and what is the cost? That is a heart-searching problem, and the solution of it is necessarily more complex, more doubtful, more remote, and also apparently more hopeless than the free coinage alternative. Low prices, associated inevitably with the present system, mean dulness or stagnation of industry, adverse balances of trade, shipments of gold, borrowings of more gold, increase of national debt, more gold shipments, more borrowings, and so on; the "shameless stone" of Sisyphus rolled up and rolling down again. And the confirmationist's remedy? By calling in the greenbacks and Treasury notes and replacing them with gold, to "stop the drain of gold from the Treasury." Such is the most articulate of the many proposals. Whatever else it may mean, and whatever effect it might have in putting the Treasury in a better position relatively to the country, it certainly implies contraction of the gold standard, increase of demand for gold itself, and further depression, or at least repression, of gold prices. And that implies an indefinite continuation of industrial and financial trouble to the country. How could the Silvermen regard such a proposal and such a prospect as anything but a mockery? To argue in one breath, as *The Times* does ("The Battle of the Standards," June 5th, 1896), that the balance of trade remains against the United States because of the low prices, but would be "masked" by the flow of investment capital thitherward from Europe, which flow is only waiting for a confirmation of the gold standard, is a circle so vicious surely as to deceive no one, unless it were *The Times'* own correspondent in

New York. It needs for its exposure only the inevitable continuation after the words gold standard "which would mean a confirmation of the low prices."

Then, says the Silverman, we must move towards silver; the single gold standard fails. There are two roads, again, towards silver; the road of free coinage, and the road of international bimetallism. Towards the latter the attitude of the Silverman is at least essentially correct. He does not question that it is in itself perfecty practicable, and a better way than his own; he only questions whether the requisite other nation or nations will be forthcoming in time to save the situation. He knows that international bimetallism would prevent a gold premium, and heal the breach between gold and silver. He has no quarrel with gold, but only with single gold. Therefore, he is all for international bimetallism—if he can get it. But there the attitude of the single Goldmen towards international bimetallism stands at present in his way. He looks to England, the country of the greatest general influence and the strongest single gold habit, and he reads there very clearly the brilliant "straddle" of gold monometallism, stereotyped in a resolution of the House of Commons, which declares that England earnestly wants international bimetallism, and is ready to urge and help other nations to set it going, but wants to remain on the single-gold standard herself. Here is an invitation and a refusal in one. The refusal removes international bimetallism, to the Silverman's view, further into the distance; but the invitation is a practical request to him to take a bold step forward. He looks to his own President, his own Secretary of the Treasury, and the moneyed magnates of the older and wealthier States; but he finds them bowing down to London dictation, and suspects that, though nominally perhaps friends of international bimetallism, they are very lukewarm enemies of the single-gold standard. Meanwhile, with the working international bimetallists of his country he is in the closest sympathy, and hopes that ultimately bimetallism may prevail internationally; but he believes that America can do more for herself and more for the ultimate solution of the question by taking her own line and running some risk, than by waiting for other nations.

Such appears to be the position of the Silverman in general. There are, no doubt, some who are more selfish than patriotic; but the fiction that the Silverman is merely a silver-miner has passed away, along with the like invention of *The Times*, that the English bimetallist is merely a speculator interested in silver securities. If less strong in theory than some could wish, the Silverman is the superior both in theory and practice of his average English critic.

In one point of vital importance he has *The Times* (though

apparently not their New York correspondent) on his side. The benefits which the rise in the silver price of gold have conferred upon the industries of silver standard producing countries, where silver has maintained its general purchasing power, are always present to the mind of the Silverman, and were also insisted upon recently in a thoughtful article in *The Times;* an article which stands out as the solitary instance of an intelligent contribution by that eminent journal to the Silver Question. The Silverman sees also the same benefits accruing to the Argentine producer, even though in that country the paper money has been carried to an extreme of real depreciation. He also remembers that his own country did very well indeed in the days when there was a gold premium.

In the face of recent Eastern developments it is a singular fatuity which represents free silver as opposed to industrial interests. Few things are more certain than that American industries in general, and the railways which serve them, would receive new life under free silver, whether with or without a gold premium, and be worth not less to their creditors, and more to their owners, than now.

In the article from which I have already quoted, Mr. Lloyd of *The Statist* considered the effects of free silver, and came to the conclusion that, with the American mintage demand for the white metal, the migration of gold from the States to Europe, the growth in production of gold, and the probable consequences in favour of silver which the adoption of the metal by the United States would have on other "backward" nations (the word is Mr. Lloyd's), gold and silver might be brought nearer a re-meeting at their old equivalence than most people expected. That is roughly the opinion of many Silvermen. The article was written before the House of Commons resolutions of 1895 and 1896. It is very noteworthy that the late M. Henri Cernuschi, the founder of international bimetallism and the consistent opponent of "free silver," so far felt the cogency of the Silverman's position in face of the last great English straddle (resolution of 17th March, 1896), that he said, "In view of England's attitude, I would not hesitate, were I a citizen of the United States, to become a silver monometallist." A connection between this English resolution and the recent rapid progress of free silver is indeed not improbable. The attitude of England would naturally draw the Silvermen and the conservative bimetallists of America closer together, and isolate the single Goldmen.

For *The Times* correspondent in New York one may feel a sincere pity. A hard task would be his, in any event, to bring his messages constantly into line with the half-cynical and wholly

superficial leaders that his paper deems to be required of it every few weeks or months. But Mr. Smalley labours under the further disadvantage of not "knowing the ropes" of the Silver Question at all, as must have been often evident to English readers, and still more often to Americans. Americans can indeed hardly be impressed with English journalistic criticism when Mr. Smalley is its chief and almost only regular feeder from their side. In one of her charming children's plays, Mrs. Hugh Bell makes a child catch sight of an animal under the garden-bushes, and run terror-stricken into the house, describing in panic imagination the awful appearance of the monster, which turns out to be only a harmless and familiar dog. To Mr. Smalley the Silverman is just such an *ignotum pro magnifico*, a monster to be run away home from and painted as fool, fanatic, dreamer, apostate, thief, madman, and what not; but not as a man to be contemplated and understood.

Yet to contemplate and understand the Silverman must come before condemning him. The foregoing reflections are made only with that end—not in any spirit of dogmatism or advocacy, but to protest against "judgment of course" in a many-sided matter, and to show free silver to English eyes from a rather novel standpoint; from no other standpoint, as I claim, than that of the free-silver party itself.

Only a word as to the Republican platform adopted. The policy chosen is the maintenance of the existing gold standard until international agreement opens the door to silver, and the promotion of such international agreement. The Democrats will adopt either a free-silver platform or one of the same kind as the Republicans. The significance of the situation lies in the absence of the single-gold plank from the declared policy of the people. Not in the direction of "confirmed" gold will they move, but along the road of international agreement to effective gold-and-silver standard. There is no triumph of gold, and no triumph of silver, but a deliberate recognition of conservative bimetallism. The problems and economic difficulties of the hour remain. But Silverites and Goldmen alike are pointed to the reconciliation of gold and silver by international agreement as their true port. For the present, America must hold her own, close-hauled, and save lee-way. When a fair wind comes, then *det Deus vela.*

T. E. Powell.

CYCLING IN THE DESERT.

When the Six Days were finished, say the Bedawîn, and the Creator was composing Himself to sleep, a Man stood before Him, and said: "Thou hast apportioned this to one folk and that to another, but to us what? for, lo! we are still in the Desert." And Allah looked down on His new-made world, and saw that the Man spoke truly; for, indeed, He had forgotten one people. But being over-weary and little disposed to disturb His order, He replied: "Behold, I give you nothing for your own, but whatsoever is the portion of other men that ye shall take when and where ye can." And Allah rested from the work of Creation, and to this day the Bedawîn remain in the Desert, taking from other men what and where they may.

I repeated this ingenuous myth to an amateur Bedawi, who had protested with some heat that to take a bicycle into the Desert was wantonly to outrage its immemorial inhabitants. I begged to differ *toto cœlo*. These unsatisfactory odd-men-out of Creation had no more claim to the exclusive use of the Desert than myself. Whereupon, my sentimental salvation being manifestly past praying for, the objector fell back on contempt of an inexperience which could contemplate wheeling through the shifting sands. Now this was solid argument of fact. Had the objector tried himself? Heaven forbid! he was no bicyclist! Well, no more had I tried, but in my time I had journeyed along some main camel-tracks, for example the Palestine road, and noted that often a soft rock lies but an inch or two below the sand, and that where many spongy-footed beasts have passed, the path is at least as hard and as even as a close-cropped English lawn. Nor is the Desert, by any means, all sand. It has broad tracks of overlying shingle, and much out-cropping rock, and vast saltpans whose beds are encrusted with a hard deposit of glittering flakes. After all one could but fail, and I could plead better motive for risking the failure than a mere wish to do what no one else had done. For a party of us were about to camp some miles out into the Fayûm Desert to dig in the remains of an old town, and whether to fetch money or mails, whether to prospect the neighbourhood or to watch scattered diggers in distant

tombs, some means of locomotion would be needed other than our own feet. It was not probable that we should be able readily to procure water or fodder enough for horses or donkeys, while as for the camel—the fast dromedary is a very costly beast and a sore temptation to nightly thieves, and the common hack of burden assuredly the slowest, most vexatious, most ineffably wearisome beast that ever man has elected to bestride! Faster than any dromedary, more manageable than the horse, needing neither to be watched nor to be fed, the bicycle suggested itself, and the bicycle in the event I rode.

At the Cairo railway station amusement was general. Bicycles had become common objects enough in the streets of the Ismailía Quarter, pashas were skimming about the Ghezireh Gardens, and even the native police were mounted on wheels, but as yet no one thought of taking "iron donkeys," into Upper Egypt. "*Qu'est ce qu'on va faire avec ça au Fayûm!*" sneered a smart *tarbush*, as I disentangled an Arab porter from the spokes. He had been running the wheeled thing deviously towards the van, when lo! it had turned back on him—so he explained. In the end it did not go in the van at all, chiefly because of the reluctance of the guard to make accommodation. Perhaps he thought it an uncanny fellow-passenger, perhaps he wished to be no more partner than he could avoid to such a farce as taking a bicycle to the Fayûm. So although it had been weighed—weighed first alone, then, fraud being suspected, weighed with me, then put aside while I myself was weighed alone and my personal kilo's were deducted from the total—weighed, I say, and registered, and committed to the keeping of the *chef du train*, it travelled nevertheless in a first-class compartment with myself, and all my other registered baggage as well—for what, said the official, was the use of putting one thing here, and another there?

From the moment of arrival at Medínet until three months later we left the district, that bicycle was a chief joy of the brown Fayûmis. The *fantasía* began at the railway station, where, as always in the East (where railways are), loafers do mostly congregate. A surging mob swept the mild-mannered constable through the doorway, and out into the street shouting rapturously "Ride, ride, O *howágar!*"—untranslatable term of mingled respect and contempt applied to Europeans. Ride I did, and the shouts soon died away behind me, but catastrophes happened on all sides. Gasping women dropped their head burdens, children, riding buffaloes, found themselves suddenly on mother earth, and more than one camel, having tumultuously rid himself of his load, had to be adjured wildly by Allah and by his Prophet not to seek a watery grave in the Bahr Yusuf. But the merry *fellahîn*

took these little accidents kindly, and, neither then nor afterwards, were other than delighted with the "foot-waggon"—except on two occasions. Both of these chanced in the holy month Ramadân, when the body is weak with fasting, and the spirit strong and irritable. I was riding in the lawless north-eastern corner of the Fayûm, where a dyke-road bends at right-angles round a village, when among the huts and palm-trees I perceived a crowd of boys and young men cutting across the corner and picking up something as they ran. Fortunately the path was hard and the wind astern, and I rushed past the leaders just as they gained the road. A few spent stones trundled by me, a few curses came down the wind, and I was far out of their reach. I had the village *sheikh* warned subsequently, but perhaps not much harm was meant. Some woman, expectant of motherhood, may have complained that her hopes were blasted by the sight of the devil's carriage—such is the commonest charge made against Frank inventions. In the East, as in the West, *cherchez la femme!*

A week or two later I chanced to come from the west into the chief town, Medínet, still in the holy month, on a Friday, at the hour of mid-day prayer. The devout Moslems were squatting in orderly rows in the streets, listening to recitation and exposition, and it occurred to me, finding the bazaar mostly closed and void, to ride right through its covered galleries rather than take a longer route round the town. The experiment was successful, for I passed out to the *riva* of the Bahr Yusuf without once dismounting, but not without being spat upon and cursed for a son of a Nazarene and worse; and I only hope that my lot in another world is not to be influenced by the wishes expressed that morning by the men of Medínet!

For the rest, it was all good humour. A little mockery of the pedalling feet, a huge joy when a sandy tract proved too much for the wheel. As time went on, the "iron donkey" came to be waited for in villages on the Tamiya road, and water-carrying, shepherding, ploughing, and threshing were deserted equally for the delights of racing the *howágar*. The rogues would range themselves in line just where a deep or stony bit began, and painfully I had to plough along, a prey to their vociferous triumph, until suddenly the surface would harden, the wheel cease to drag, and the situation be saved at fifteen miles an hour.

Gliding over the undulations of the Fayûm dyke-roads, and threading the garbage of its village streets, I formulated certain laws which may be commended to the cycling community in Egypt. *Item*, it is worse than useless to sound bell or horn when peasants are in the road. Muffled as to his ears, and incredibly slow in interpreting sense-impressions, the *fellah* mostly turns too late, or wavers irresolute in the narrowest of the path. *Item*, give camels

a wide berth, especially if loaded with anything lengthy, such as stakes or *dhoura* straw; for if you ride close you are only too likely to find your shattered self and your shattered bicycle, after an inappreciable interval, in the adjacent canal. *Item*, give a yet wider berth to a vagrant buffalo-calf. *Item*, give the widest berth of all to the leggy inconsequent Egyptian hen.

These rules borne in mind, progress is easy enough on the camel-paths, if dust and sand do not lie more than a couple of inches deep upon the firm surface; and the times that you make will be incomparably less over long distances than any four-footed Egyptian beast can accomplish. The seven hours that lay between our camp and Medínet—five miles of sheer desert, three of desert half reclaimed, some sixteen of dyke-road, in two places impracticable on account of sand—I could cover without great exertion in two hours and a half, the wind blowing across, west to east, as it will blow nine winter days out of ten in Egypt. And how vastly better entertainment is such a ride than hours spent on the backbone of a *fellah's* donkey, little larger than a large dog, or in enduring the primæval contempt of the "ship of the desert!"

It was not on the dyke-roads, however, so much as in the open Desert that I used my novel steed. There it ran over all sorts and conditions of ground; over pebbly stretches, where the round stones sink into their soft sand-couch beneath the tyre, over dust laid lightly on the native rock, through wind-blown sand-waves, if ridden slowly and held very straight, and at racing pace on the salt-pans or hard, clayey deposit in the beds of torrent courses. Given a wind not directly adverse, nothing stopped the wheel altogether except loose sand laid deep, in which it "skidded" as in mud, or soil impregnated with alkali, where a treacherous film overlies a consistency of soft soap. Little by little I came to know by gentle grades of colour what the going would prove ahead, and, turning this way and that, could often continue for mile after mile without needing to dismount, while camels that had started with me dropped painfully below the horizon.

In particular I made one long and somewhat foolhardy ride. It was towards the close of last January after six weeks experience of Desert cycling. We were encamped in the Waste some five miles, as the crow flies, above the northern-most of the Fayûm villages, Tamiya, and, having occasion to go to Cairo, I bethought me of a direct track called the Thieves Road, which strikes up north-eastward across the Desert, and after a course of some forty miles debouches into the Nile valley between the Pyramids of Saqqâra and Dahshûr. Of old much lifted cattle, paying toll of their number to the Waste all along the road, used to be hurried by this route to the Cairo mart; and honestly gotten herds still start from the

Fayûm at noon, and, resting in a salt hollow some four hours south of Dahshûr, reach Cairo at evening of the second day. Could a bicycle go by this road? An Englishman who had ridden to Saqqâra on camel-back reported it all splendid travelling. The slave-trade scouts at Tamiya and the Desert police, who swooped down one day, thinking us to be digging for contraband salt, said it was soft and deep. Certain Bedawîn of our own camp, familiar with the sight of the bicycle on the sands, averred that though the road was not good going, it was not therefore impassable, but that, if I went alone, of a surety I should be robbed. I ventured to believe their statement of fact, and chance the fulfilment of their prophecy, and overnight, having packed a valise, put my "Beeston-Humber" into as good trim as much previous desert travelling and frequent exposure to sand-storms would allow.

After weeks of south-westerly gales the morning broke still and overcast, promising one of those doubtful days of the Egyptian winter, which often bring up sand-storms after noon. The faithful Bedawîn saw me preparing to start, and consulting, came up to lodge emphatic protest. "It is a bad road, and no man goes in the Desert alone," said they. But I believed less in robbers and more in the immunity of the Briton, especially if mounted on so uncanny a steed as a bicycle. "Is it bad because the sand is deep?" "The sand is deep——" said they. "Then, if it is all deep," I replied, "I shall come back." "He will be back within the hour," they muttered, squatting down again content. I took a revolver (useless encumbrance!) and a water-flask and rode away.

For some four miles I knew the track. It dropped from the gravelly ridge on which our tents were pitched, and struck north-eastwards over a flat stony stretch to cliffs which once bounded hereabouts the limit of cultivation in the Fayûm. Beyond these a soft slope led up to the first plateau of the true Desert, and, that climbed, I should be in the Unknown. I came up to the crown of the slope after half-an-hour's alternate riding and walking, very hot and none too hopeful, and, looking back, espied on the mound beside our camp a white speck, one of the Bedawîn watching for my return. And for a time it seemed as if he would not have to watch long. The slope and a light wind were both adverse, and the sun was beginning to emerge fiercely from the melting clouds. All the plateau seemed deep in loose grey sand, divided here and there by knife-edges of rock, the cosmic bones, as it were, breaking through. The chain which divides the Fayûm basin from the Nile Valley rose far to the eastward, and equally far to the west groups of tumbled hillocks opened to admit a glimpse of the Lake. But for the remembrance of that white watching speck I must have thrown up the game after two miles; for these had to be walked every inch, though

I made many and most heating attempts to sit my "skidding" steed. At last, unhoped-for joy! occurred an outcrop of clayey rock, and new hope dawned. Though the slope increased against me and the breeze freshened as I neared a chain of rocky hills, which bounded the view to the north, the going grew better and better. I kept high up to the left of my guide the deeply-indented cattle-track, which showed far on into the distance, a yellow band on the brown monotone, and now and again I seemed to descry human figures waiting by the roadside, but always they were turned to pillars of rock ere I came by. Rapidly little defile succeeded to little defile until many miles had fallen behind me, and I began to feel to the full the oppressive stillness of the Desert, that embryonic effort of creation, on which flesh has never come up. One must go, as I had done, quite alone, far out of sight of the sharp edge of the green lands, to realize its utter death. There is surely no such silence, even on the ice-fields of the Pole, and little by little it instils a vague uneasiness into the brain, such a disquieting dread as might creep over a man contemplating a landscape in the moon.

Neither there nor elsewhere, until I reached Dahshûr, did I see a living thing, man, beast, or bird. If, indeed, there were marauding Bedawîn watching the road that day, they elected to leave unmolested so strange an object. In any case, I was suffered to pass on my solitary way, winding among the groups of hillocks whose undercut, striated flanks bore eloquent witness to the sandstorms which now and again sweep through them. The occurrence of such a storm was what I had most to fear, for how afterwards should I find my path? Sunstroke, also, or a mishap to the bicycle were possible evils of less moment, but formidable enough; and to add to these was the chance of robbers. It began to be borne in upon me with more insistence than was pleasant that the Bedawi's word was true, "No man should go alone in the Desert."

At last—and I must have traversed nearly half my road—I seemed to reach a watershed, but still looked ahead in vain for a glimpse of palms or pyramids. The prospect was changed indeed, but not for the better. At my feet the ground fell away to a broad sandy basin, and beyond that rose again to hills as high as those on which I stood. What good after all in labouring on? It would be a little ignominious to return, but it would be done in two hours. To proceed might be a matter of ten, perhaps of more. My mind was made up, but I cast a last look round the basin. A sharp triangular point arrested my eye among the jagged summits on the north. A second look, and the first impression was confirmed that this was no mountain-peak like the rest. Nature does

not hew her hill-tops quite so clean. It could be nothing else than the apex of a pyramid, one of the royal tombs of Dahshûr.

All thought of return was banished on the instant by that triangle. What I could see I could reach. I skimmed down the hill and found the basin more firm of surface than its colour had promised, and for further comfort could note the eastern trend of the dry water-courses, for, at the worst, those would lead me to the cultivated lands. The basin proved, however, quite heavy and hot enough. Thirst began to recur persistently as I mounted and dismounted and mounted again, and the water had sunk very low in my flask before I gained the crest of the northern rim, and saw with joy, that, although the pyramid had come no nearer, there showed a glimpse of palm tops far away in the north-east. In front stretched another basin with water glistening in its lowest hollow and all its surface alkaline mud cracked with sun rays, or churned up by driven cattle during recent rains. Bad going this at best, for now the tyres skidded on grease, now every part of the machine was jarred by lumps and holes; but, assured of my direction by the point of the pyramid, I ventured presently to lose the cattle track and strike over the lateral spurs. Often these were too steep to ride up, but never too steep to ride down, and at no despicable pace I skirted round the basin, and, having attained to the brow of the ridge beyond it, saw for the first time my pyramid to its base. A second triangle had sprung up on the left, and still to the left another, which, misty though the air had become, I could identify with the famous Step Pyramid at Saqqára. But all were still some miles away. The desert landscape had changed from hill-girt basins to a succession of billowy ridges, declining gently towards the Nile, and up each soft face I toiled to be rewarded by a delirious rush down the farther side and across the sandy intervening hollow and far up the next ascent. There was so little variety that minutes seemed hours, and I could hardly believe that my watch was not recording falsely, when at length I was stretched under the cool northern face of the first pyramid. A glance at the sun, however, vindicated the dial: from the camp to my resting-place, I had come in three and a quarter hours.

It will be long before I forget the joy of lying in that shade, serenely sure that the worst of the road was past, and that I could not fail to carry the venture through. And the view was so superb! Below me all the Nile Valley faded away beyond the familiar outline of Mokattam into the indefinite Delta. In all the middle distance lay the wonderful medley of the Memphite city of the dead, in which stood out above all other pyramids and *mastabas* the mysterious Step Pyramid which has exercised so much

perverse ingenuity and addled so many brains. Westward rose ridge on ridge the slopes of the High Desert. A flock of goats began to pick their way over the nearest brow, followed presently by two Bedawi boys. I was just about to remount; they looked my way, hustled their charges together and disappeared incontinently. The pebbly plateau, which continues to within a little of Saqqára, afforded me better going than I had found yet—perhaps the improvement was in myself rather than the ground. Then ensued a toilsome interval of shifting sand and broken ground in the rifled necropolis, and shortly after mid-day I descended, a most unlooked-for apparition, on the clamorous crowd of parasites that besets the doorway of Mariette's house in Saqqára.

Two parties of Americans were lunching silently. Their well-filled tables stirred my dormant hunger, and seeking out the old Sheikh, I begged a little food. By all laws of Bedawi hospitality he should have given bread and water at least without demur, but such laws lose their sanction among the degraded Arabs of the Pyramids. "This is no city," he said, shortly, "for you to ask and find food!" "But am I to come from the Fayûm——" I began. The Sheikh cut me short in amazement. "From the Fayûm? the *Fayûm?* When? How? Alone? Riding what?" I pointed to my sand-clogged steed. "And how long on the road?" he continued, when sufficiently recovered. "Four hours and a quarter." No adjuration came to the assistance of the old man, but he sent at once for bread, cheese, and water; and a dragoman, more considerate than his masters, handed me the two most ambrosial oranges that I have ever eaten, or ever shall eat this side the grave!

Half an hour later I was descending the beggar-haunted dyke which leads to the railway at Bedrashîn. To judge by the faces and words of the donkey-boys on the road and of the tillers in the fields, mine was here also the first bicycle. But how different from the good-humoured chaff of the Fayûmi sounded the insulting jeers and the professional whines on this tourist track! Let no sightseer in Egypt abuse the class of Arab that pesters him wherever the steamers stop, for it is he himself that, with his indiscriminate *largess* and his foolish sentiment, has made them even as they are.

The forty miles over rock and sand had well-nigh worn me out, and, in common prudence, I should have waited for the evening train at Bedrashîn. But four hours seemed very long to stay in a Greek wineshop, and after two glasses of *mastica* I asked for the Cairo road. The Greek for all answer pointed to the railway track. There was the foot road and the riding road. What else did I want? No one knew any other way, so, without more ado, I put the bicycle

between the rails and set my face northwards against a stiff breeze. The going was very fair, now on one side, now the other, the iron sleepers being well covered, but the most shifting sands of the Desert would have been less irksome than the eternal perspective of those steel parallels! The one diversion was supplied by a locomotive, painfully dragging an endless file of freight waggons. It began to slow down and whistle at me from a distance of half a mile, and finally pulled up altogether ere I passed, apparently in doubt which side I should elect to take—or was it the driver's curiosity? What with the monotony, what with the pitiless persistence of the head wind, I was going very slowly when I came up with the smart dogcarts on the Kasr el Nil bridge, and, hot though the air was, my hands and feet were growing chill and numb. I doubt if I could have kept upright another half-mile, and in the event it was many days before I ceased to feel the effects of six and a half hours' ride.

D. G. HOGARTH.

THE INJUSTICE OF RURAL RATING.

Is our present system of local taxation in rural districts equitable or expedient? I put the question to be discussed in this paper in this form because I wish to confine it to as narrow limits as possible. It would be easy and pertinent to ask whether our system of rating as a whole is not unfair and oppressive, but that would cover too wide a field. I want to take narrower ground, and merely enquire whether or not agricultural land is unfairly treated as regards local taxation. The first result of this limitation is to put on one side all questions concerning urban rates. That the grievances of the urban ratepayer are many and great I do not doubt, but since two grievances do not make a remedy any more than two wrongs a right, there is nothing unfair in concentrating our attention on the rural problem.

Perhaps the best way of getting to close quarters with the subject is to take a typical rural district and see how the rates are actually paid, and then to ask whether the system prevailing is equitable and expedient—whether, that is, the taxes are levied in true proportion to the pecuniary ability of those who pay them? Let us take a large parish with a squire and parson, a doctor, a retired stockbroker worth £5,000 a year, the owner of a boot factory, a gentleman farmer who farms 1,000 acres of his own land, and the usual complement of smaller farmers and labourers. A rate of two shillings in the pound is to be levied. Let us follow the rate collector on his rounds and see what demands he makes on each individual, and how far he acts on the great principle of making each taxpayer contribute according to his ability. He goes first to the farmer who farms 1,000 acres of his own land in the parish. What the rate collector says to him seems at first sight fair enough: "You have a farm of 1,000 acres rated at £1 an acre, therefore you must be presumed to be making £1,000 a year off your farm. The rate is two shillings in the pound, and that comes to £100 in taxes from you." Next he calls on the parson and says, "You get, we know, £500 a year income in tithe. That at two shillings is £50. We shall not estimate your income from other sources." Hitherto the idea of contributing according to ability has been maintained, in theory at any rate, though to assume that a farmer has an income equal to his rent is very optimistic.

Now comes the strangest part of the strange tale. When the representative of the local authority calls at the "beautifully appointed villa residence" of the stockbroker, he drops all thought of income and contribution in proportion to ability. He does not say a word about a gentleman hardly being able to live in a house like this, and buy pictures, and travel, and entertain so much on less than £5,000 a year, and add, "So, sir, I am afraid I must ask you for a cheque for £500 for rates." He merely says, "I must presume, sir, you could get £150 a year for this house unfurnished by the year, and that at two shillings in the £ is £15." The next call is on the doctor. His business is a good one, and could be sold for £1,000 at one year's purchase, *i.e.*, the doctor is making £1,000 a year. But the collector does not trouble about this. He merely says again, "House worth £50 a year unfurnished, rates £5." In the case then of the retired stockbroker and the doctor the theory of payment in accordance to ability has been quite put aside, and payment according to what your house would let unfurnished by the year substituted—truly a remarkable substitution.

Curiously enough, however, the ability theory partially revives again in the course of the round. By the time that the boot manufacturer has been reached, the local authority has begun to remember something about contributions in proportion to ability. Accordingly when the boot manufacturer, who lives away from the factory, has been asked for a cheque for £5 for his house rated at £50, the collector proceeds to enquire about the factory. The manufacturer, he thinks, ought to pay something on that. One would suppose that this something should be calculated on the annual amount made by the factory—the income drawn from it. But no, the local authority can only rise to these heights of fiscal comprehension in the case of the farmer and the parson. Accordingly he says, "This factory ought to be rated at at least £100 a year, because there is a brewery in the next parish rated at more, which covers about the same ground," and accordingly it is rated at that, no one knowing or apparently caring that the profits are in fact £1,000 a year. So the rating muddle goes on. The yeoman owner of fifty acres of grass-land pays on £100 a year—he is rated at £2 per acre—because it is assumed he is worth that, though it is notorious that he only makes £70 or £80 a year, while the retired police-inspector, with a pension of £70 a year, who lives in a neat little cottage, only pays on £10 a year.

At last we reach the squire. The rate collector no more considers his income than he did that of the retired stockbroker. He merely says, "The Hall is rated at £100 a year, that is £10 for rates; the Home Farm at £300, that is £30; the big farm at Townend now in hand is rated at £400, that is £40.

It is true you can't let it and are losing money on it, but I must assume you could let it for its rateable value if you managed better. Then there are the cottages on which you pay the rates, this with the compounding allowance comes to £15. There is also a little matter of £5 on the underwood cut this year. In all then, I must trouble you, sir, for £100." Perhaps the squire is a man with £5,000 a year from land in the parish. In that case it seems at first as if he were getting off too cheaply, only paying some seven times as much as the stockbroker to local taxation, though his income is the same, while the large farmer owner paid more than thirty times more towards local rates than the stockbroker, considering their respective incomes. But, in reality, is not the squire paying more than anyone else? Because, though the farmers nominally pay the rates on the £5,000 of rents which he receives, they took those rates into account when they took their farms. But for the rates the land would be worth another £500 a year. Therefore the squire with £5,000 a year may be said to pay £600 for local taxation purposes against the £15 paid by the stockbroker of similar income. Since, however, it is a disputed point whether the landlord or the farmer feels the burden of the rates, I will not labour the matter, but will for the moment assume that the farmer pays them and not the landlord.* It is clear that one of the two feels the burden of them, and for the purpose of my argument it does not much matter which. I only wish to show that the man who is in the stockbroker's portion escapes far more lightly than he should. To avoid confusion I have therefore taken the case of a man who farms his own land, and who must be admitted to feel the burden whichever way the controversy is decided.

Now we see in our typical parish that three men have £1,000 a year each, the big farmer, the doctor, and the boot manufacturer. The one who happens to make his income out of land, *i.e.*, the farmer, pays £100 a year rates; the doctor pays £5 a year rates; the manufacturer pays £15 a year rates. Can this be called fair? Should the stockbroker, with £5,000 a year, or five times as much as the farmer, pay only one-seventh as much in taxes? Again, is it right for the yeoman with a bare £70 a year profit from his land to pay £7 a year in rates while the retired police-inspector with £70 pension pays only £1? Can such a system be called fair? If an expert had been asked to devise an equitable system of local taxation for a newly-founded colony, would he have thus singled out the land and made it bear an exceptional burden? Clearly

* It is interesting to note that Lord Mansfield held that the burden of rates fell on the landlord, and that if a landlord were rated on his income like a parson, he would be paying twice over.

not. But I readily admit that in proving so much one has not proved the case of those who claim relief for agriculture. There are important arguments, based partly on history, and partly on the principles of economic science, which are relied on by those who, though they may agree in the abstract that our system of rural rating is not fair, object to any relief being given to land-owners. These rest, to begin with, on the contention that the rates are a hereditary burden on land; that land is charged with certain duties of maintaining the poor and the highways, and other county and parish charges; and that therefore there is nothing really wrong in the inequalities we have noticed. "Our forefathers in their wisdom put these charges on land, and not on other property, and therefore the land ought to continue to bear them." So runs the argument. But is this historically true? Most emphatically it is not. Anyone taking the trouble to look at the history of rates will find that our forefathers, when they invented the poor-rate, had no sort of notion of putting a special burden on land. Their object was to raise a certain amount of money in the parish, and they naturally enough at once stumbled upon a kind of rough and ready local income tax. Nothing is clearer than that the original poor-rate was meant to be a contribution paid by each inhabitant in proportion to his ability to pay the same. Curiously enough, this primitive notion actually continued in one parish near London as late as 1823.* In this place, the rate was made "according to the ability of the party charged, such ability being estimated with reference to property, whether in the parish or out of it." This was, however, an exceptional case. The attempt of our ancestors to maintain a local income tax failed as all such attempts must fail. They soon found it necessary to levy the rate not on general ability, but upon visible ability within the parish. But even this proved a difficulty. Stock-in-trade and professional incomes are notoriously difficult to get at, and gradually, and little by little, almost every form of property except land, houses, tithes, and coal-mines, slipped their heads out of the collar, and ceased to drag the local coach. Nevertheless, for a long time, profit-producing personal property within the parish was nominally liable to rates, though it did not pay them. In 1840, however, a decision of the Queen's Bench made it clear that stock-in-trade, though it had ceased to pay by custom, was still legally bound for rates. The Poor Law Commissioners felt obliged to act on this decision, and they even went so far as to issue a circular advising churchwardens that they must in future "levy rates on stock-in-trade according to the profit produced." This caused a

* See Mr. Cannon's very able little book on rates, recently published by Messrs. Longman.

quasi-panic and a temporary Act to exempt stock-in-trade from rates was rushed through Parliament. This Act has been renewed from year to year, but it is the only barrier which prevents the rating of productive personality. If the county members were to sit up night after night to prevent the renewal of 3 & 4 Vict. Cap. 89, and were finally to oblige the Government to omit that Act from the schedule of statutes to be continued in force, the result would be that theoretically, every inhabitant of our parishes would have to be taxed, "in respect of his ability derived from profits of stock-in-trade or any other property."

The Act of 1840 is a very short one, and I think, therefore, it is worth quoting entire. This, the statutory foundation of our rating system, shows clearly the gross injustice of our present arrangements :—

"3 & 4 Vict. Cap. LXXXIX.

"An Act to exempt, until the Thirty-first Day of December One thousand eight hundred and forty-one, Inhabitants of Parishes, Townships, and Villages from Liability to be rated as such, in respect of Stock in Trade or other Property, to the relief of the Poor. [10th August 1840.]

"Whereas by an Act passed in the Forty-third Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, intituled An Act for the Relief of the Poor, it was amongst other things provided, that the Overseers of every Parish should raise, by Taxation of every Inhabitant, Parson, Vicar, and other, and of every occupier of Lands, Houses, Tithes Impropriate, Propriations of Tithes, Coal Mines, or saleable Underwoods, in the said Parish, in such competent Sum and Sums of Money as they shall think fit, a convenient Stock of necessary Ware and Stuff to set the Poor on Work, and also competent Sums of Money for and towards the Relief of the Poor not able to work, and also for the putting out of poor Children to be Apprentices, to be gathered out of the same Parish according to the ability of the same : And whereas by another Act passed in the Session of Parliament holden in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Years of the Reign of King Charles the Second, intituled 'An Act for the better Relief of the Poor of this Kingdom,' the Provisions of the said Act of Elizabeth were extended to certain Townships and Villages : And whereas, by reason of the Provisions of the said Acts, it has been held that Inhabitants of Parishes, Townships, and Villages, as such Inhabitants, are liable, in respect of their Ability derived from the Profits of Stock in Trade and of other Property, to be taxed for and towards the Relief of the Poor, and it is expedient to repeal the Liability of Inhabitants, as such, to be so taxed : Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this Act it shall not be lawful for the Overseers of any Parish, Township, or Village to tax any Inhabitant thereof, as such Inhabitant, in respect of his Ability derived from the Profits of Stock in Trade or any other Property, for or towards the Relief of the Poor : Provided always, that nothing in this Act contained shall in anywise effect the liability of any Parson or Vicar, or of any Occupier of Lands, Houses, Tithes Impropriate, Propriations of Tithes, Coal Mines, or saleable Underwoods, to be taxed under the Provisions of the said Acts for and towards the Relief of the Poor.

"II. And be it enacted, that this Act shall be in force till the Thirty-first Day of December in the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty-one, and that from the said Thirty-first Day of December this Act, and all the Provisions hereinbefore contained, shall absolutely cease and be of no effect."

In plain words, the Act says that since it has been held that inhabitants of parishes are liable to be rated on the profits of other things than lands and houses, Parliament relieves such other things from the rates and confines rates to lands, houses, tithes, and coal-mines, and saleable underwoods. The Act of 1840, and the Renewal Acts each year since, are therefore Personal Property Relief Acts, and Parliament will be again asked this year to re-enact this Act for the relief of "the profit of stock-in-trade and of other property." This being so, it is rather absurd to speak of the present Rating Bill as an iniquitous and unprecedented measure for the relief of a particular kind of property. If Acts of that kind are to be denounced, let us begin with the chief offender, the Act of 1840. But be that as it may, at any rate the Act of 1840 cuts the ground from under the theory that rates are a special hereditary burden on land, and should therefore be maintained.

Another aspect of this argument must be noticed. It is sometimes urged, be the historical merits of the case what they may, that the fact that practically the whole of the land of England has been bought and sold subject to rates provides an argument against relieving it from rates. In a very able paper in *The Economic Review* it was recently argued that rates are really a "reserved share" of the land held by the State. That is, the State and the owner are really partners in the land, though the State's share is commuted to a more or less fixed money payment. But this being so, argues the writer, "rates cannot properly be described as a burden upon any individual owner, except in so far as they have been imposed or increased during his tenure of the property." The inference from this line of argument is of course that, if and when the State relieves agricultural lands from rates, it is simply handing over so much of its property as a gift to the landlord. At first sight this seems unanswerable. But does it not really go too far and prove too much? In a sense the State is co-partner with everybody in all his property. It claims as its reserve share of that property as much as it requires for its needs. But this reserved share is to be found in Consols and railway stock, household furniture, and even professional earnings, just as much as in land. The State is in the habit of taking under the name of income tax at least sixpence in the £ out of railway dividends as its reserved share, and railway stock has been sold subject to that reserved property in the State. We do not, however, conclude that therefore the income tax could not be reduced below sixpence without making a present of State property to the holder of railway stock. It seems to me that all taxes are claims on the reserved share of the State, and therefore theoretically, no tax can be taken off property bought and sold under it without apparently

making a present of State funds. The "reserved share" argument may be sound in theory, but it goes too far to be practically important, and if pressed would prevent all remissions of taxation, for fear of giving this or that set of individuals a present of State property. The question of taking rates off land must then be considered exactly like all other questions relating to the remission of taxes, and must be judged on its merits. If a tax is obviously making men contribute to taxation out of proportion to their ability to pay, and is producing a depressing effect upon a particular industry, then assuredly there is a good case for remission. But these conditions for the remission of taxation on agricultural land exist in the present case. The persons paying the rates on land are paying out of proportion to their ability, and the rates are exercising a depressing effect on agriculture.

Another point in the problem deserves to be considered. It is sometimes argued that rates ought to fall on land because the owners of land specially benefit by the things on which the rates are expended. But is this true? Certainly it is not true as regards the poor-rate. I who live in the country, and do not own agricultural land, benefit just as much by the poor-rate as do the farmers and landlords. Again, I benefit as much by the School Board rate and the sanitary rate. Nor does the landowner, who specially benefits by the highway expenditure. No doubt he benefits, but does he benefit more than the mill-owner, the large shopkeeper, the coal merchant, or the carrier whose carts are constantly on the roads, and whose business but for the roads would instantly collapse? Yet the agriculturist contributes in proportion to his whole profits, or more than his profits, while the miller and the rest only contribute in proportion to the annual value of the premises from which their businesses are conducted. I feel sure that the closer this part of the problem is examined the clearer it will become that the classes dependent upon land do not specially benefit by the roads or the other things on which the rates are expended.

Another point of importance must be touched on before I turn to the fascinating, if dangerous problem of what is the proper system of local taxation. That point is the need for constantly bearing in mind the simple truism that it is people, not land or property, who pay taxes. We talk of the land paying rates, but that is of course sheer nonsense. What we mean is that Smith or Jones pays rates in accordance with the amount of land held by him. It is always the man who pays. We make his land, however, the index by which we determine the sum he is to pay, and then loosely and foolishly go on to talk of the land paying. Unfortunately, however, a slip in language is like a slip in morality. It is apt to have

large consequences. Upon the verbal slip that the land pays the rates we soon raise a fine structure of sophistry, and even end by talking as if the amount of the rates could not matter as the land will always be there to pay them. "So dangerous is it," as Lord Halifax said, "to build upon a foundation of paradoxes." It is a paradox to say that the land pays rates, and if we build on this foundation we are certain to be mislead.

The problem of how to obtain a fair system of local taxation is too attractive to be passed over in silence. If we are to reconstruct our system some plan must be found which will as near as possible bring us back to the idea of Elizabethan times and make each inhabitant of a locality contribute to the needs of the locality in proportion to his means. Of course, the most obvious way to do this would be to institute a Local Income Tax. But a Local Income Tax, it is admitted on all hands, is an impossibility. The only satisfactory way of getting an income tax paid is to draw off the Government's reserved share at the main, but this cannot be done locally. You could not let the Parish Council of Little Peddlington send a telegram to the Bank, "Have just discovered that Mr. Jones of this parish owns £3,000 Consols. Kindly deduct 1s. Local Income Tax from his dividend and forward same per registered letter." The idea of a Local Income Tax, then, must be abandoned. What is the next nearest thing to it? Surely a Local Inhabited House Duty.

Roughly speaking, men live in houses proportionate to their incomes. Hence an Inhabited House Duty tends to act as an income tax—the measure of which is the value of a man's home. The value of the house in which a man lives is, as it were, made the index of his capacity to contribute to the local needs. If, then, the rural rates were only levied on the houses and not on lands and buildings as well, they would of course be a Local Inhabitated House Duty and would be a very fair tax. Every man would pay in proportion to the value of the house he lived in, and would, except in rare cases, pay according to his ability. But the result of this would be very greatly to increase the present rate of payment, and would probably cause too great a local disturbance to be possible. What I would suggest, then, is the following scheme. In the first place, the Government, in lieu of its present doles, should hand over certain taxes to the local authorities. The first of these would of course be the land tax. Next they should hand over for local taxation purposes the Imperial Inhabited House Duty, and the right to levy licenses on Public-houses and also all the licenses which could conveniently be localized, as indeed is partially done now. Instead of the present rates the local authority should be empowered to levy a Local Inhabited House Duty on dwelling-houses

of all kinds, and also a fixed rate of say one shilling in the £ upon all business premises and buildings, including, of course, all agricultural buildings. The result of this arrangement would be that all new calls upon the local treasury would fall on the Local Inhabited House Duty, while the other payments would remain fixed. The result of maintaining the present Imperial Inhabited House Duty as a separate tax would be to produce a form of graduation. At the present moment the Imperial Inhabited House Duty only falls on houses above £20 a year in value. Under the plan proposed, then, the owners of the better class houses, though not burdened more than at present, would always contribute considerably more to local taxation than their poorer neighbours. The other point to be noticed is that purely agricultural land would escape taxation altogether, though the buildings used to carry on the trade of agriculture would be rated just as are the buildings used to carry on the trade of a miller, a brewer, or shopkeeper. This would give no advantage to agriculture, but would put it exactly on the same footing as other rural trades. And here may be mentioned an incidental advantage of the present Rating Bill. It will separate the rating of land from the rating of agricultural buildings. Henceforward, then, the unfair treatment of land will stand forth in all its nakedness. We shall see the rate collector go to the miller and tax him on his mill, and then to the farmer and tax him on his cattle-sheds, dairies, and barns, and we shall say that is fair and equal treatment. But then the rate collector will turn back to the farmer and say, "You must pay on your land apart from and in addition to the buildings. It is true we don't tax the miller on his stock-in-trade, but you must pay on yours." That is an unfairness which the separate taxation of agricultural buildings will make very apparent.

This is, of course, a very rough sketch for a new system of local taxation in country districts, and could doubtless be improved in detail. I do not doubt, however, that on some such lines a satisfactory scheme of rural rating could be devised. It would be fair in principle, and would not cause any very great disturbance. Personally I should prefer to see the rating of business premises and buildings done away with altogether, but that, doubtless, would seem to most people too revolutionary a proceeding, and therefore I have not suggested it. In any case my scheme is infinitely fairer than that which exists at present—a system under which the measure of a man's payments to common needs is not his ability to pay, but the quantity of his possession or occupation of the least valuable form of property at present known to mankind—agricultural land.

J. St. Loe Strachey.

MR. RHODES' RAID.

THE evergreen enigma made in South Africa remains as perplexing and provoking as ever. Age cannot wither it nor custom stale its infinite variety. No problem in our time has prompted so much speculation. In the following pages I propose, after glancing at some of the more popular solutions of the riddle, to examine the only solution that appears to tally with the authentic and verifiable facts. The enigma, it need hardly be said, is why was an attack made upon the Transvaal, and who was principally responsible for it?

"WOMEN AND CHILDREN."

According to the original theory, the adventure was not a raid at all, but a rescue. The Administrator and his companions in arms were dutifully guarding the terminus of a railway at Mafeking against possible native attacks, when they received a startling and urgent summons to protect the lives of English women and children in Johannesburg which were imperilled by the impending revolution of their husbands and fathers.

Rather than ignore such an appeal for aid, the Chartered Company's force preferred to risk the peace of South Africa and went off pell-mell without adequate preparation — hence a military fiasco. Hair-brained and quixotic they were if you like, but they acted as every Englishman worthy of the name would have acted in their place, and no section of their fellow-countrymen will pass a severe judgment on a chivalrous errand of mercy. It need hardly be said that no member of the band has ever given any countenance to this grotesque theory, and none resent it more keenly than those whom it makes ridiculous. Still it held the field for several weeks, and was maintained by its adherents with no little heat, and all dissentients were denounced as Little Englanders who were ready to criticize their fellow-countrymen for undertaking a perilous Christian service. The Poet Laureate came forward with a series of stirring stanzas which were recited nightly at a music hall and applauded to the echo. One typical verse ran as follows:—

> "There are girls in the gold reef city,
> There are mothers and children too!
> And they cry "Hurry up! for pity!"
> So what can a brave man do?

"If even we win, they'll blame us ;
If we fail, they will howl and hiss.
But there's many a man lives famous
For daring a wrong like this ! "

Lady Warwick, on behalf of the women of England, wrote a spontaneous and dramatic letter to *The Times* :—

"Sir,—Would any Englishman worthy of the name and the nation have failed to act exactly as Dr. Jameson and his gallant companions have done ? He is appealed to by the leading residents of Johannesburg, by an actual majority of that community, to come to the assistance of their women and children at a moment when a revolution is seen to be inevitable. On his way to succour his countrywomen with a force of mounted police, and after having disclaimed every intention of hostility to the Boers, he is apparently attacked by their armed forces."

Even the sophisticated Mr. Rider Haggard gave expert endorsement to the same view. "Their (Charterland Troops) advance may have been an international crime and an act of rebellion against the authority of the Queen, but at least, if half the intelligence that comes to us is true, they undertook it, believing that thereby they might save their countrymen and women from attack, and possibly from massacre."

The Times correspondent in the Transvaal first exposed the folly of this theory. His striking and serviceable letters, written on the scene of the supposed massacre of women and children, showed clearly that the Chartered Company's forces, so far from forestalling a panic in Johannesburg, created one, and endangered a considerable number of lives. The errand of mercy theory has received a final quietus from the "inspired" article in the June *Nineteenth Century*, which states : "In the first place it seems clear that Dr. Jameson did not, immediately on receipt of a letter from the Reform leaders, leap to the saddle and gallop to the rescue of women and children." The "women and children" view, as a matter of practical politics, is dead, though it will probably linger on in a few suburban girl-schools.

"A Boer Forgery."

The next theory to take the field attributed the raid to an act of treachery on the part of the Boers, who were said to have decoyed Dr. Jameson over the border by a forged document. After a short and shameless existence this theory had a fit of decency and died. It is unnecessary to dwell upon it, but it had a good side, as it made men realize to what lengths honourable papers of the front rank will go when committed to a ferocious campaign of vituperation. The collapse of this calumny, owing partly to the discountenance of Dr. Jameson,

steadied public opinion in this country, and the natural fairness of Englishmen has been getting freer play ever since.

Mr. Rhodes as Cavour.

Two further theories made a simultaneous appearance last month, to the no small detriment of both.* They are, to some extent, new, but their respective writers must inevitably acknowledge that they cannot both be true. In fact, they have got one another into a very considerable mess, in spite of their both being ardently Rhodesian, and one, at any rate (Mr. Fort's), "semi-official."

The Fortnightly article, which is unquestionably the ablest contribution that has been made to the controversy, and which in grasp, knowledge, and cogency of expression compares most favourably with the washy pamphleteering of the Chartered Company's publicists in ordinary, takes the line that Mr. Rhodes is a masterly and disinterested statesman and patriot, whose work was ruined by the folly of Dr. Jameson:—"Jameson really attempted to act the part of Garibaldi in Sicily, and Mr. Rhodes had already, with more patriotism than wisdom, chosen to follow the precedent of Cavour. Mr. Rhodes' mistake cannot well be called anything but an error of judgment, a weakness for the short cut, while Dr. Jameson's amounts to an overweening self-confidence and reckless daring, to which the discoveries of telegrams and codes in his baggage compel us to add an almost incredible carelessness and harebrained lack of caution. For I assume, what I believe will be proved when a full enquiry is made, that Mr. Rhodes did not give the order to go in, and was actually furious when he found that Jameson, in spite of his orders, and in spite of the efforts of the Uitlanders to keep him out, insisted on going on to Johannesburg. . . . . I am very much mistaken if, when the whole facts are known, the calm judgment of England will not see that Mr. Rhodes, if he has acted unwisely, and if his action is technically a breach of international law, has been from the first actuated by motives that are a credit to him—by a patriotism that risked everything, his own political power and prestige, his whole great position, which no success could have made higher than it was, *to assist his oppressed countrymen rightly struggling to be free.*" Later on we are told, "For the men of Johannesburg, in spite of the fact that Jameson had come in contrary to their wishes *and against the orders of Mr. Rhodes,* were preparing to help him if he needed help." This theory is perfectly intelligible, and might, if left to itself, pass muster. Mr. Rhodes, as the leading Englishman in South Africa, being unable to endure the oppression of his fellow-countrymen in the Trans-

* "Mr. Rhodes and the Transvaal" (*Fortnightly Review*, June). "The True Motive and Reason of Dr. Jameson's Raid," by G. Seymour Fort (*Nineteenth Century*, June).

vaal any longer, concentrated an armed force upon the borders of that state, which, in concert with a rising of the Uitlanders, "rightly struggling to be free," should march in and extort reasonable terms from the oppressor. To this end he co-operated loyally with the Reform Party in Johannesburg, and when they found the situation did not ripen as anticipated, Mr. Rhodes backed their endeavours to stop Dr. Jameson from coming. The latter, however, persisted in going in "against the orders of Mr. Rhodes."

Discovery of Documents.

Turning from *The Fortnightly Review* article to the unfortunate article in *The Nineteenth Century*, one gets this diametrically different version. "Whoever may have been responsible for the moment of the start, it appears almost certain that Mr. Rhodes was in entire accord with Dr. Jameson's plans and intentions. This seems the central feature of the situation, and I do not attempt to disguise the fact that Mr. Rhodes *shares equally with Dr. Jameson the responsibility, not merely for the raid itself, but for the policy of rush and precipitancy which dictated it.*" Having cleared the ground by linking Dr. Jameson and Mr. Rhodes together in a manner to make the blood of the *Fortnightly* Reviewer run cold, the writer proceeds to expound the "true" theory of the raid:—

"For many sufficient reasons the facts upon which this theory is based, and which have been known to the writer for some time past, have been hitherto withheld. Doubtless in due course both Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson will themselves make statements of exceptional interest, but their opportunity for so doing seems indefinitely uncertain.* In view, thereof, of their enforced silence, and of various premature hypotheses that have appeared as to their reasons for their action, the moment does not seem altogether inopportune for a statement which may possibly provide material for a maturer view of this country's indebtedness to Mr. Rhodes and his policy.

"In plain words, it was the knowledge that President Kruger had entered into some secret understanding of a political nature with Germany which induced Mr. Rhodes to reluctantly abandon any further conciliatory policy towards the Transvaal, and determined him to push on a revolution in Johannesburg, and to authorize Dr. Jameson's plans for a rush to Pretoria. From this point of view, this German-Boer alliance presented such an immediate and imminent danger to Imperial and Afrikander interests throughout South Africa, that he resolved at all hazards to upset the Hollander-German cabal who had clustered round Mr. Kruger. There was no intention to overthrow an independent Dutch Government as such. *Nor was the redress of grievances*, or the opposition to schemes of Boer dominion, of primary consideration. The chief purpose of Mr. Rhodes' campaign was to prevent Germany as a rival Power from acquiring a predominant political status in the Transvaal; and I state positively that one of the main objects of Dr. Jameson's rush was to help *to secure documentary evidence* of this secret alliance, which evidence was believed on reliable authority to be in possession of President Kruger in Pretoria."

* "During Mr. Rhodes's last visit to England, after the raid, I know that he was most anxious (to use his own words) '*to go down to Trafalgar Square and proclaim the true motive and reason of the raid.*'"

The article goes on to explain why "the blow, to be successful, must be struck at once":—

"From these, and other indications, it was felt that the blow, to be successful, must be struck at once. For certain local reasons the most favourable time for it was the beginning of the rainy season in December and January, and the only alternative was to postpone the matter for a year. By that time Mr. Kruger's position would have been so much stronger in every respect that it was deemed better, at all hazards, to bring about the crisis in December. One great difficulty was, in a short space of time, to get sufficient ammunition and arms into Johannesburg to enable the people there to make an effective start. *But the key to the whole position was Pretoria*, and had the plan as originally laid down been carried out, the forts, ammunition, and even the town itself, would, in a single night, have passed out of the hands of the Transvaal Government into those of the leaders of the movement in Johannesburg. Everything was cut and dried, even to the smallest detail, and the scheme was within twelve hours of its accomplishment. At the last moment, however, the nerve of the Johannesburg leaders failed, and that portion of the enterprise, which was absolutely essential to the success of the whole movement, collapsed. As for President Kruger and his officials, there was never for a moment any intention to interfere with their liberty, or treat them otherwise than with the utmost courtesy and consideration. With the desired documents in the possession of Dr. Jameson, or the Reform Leaders, the true aims of Germany and President Kruger would have been known, and justification for Mr. Rhodes's policy and its incidents might then with safety have been left to the fair judgment of all intelligent men."

Here, again, we are provided with a logical working theory which might be considered to supply the key to the mystery if anyone could be induced to believe it. Dr. Jameson and Mr. Rhodes working in complete harmony, desired to obtain documentary evidence of a Boer-German plot from the archives of Pretoria, and determined to effect their object by a bold *coup de main.** The Uitlanders, "rightly struggling to be free," held a subordinate place in their plan of campaign, which had Pretoria and not Johannesburg as its objective. The chief interest in this latest theory is that it places Dr. Jameson and Mr. Rhodes in the same boat, and shatters the "scapegoat" policy. Considering the authorship of the article, its thesis merits some probing, and we hope that the Cabinet, which has already been compelled to withdraw its original optimistic view of Mr. Rhodes' innocence, will seriously consider whether the continued discrimination between him and Dr. Jameson can be maintained.† In fact, I interpret the "true motive and

* Among the many surprising *canards* circulated in reference to the raid, I think the palm for *naiveté* should be awarded to the suggestion that Mr. Beit—a subject of the German Emperor—promoted an expedition to obtain documentary evidence of his Government's culpable relations with the Transvaal. Perhaps a public that swallowed, and was sustained for some weeks by, the "women and children" theory has little right to resent imputations upon its intelligence, and "those millionaires who spend their money in supporting raids and invasions" (to whom Lord Salisbury has so aptly referred) are half entitled to float any romance they choose. It is noteworthy that *The Times* has given no countenance to the archive theory.

† In speaking in the House of Commons on February 13th, shortly after an interview of two hours with Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Chamberlain made the following

reason" of Mr. Fort's article to be a desire to break gently to a previously hoodwinked public the fact that Dr. Jameson received his marching orders from Mr. Rhodes—the German document being thrown in to tickle the groundlings.

A Working Theory of the Raid.

Leaving Mr. Rhodes' masked champion of *The Fortnightly Review* to fight it out with the ingenuous contributor to *The Nineteenth Century*, I pass away from these cock-and-bull stories to the only working theory of the raid which fits the ascertained facts. It will not be denied that the crux of the difficulty, which no theorist has hitherto cared to tackle, is the extraordinary bewilderment and paralysis that fastened upon Johannesburg when that ill-starred city learnt that the Chartered Company's forces were advancing to its assistance. *The Times* correspondent on the spot, telegraphing at the time, described the first news as being simply "discredited," Dr. Jameson's act being regarded as such an "utterly impossible proceeding," and when the rumour of the advance was confirmed, "men simply stood aghast at the boldness of the move." This account of the state of Johannesburg was abundantly corroborated by other eye-witnesses, who depicted a reign of unmitigated astonishment and ineptitude. In fact, if Birmingham were suddenly to learn that a body of armed men were advancing from Lancashire at the urgent request of her new Lord Mayor in order to protect women and children from massacre, or to compel the School Board to capitulate to the Town Council, her astonishment could hardly be greater than was that of Johannesburg. Is not this astonishment itself astonishing? We now know that Johannesburg had been preparing for a demonstration in force for weeks, that arming, drilling, and talking had been open and constant. It may be said that preparation and talk are one thing and actual fighting another, and that an inexperienced civil community cannot easily pass from its normal state of tran-

statement: "I say, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that everybody, that Mr. Rhodes, that the Chartered Company, that the Reform Committe of Johannesburg, and the High Commissioner were all *equally ignorant* of the intention or action of Dr. Jameson. *That is the belief which I express to the House after having carefully examined all the statements of all the parties concerned.*" The discovery of the deciphered telegrams caused Mr. Chamberlain to modify this statement, and in the debate in the House of Commons at the beginning of May, he held that the incriminating telegrams showed: (1) That Mr. Rhodes and one, at any rate, of the directors of the Chartered Company "knew and approved" of the proceeding of the Reform Committee; (2) That the same gentlemen "knew and approved" of the preparations for the entry into the Transvaal in certain eventualities; (3) That Mr. Rhodes disapproved and "tried to stop the invasion at the moment at which it actually took place." Now, Mr. Fort, who certainly ought to know, tells us that "Mr. Rhodes shares equally with Dr. Jameson the responsibility not merely for the raid itself, but for the policy of rush and precipitancy which dictated it."

quillity into the fighting vein. There is some force in this, but not enough to account for the fact that from a city of 100,000 people, at least half of whom were English and more than 2,000 of whom were armed, no reinforcement went out to Dr. Jameson's assistance. He was left to look after himself, while the Reform Committee negotiated with the Transvaal Government. It may be remembered that *The Times* correspondent described how the Johannesburgers —*two days and a half after they knew that Dr. Jameson had crossed the border*—were arranging an armistice with General Joubert, leaving the Chartered Company's forces out in the cold. "*There was, however, no agreement that action should not be taken (by the Boers) against Dr. Jameson.*" *This, be it remembered, was before the arrival of the Queen's Proclamation.* There was a very natural howl of execration at this news throughout Great Britain and South Africa; the Uitlanders were considered to have behaved with unexampled treachery in inviting and betraying their rescuers. The mysterious attitude of Johannesburg, if wholly incomprehensible then, has been rendered ten times more incomprehensible by the publication of the deciphered telegrams, which show that only a few days before the raid the leading Uitlanders were in perfect harmony with Dr. Jameson's contemplated action and were ready for his advent. There was a subsequent hitch, admittedly, but in the beginning of the week preceding the raid the Reform Committee, Mr. Rhodes and his fellow-conspirators in Cape Town, as well as Dr. Jameson at Pitsani, were all of one mind, and the date of the start was agreed upon between them, as the following telegram from Dr. Rutherfoord Harris shows :—

Harris, Capetown, December 24th, to Jameson, Pitsani.

"Company will be floated next Saturday, 12 o'clock at night. They (the Johannesburghers) are very anxious you must not start before 9 o'clock, and secure telegraph office silence. We suspect Transvaal is getting aware slightly."

And yet when the raid came off Johannesburg was as completely staggered as London was, and in the critical forty-eight hours after Dr. Jameson crossed the border the leading Uitlanders—who a few days before were actively promoting the raid—took no steps to facilitate the task of the Chartered Company's forces, but on the contrary, by treating for terms with the Transvaal Government and discussing an armistice giving the cold shoulder to Dr. Jameson's band, showed marked disapproval of and even hostility towards their allies. Indeed, they regarded it as an unfriendly move towards themselves on the part of Mr. Rhodes, and they resolved to thwart it. That is the true key to the mystery. The raid was originally organized by the Reform Committee and Mr. Rhodes to bounce the Boers, and was finally employed by Mr. Rhodes to bounce the Reform Committee as well as the Boers. That is at any rate what the shrewder members of the Reform

Committee believed at the time, and that is why they exhibited such stupendous supineness during a crisis of the approach of which they had had full warning. They regarded the raid as their worst enemy, and elected to remain in the Boer frying-pan rather than jump into the Rhodesian fire.

In order to understand how a movement originally organized by Mr. Rhodes and the Uitlanders in concert came to break up, and then to be carried out in the teeth of the latter, it is necessary to realize that the interests of the conspirators were never really mutual, though each calculated on being able to make use of the other. Mr. Rhodes does not care a brass farthing about, and never has interested himself in, the Uitlander grievances, but he made up his mind many months ago that the time had come to annex the Transvaal, and cast about for the necessary means. He appreciated the value of the Uitlander case against the Boer Government in commending a high-handed proceeding to the British public, and he believed that the recalcitrancy of the commercial and railway policy of the Transvaal would make it tolerable to Cape Colony. It was above all things necessary, however, while carrying all local parties, to ensure the sanction of the Imperial Government to any *fait accompli*, so he shrewdly decided to make "the Uitlanders rightly struggling to be free" the pivot of his plot. On their side the Uitlanders were working for a totally different object; the last thing they desired was to fall into the capacious maw of Mr. Rhodes, and become an appanage of the Chartered Company, and the full scope of his game probably never dawned upon them in the earlier stages of the intrigue. Nor did they suffer so acutely from their *political* ostracism in the Transvaal * as has been represented, but they were at one with Mr. Rhodes in putting their disfranchisement forward for British consumption. What really oppressed the capitalists of the

* Mr. Lionel Phillips' private letter-book, extracts from which have been published in a Transvaal Green Book, throws a most interesting light upon the relations between the *dramatis personæ* of the raid :—

Mr. Lionel Phillips to Mr. Beit :—

"10/6/94.

"My dear Beit,—I do not know what must be our next move. The Government clearly thinks it has done well for industry, and our opposition will, of course, irritate old Kruger. The old man is, however, in no case a friend to industry. He has most perverted ideas on political economy, suspects that we are all working in concert with his deadly opponent, C. J. R., and sees imaginary amalgamations looming in the distance, and the country bought up by Rhodes, &c.

"Birkenruth and Captain Rhodes have both urged me to go to Cape Town and consult C. J. R. as to the position and our line of action. I do not, of course, want to meddle in politics, and as to the franchise, I do not think many people care a fig about it."

A second letter from Mr. Phillips to Mr. Beit reads :—

"16/6/94.

"My dear Beit,—I may here say that, as you, of course, know, I have no desire for political rights, and believe that, as a whole, the community is not ambitious

Rand were the difficulties thrown in the way of mining the deep levels by an ignorant and somewhat suspicious farming community. Scientific mining is an exceedingly difficult art which can only do itself justice under a thoroughly intelligent and sympathetic administration. The Boers were quite incapable of furnishing this themselves, and the aliens they imported from Holland to help them seem, for the most part, to be greedy adventurers whose sole idea is to enrich themselves as fast as possible without giving a thought to the morrow of the country. The exactions, concessions, and monopolies inflicted upon the Uitlanders by the Hollander faction became at last intolerable, so the leading men of the Rand decided upon a demonstration in force, which they probably never thought need be more than a demonstration, in order to overawe the Boer Government and enfranchise their industry. They had no conception of cutting themselves adrift from the Transvaal; but having paid the piper for many years they aspired to call an occasional tune. The letter numbered 6 from Mr. Lionel Phillips to Mr. Beit shows clearly what the former had in his mind when he suggested the importation of rifles in order to coerce President Kruger into "a change of policy," and make him "bow to the will of the country."

It is therefore easy to see how Mr. Rhodes, by keeping his daring scheme to himself, came to secure the co-operation of men who, if they had had any inkling of his game, would have been the last to take a hand it it. The Phillips con-

in this respect. The Bewaarplaatsen question will, I think, be settled in our favour, but at a cost of about £25,000. It is proposed to spend a good deal of money in order to secure a better Volksraad, but it must be remembered that spending money on elections has by recent legislation been made a criminal offence, and the matter will have to be carefully handled.

"The President is absolutely rabid, and many of his old friends tell us that he has such an opinion of his action being under Divine direction that he is intractable and oblivious to all argument. If events fulfil appearances, it means an ultimate frightful loss to industry or revolution. Now our mission is to avoid both.

"The Goldfields people urged me to go to Cape Town to talk over the matter with Rhodes. I felt inclined to do this, but two considerations deter me—(1) if it were for a moment conjectured that I had approached Rhodes I should incur the most virulent revenge from the Government, and perhaps justly; and (2) whether I should be wise to trust Rhodes' advice. Someone has told the Government that the Uitlanders intend to petition their respective Governments to put this country under international control as Egypt was, and the Government is, I hear, seriously concerned about this. There is, of course, another possible contingency —namely, an appeal to all other colonies and States in South Africa.

"I was hoping you would come out, as, although there was (?no) immediate necessity for action, we must make up our minds to a policy. At the rate at which things are marching we cannot remain out of it altogether. Naturally, whatever we do must be done through others, but I do not think vested interests can afford to let things drift with indifference.

"If you trust Rhodes, and cable 'See Rhodes,' I will run down. My own feeling is still to wait and watch and spend money in trying to improve the Volksraad. The war in the north, if Magato joins, is by no means a foregone conclusion, and

tingent do not appear at any time to have reposed complete confidence in Mr. Rhodes. The letter-book, indeed, reveals considerable distrust, but they probably thought themselves strong enough to cope with him, seeing that he was tied to Cape Town—1,100 miles away—by the Premiership of Cape Colony. They seem to have overlooked the influence of the Consolidated Gold Fields Company in Johannesburg, of which Colonel Rhodes is the Managing Director. The latter is far from being an able man, but he is a blind follower of his brother, and from the first was working heart and soul for his brother's policy, and employing all the resources of one of the most powerful companies in the Transvaal to secure the same end. So Johannesburg was divided into a party working for reform under Mr. Phillips, and another working for revolution and annexation under Colonel Rhodes. The latter cared no more than his brother for Uitlander grievances, and despised the Uitlander movement except as a lever for effecting the great Rhodesian plot. In the crisis of the crisis, however, he was completely checkmated by the "reformers," who realized how they had been sold, and resolved at all hazards to keep Johannesburg from co-operating with Dr. Jameson. They played a strong, shrewd, dangerous game, which completely upset the other side's calculations, and though they have been called by every hard name which an act of treachery suggests, the reader to appreciate their attitude

I see the English Government is objecting to the commandeering of British subjects, which may lead to complications."

A letter to Mr. Beit reads :—

"15/7 94.

"By dear Beit,—Just got cable reading 'Do not see Rhodes,' of which I am glad. Things are quieter, but I think a good many men are buying rifles in case of contingencies. If Sir H. Loch comes back in six months about Swaziland there may then be a row. We do not want any row. Our trump card is a fund of £10,000 or £15,500 to improve the Volksraad. Unfortunately companies have no secret service fund."

Letter 6, addressed to Mr. Beit, reads :—

"12.8.94.

"My dear Beit,—I will see whether is is not possible, without creating unnecessary alarm here or active steps in Pretoria, to get the companies to possess themselves of a few rifles. One thing is certain—that the Boer prowess is much overrated since they licked our troops. In the Malaboch campaign they distinguished themselves by making the Pretoria contingent try any risky business, and they appear generally to have behaved badly.

"If they knew there were 3,000 or so well-armed men here there would be less talk, anyhow less real danger, of wiping out Johannesburg upon occasions like the recent incident. In addition to that one can never tell when some complication with England may arise ; and this place ought to be prepared to hold its own for a few days at least. If spending money does not bring reform the alternative is force. That will come in time. The Boer, however, knows the upshot of that as well as we do.

"That is why I think the country is ripe for a change of policy. Kruger has become such an autocrat that we can hardly expect him to initiate a change, but he will bow to the will of the country if he sees it is inevitable."

must realize that they considered themselves to be the victims of an act of treachery on the part of Mr. Rhodes.

It is universally believed in South Africa that Dr. Jameson received his immediate marching orders from Mr. Rhodes; that the latter had no more idea of risking his prestige to remedy Uitlander grievances than he had of rescuing women and children or of discovering a document in Pretoria. He played for one single splendid stake—the capture of the Transvaal. He completely misjudged the situation, and his means appear now to have been ludicrously inadequate to his end, so much so that the mere suggestion of the scheme raises an incredulous smile, but people on the spot thought the feat possible, and many still think that if Colonel Rhodes had played a more dominant part during those critical two days—Monday and Tuesday—that the Imperial Government would have had not to collect the *disjecta membra* of a fiasco, but to cope with an accomplished fact. The Phillips contingent left no stone unturned to prevent this consummation, and nullified all Colonel Rhodes' efforts. They regarded the raid when it came as a deadly enemy, and they acted accordingly. As to how far their view was reasonable and their conduct justifiable we shall be in a better position to judge after reviewing the communications that had passed between the parties during the days preceding the raid.

Before coming to these it is necessary to indicate the preparations that were made under Mr. Rhodes' auspices at different times and places last year. It would not be becoming to describe them in detail, as some of the individuals concerned are upon their trial for a breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act. Whether they were guilty or innocent of that offence is not a question of any material importance, except to themselves. If they were guilty they do not make Mr. Rhodes innocent, as no man, horse, or rifle was moved in the process of "fitting out an expedition" without his cognizance and approval. If, on the other hand, the "raiders" are held not to have broken the Foreign Enlistment Act, Mr. Rhodes will not thereby be absolved from planning a raid on the Transvaal. For this purpose he employed the resources of the Chartered Company, the De Beers Company, and the Consolidated Gold Fields Company, in all of which he is the paramount power. Rhodesia was steadily stripped of her police force, and men and horses were concentrated in driblets at Mafeking and Pitsani, close to the Transvaal frontier, while the Rhodesia Horse was put upon a fighting footing, and ordered to hold itself in readiness. Stores were accumulated for the expedition, rifles and ammunition were smuggled into Johannesburg, the De Beers Company being the principal channel. The route to Pretoria was carefully examined, and elaborate commissariat arrangements made. The preparations

appear to have been exceedingly costly, and "those millionaires who spend their money in supporting raids and invasions" that Lord Salisbury has recently referred to must have been in a handsome mood.

In the early days of last December the plot ripened very fast, and many telegrams passed between the conspirators couched in the vernacular of the company promoter. A certain number of these telegrams were captured by the Boers and have been deciphered by the aid of a code found in the baggage of the raiders. The series is far from complete, but it gives a fairly clear outline of the plan of campaign, and the details could easily be filled in by the telegraphic authorities at Cape Town and Mafeking upon an effective *subpœna*. The published telegrams—of the authenticity of which there is no dispute—show that up to Christmas Day things went fairly smoothly, and Johannesburg (Mr. Lionel Phillips, Colonel Rhodes and Co.), Cape Town (Mr. Cecil Rhodes, usually represented by Dr. Rutherfoord Harris, the Secretary of the Chartered Company, or Mr. Stevens, the Assistant Secretary), and Dr. Jameson, were all working towards the launching of the project (described as the "flotation of the company") at the very end of December. Several telegrams describe the concentration of men, stores, horses, rifles, and ammunition at Mafeking and Pitsani, the starting points of the raid, as well as the calling up of the Rhodesia Horse at Bulawayo "immediately for camp of exercise. This would merely be for demonstration at first, but might lead to their coming down little later." Three days later the expedition is reported to be ready, and Dr. Jameson wires on December 12th to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg:—

"Have everything ready here. Hope your telegram received yesterday Bobby White does not imply any delay, because any delay would be most injurious."

This view was endorsed at Cape Town by the Assistant Secretary of the Chartered Company, Mr. Stevens, who may fairly be assumed to represent Mr. Rhodes, the Managing Director, as the former can hardly be supposed to have sent the following telegram off his own bat:—

Stevens, Cape Town, December 13th, to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg:—

"Dr. Jameson wires most strongly to urge no postponement of shareholders' meeting, and let J. H. Hammond inform weak partners any delay most injurious. Dr. Wolff will explain reasons fully at Directors' meeting. The London *Times* also cables confidentially that postponement of meeting would be a most unwise course." *

Five days later (December 18th), "Hammond, Johannesburg," sends the following telegram to "C. J. Rhodes, Grootschuur" (Mr. Rhodes' home near Cape Town):—

* *The Times* has denied having sent any such message, so the reference must have been a bit of "bounce" on the Chartered Company's part.

"Cannot arrange respective interests without Beit. Flotation must be delayed until his arrival. How soon can he come?"

The reply shows what a weak revolutionary vessel a millionaire makes:—

Beit, Cape Town, December 19th, to Lionel Phillips, Johannesburg:—

"Hammond wires that company flotation must await my arrival. Cannot come at present owing to health. Wire where is the hitch, Santroy very impatient cannot naturzug our Schallhorn supports urge immediate flotation." (The last few words are undecipherable.)

The three following important telegrams carry the movement a stage further, and clearly show the relations between the parties—Johannesburg is getting slowly into line with the importunate Rhodesian group:—

Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg, December 21st, to Charter, Cape Town:—

"Please inform C. J. Rhodes that it is stated that Chairman (Dr. Jameson) will not leave unless special letter inviting him. Definite assurance has been given by all of us that on day of flotation you and he will leave. There must be no departure from this as many subscribers have agreed to take shares on this assurance. If letter necessary it can still be sent, but it was agreed document left with J. A. Stevens was sufficient and that you are responsible for Chairman's departure. It is very important to put this right. Reply to Lionel Phillips."

Harris, Cape Town, December 21st, to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg:—

"Beit has telegraphed to Lionel Phillips last night to urge start flotation new company. You must see that wire reply when you can float in your opinion so that I may advise Dr. Jameson."

Harris, Cape Town, December 21st, to Jameson, Pitsani:—

"A. Beit has telegraphed Lionel Phillips urging instant flotation new company. I have telegraphed also to Colonel F. A. Rhodes same effect Paul Kruger, President, Z. A. R., is returning immediately to Pretoria. I will telegraph you again today."

Two days later, on the 23rd December, agreement having been attained between Cape Town and Johannesburg, Dr. Jameson received his marching orders from Dr. Rutherfoord Harris, the Secretary of the Chartered Company, who would hardly take upon himself to order a raid without the authority of his chief:—

Harris, Cape Town, December 23rd to Jameson, Pitsani:—

"Company will be floated next Saturday 12 o'clock at night. They are very anxious you must not start before 9 o'clock and secure telegraph office silence. We suspect Transvaal is getting aware slightly."

This was followed by:—

Harris, Cape Town, December 24th, to Jameson, Pitsani:—

"You must not move before Saturday night. We are freely confident this will take place Saturday night. Since Dr. Wolff left feeling our subscribers greatly improved."

So by Christmas the conspirators appear to have reached practical agreement, and the Uitlanders were expecting Dr. Jameson to start in four days' time. Something, however, intervened, and brought the business to a standstill. On Christmas Day a meeting of the Reform Committee was held in Johannesburg, at which doubts were freely expressed as to Mr. Rhodes' aims. The "reformers" seem to have awakened to the fact that his goal was

a different one from theirs, and that in the inevitable turmoil ahead he might be strong enough to snatch the victory and incorporate the Rand with Rhodesia. The Committee consequently vetoed further developments, and postponed their rising with a view of obtaining specific pledges from Mr. Rhodes. The following telegrams epitomize the situation produced by the suspicions expressed at the Christmas Committee meeting:—

Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg, December 26th, to Charter, Cape Town:—

"It is absolutely necessary to postpone flotation Chas. Leonard left last night for Cape Town."

Harris, Cape Town, December 26th, to Jameson, Pitsani:—

"Following from Colonel F. A. Rhodes dated 26 December—Message begins:—'It is absolutely necessary to postpone flotation. Chas. Leonard left last night for Cape Town'—message ends. Chas. Leonard will therefore arrive at Cape Town on Saturday morning. You must not move until you hear from us again. Too awful; very sorry."

Cactus (Harris), Cape Town, December 26th, to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg:—

"Dr. Jameson says he cannot give extension of refusal for flotation beyond December as Transvaal Boers opposition shareholders information hold meeting on Limpopo at Pitsani Machluke told J. E."

The Johannesburgers now became seriously alarmed, and urgent prohibitions were addressed to Dr. Jameson. Among others the following:—

S. W. Jameson (Dr. Jameson's brother), Johannesburg, December 26th, to Jameson, Pitsani:—

"It is absolutely necessary to postpone flotation through unforeseen circumstances altogether unexpected, and until we have C. J. Rhodes' absolute pledge that authority of Imperial Government will not be insisted on. Charles Leonard left last night to interview C. J. Rhodes. We will endeavour to meet your wishes as regards December, but you must not move until you have received instructions, so please confirm."

Hays, Johannesburg, December 27th, to Jameson, Pitsani:—

"Wire just received; experts' report decidedly adverse. I absolutely condemn further developments at present."

Even Cape Town was moved to procrastinate in a telegram containing a suggestive analogy between the Transvaal and Matabeleland, which had fallen such an easy prey:—

Harris, Cape Town, December 27th, to Jameson, Pitsani:—

"Re Secheleland concession, shareholders' meeting postponed until 6th day of January. Meanwhile circular has been publicly issued, and opinion of all interested will then be taken, and their action decided upon. Charles Leonard arrives here to-morrow morning. You must wait patiently, and I will do my very utmost, but am beginning to see our shareholders in Matabeleland concession were very different to those in Secheleland matter."

In reply, Dr. Jameson seems to have enquired—the telegram is missing—whether he would not get into trouble for maintaining such a large force on the Transvaal border, and received this reassuring response:—

Harris, Cape Town, December 27th, to Jameson, Pitsani:—

"Mr. Rhodes says do not be alarmed at our having 600 men at Pitsani We have the right to have them, you know. We are sorting the B. S. A. police for

eventual distribution, and if they are so foolish as to think you are threatening Transvaal we cannot help that. B. S. A. Company's police at Mafeking will cost half what they do in Matabeleland, and horses do not die. At the same time, as you know, we must keep up a certain B. S. A. Company's police force as our agreement with the Imperial Government."

On Saturday morning, 28th December, Mr. Charles Leonard reached Cape Town, conveying the views of the Reform Committee to Mr. Rhodes, who, I venture to assume, stormed and raved with fury at the collapse of his scheme, and denounced the "money grubbers" of the Rand in language more plain than polite. He had always despised them, and to be defeated by them was unendurable.

A new character—Captain Maurice Heany—now emerges on the scene, whose name is almost unknown to English readers, but the significance of the part he played has not been missed in South Africa. He was sent as an emissary from Johannesburg to Dr. Jameson at the same time as Mr. Leonard went to Mr. Rhodes. Unfortunately for the Uitlanders he belonged to the Rhodesian group, but as he was timed to reach Dr. Jameson—owing to the tremendous detour of a railway journey between Johannesburg and Mafeking—two days after Mr. Leonard had expounded the imperative necessity of delaying the raid to Mr. Rhodes, his mission was probably considered the less important of the two by the anxious Johannesburgers.

Mr. Rhodes was now at the parting of the ways, and he had to choose between abandoning his daring designs upon the Transvaal or betraying his co-conspirators in Johannesburg and pushing on in their teeth. He seems to have adopted the latter alternative, and in a particularly pitiful way—possibly his nerve failed him at the critical moment. He cut short Captain Heany's journey to Dr. Jameson by a day by arranging that a special train should take him to Mafeking, and threw upon Dr. Jameson the responsibility of settling what to do after seeing Heany, of the nature of whose advice Mr. Rhodes can have had but very little doubt, even if he did not prompt it, as is generally believed, and as the last of the following telegrams suggests:—

Harris, Cape Town, December 28th, to Jameson, Pitsani:—

"You are quite right with regard to cause of delay of flotation, but Charles Leonard and Hamilton of *Star* inform us that movements not popular in Johannesburg. When you have seen Captain Maurice Heany let us know by wire what he says. We cannot have fiasco."

"To Jameson, Pitsani.

"Goold Adams arrives Mafeking, Monday, and Heany, I think, arrives to-night; after seeing him you and (he) must judge regarding flotation; but all our foreign friends are now dead against it and say public will not subscribe one penny towards it even with you as a director.—Ichabod. Sg. J. R. H., Sec.

"28.12.95. For B.S.A. Co."

"*It is all right if you will only wait: Captain Maurice Heany comes to you from Col. F. W. Rhodes by Special train to-day.—On Company's service,*

"*Sg. J. A. Stevens,*

"*28.12.95. For B.S.A. Co.*"

The telegraph office at Cape Town is in a position to supply any instructions wired to Captain Heany on this eventful day (Saturday, 28th December). Captain Heany is known to have passed through Mafeking on Sunday morning to Pitsani, and within five hours of his arrival at Pitsani Dr. Jameson set off on his raid accompanied by Captain Heany. The latter was taken prisoner at Doornkop, by the Boers, handed over to the British authorities for conveyance to trial in this country, and most unfortunately allowed to slip through the fingers of the home authorities on the ground of his being an American subject and consequently not amenable to the Foreign Enlistment Act. It need hardly be said that the prosecution had no conception at that time of the important part he had played—the telegrams not having as yet been published. He is the one missing link.

The reader is now in a position, I think, to form an opinion upon the latest pleas that have been so strenuously tendered on behalf of Mr. Rhodes' policy—that he co-operated with Uitlanders "rightly struggling to be free," or sent a search party for a German document in Pretoria. The facts sufficiently smash these theories, and there is no need to pulverize them any further—they belong to the same category as the "women and children" or the "Boer forgery." There is a strong *prima facie* case for believing that Mr. Rhodes instigated Dr. Jameson to go forward, in spite of the plainest and most urgent remonstrances of the Reform Committee. He appears to have calculated that as the latter had advanced so far upon a perilous path of agitation against the Transvaal Government, that the appearance of Dr. Jameson's force would bounce them into throwing in their lot with the Chartered forces, and he counted upon the vigorous support of his brother and the Gold Fields people to that end. Mr. Lionel Phillips, Mr. Farrar and Co. at once appreciated their dilemma, and do not seem to have hesitated as to the side they should take. They hoisted the Transvaal flag, did their utmost to tranquillize Johannesburg, discouraged as far as they could the distribution of arms, and at once entered into negotiations with President Kruger. They were furiously resentful at Mr. Rhodes' treachery—as they regarded it—and fought tooth and nail against the Consolidated Gold Fields Company and Colonel Rhodes, who were not strong enough to cope with them.

While Johannesburg was being plunged into a dangerous crisis by Mr. Rhodes' raid, the author of the mischief pursued his double policy in Cape Town. He informed Sir Graham Bower (the Imperial Secretary to the High Commissioner) on the very day (28th Dec.) that he despatched Heany to Dr. Jameson that all the prospect of a rising at Johannesburg was at an end, it had "fizzled out as a damp squib." The following night, at eleven o'clock, Mr. Rhodes sent for Sir Graham Bower and told him that Dr. Jameson had

"disobeyed orders," "taken the bit between his teeth," and entered the Transvaal. Mr. Rhodes added that he "had been endeavouring to communicate with Dr. Jameson forbidding such a movement, but found that the wires had been cut.* He, however, clung to the hope, as messages had been sent from Johannesburg deprecating intervention, that Dr. Jameson might have abandoned his intention."† The following day was a Monday, and, contrary to his usual custom, Mr. Rhodes did not put in an appearance in Cape Town, either at the Premier's office or at that of the Chartered Company, and Sir Hercules Robinson—who was actively engaged in repudiating and nullifying the raid—was unable to get into communication with his principal constitutional adviser. On Tuesday morning (31st December) Mr. Rhodes called and "assured me" (Sir Hercules Robinson) "that Dr. Jameson acted without his authority. As soon as he heard on Sunday that Dr. Jameson contemplated entering Transvaal he at once endeavoured to stop him,‡ but found the wires cut." On learning, however, that the High Commissioner contemplated issuing a proclamation repudiating Dr. Jameson's action, Mr. Rhodes returned to Cape Town and "strongly urged me to delay publication at all events till next day, saying that it would make Dr. Jameson an outlaw."§ In other words, Mr. Rhodes, while disclaiming connection with the raid, did what he could to make it effective.

The reader has before him a painstaking and temperate account of Mr. Rhodes' relations to what is euphemistically termed the "Jameson" raid, and can judge whether the title of this article is justifiable. The documents are admittedly incomplete, but, though they were published two months ago, none of Mr. Rhodes' journalistic champions have cared—though they are daring enough for almost anything—to impugn their genuineness. His advocates fall back on the defence that their idol is an Elizabethan who must not be tried by any Victorian standards but rather by that of the sixteenth century buccaneer. A crueller test could hardly be selected.

The buccaneer took his life in his hands and gallantly bowed to the fortunes of war, success was his only criterion and he gained with it some splendid prize; on failure he walked the plank. According to this code, Mr. Rhodes comes off badly; he sent other men on a raid which was a dismal fiasco, and then disclaimed responsibility, and represented them to be mutineers. This, I

* Considering the previous instructions to Dr. Jameson to "secure telegraph office silence," this is hardly surprising.

† Sir Hercules Robinson's report to Mr. Chamberlain (January 30th).

‡ Compare this with Mr. Fort's statement that Mr. Rhodes sent Dr. Jameson to discover a German document in Pretoria.

§ High Commissioner's Report.

suppose, is the "new" buccaneering. There was nothing even bold about his disclaimer, for at the time it was made it seemed perfectly safe, as no one could imagine that incriminating documents would fall into the hands of the Boers.

Everyone believed Mr. Rhodes' protestation of innocence—the High Commisioner, the Colonial Secretary, and all his then unnumbered British admirers. Even the critics were constrained to admit that the enterprise was too fatuous to have been organized by so shrewd a brain.

The buccaneer plea fails as completely as the raid itself. It would not in any case be worth raising as every century has its own standard of morality, and an utterly indefensible act at the end of the nineteenth century cannot be referred back for condonation to the days of Drake and Hawkins any more than some act of lawlessness committed by one of these worthies in an age when lawlessness was chronic, can fairly be tried by the standard of our time. Mr. Rhodes, as an English statesman of the reign of Queen Victoria, must conform to the requirements of his position. That he can suppose he is at present satisfying these requirements is incredible. In the face of the strong *prima facie* case against him he should at once return and range himself with the "raiders."

Dr. Jameson has very characteristically instructed his counsel to say—in order to obtain the release of his fellow-defendants in the present proceedings—that "he was responsible and responsible alone in this matter," and that his associates were only guilty of "loyal obedience to orders which they thought he had a right to issue." Why can't Mr. Rhodes take a leaf out of this book and come forward like a man saying, "I am principally responsible for the raid and desire to take the consequences of my crime and blunder?" Only by making a clean breast of it in a straightforward, English way, can he hope to recover any portion of the confidence that he has been steadily frittering away for the last six months, and he is singularly unfortunate in his friends—as masterful men often are—if there is no one about him to advise a full and frank, albeit tardy, submission. The pretext that Dr. Jameson would be prejudiced in his trial by any statement from Mr. Rhodes can no longer be urged since Dr. Jameson's acceptance of responsibility in court; for if Mr. Rhodes were able to refute Mr. Fort's indictment (charging him with equal responsibility with Dr. Jameson), the latter would be no worse off than he is now, whereas if Mr. Rhodes said "I gave him the word to go," Dr. Jameson would be in a much less precarious position.

L. J. Maxse.

G.W.R. MECHANICS INSTITUTE

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EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

"THE TIMES" AND MR. BALFOUR.

A striking article that recently appeared in *The Spectator* advocating the suspension of the Charter of that misbegotten body, the British South Africa Company, contained a very significant phrase. It is superfluous to point out that *The Spectator* is a sober, thoughtful, and observant paper, whose amiability is almost a weakness. Criticism of a contemporary is practically unknown in its columns. The writer of the article in question, however, spoke of *The Times* "as already nearly as hostile to the Government as it can be, and therefore little more is to be feared from it." As *The Times* is generally regarded as the principal Ministerial organ, an attitude on its part provoking such a remark from such a quarter is somewhat ominous to the Government, unless it can be shown to be utterly unreasonable, or unless *The Times* is about to take a new departure in politics. We do not believe that anyone who has attentively read the leading articles of *The Times* during recent weeks can be astonished at *The Spectator's* comment. If it were an organ of the Opposition it could hardly assail the actions of the Cabinet more frequently than it does. More than once it has competed to take the lead in attack, which it has always conducted with characteristic truculence, and

not infrequently with vindictiveness. We do not believe that *The Times* meditates a change of politics, and its plan of campaign is to be otherwise interpreted. It is to be noted that its efforts to discredit Unionist policy do not cover the whole of that policy, but chiefly one part of it, and they seem to be mainly directed against a single individual. It is the Parliamentary policy of the Cabinet in the House of Commons, with which Mr. Arthur Balfour is chiefly identified, that incurs the almost daily wrath of *The Times*. We quite concede that Mr. Balfour may have been guilty of an over-sanguine estimate of the legislative capacity of the Session, but that is no reason why *The Times* should make an habitual overstatement of the case against him. This can only be done with the object of expelling him from the leadership of the House of Commons, and it is because the triumph of *The Times* in this ill-judged crusade would be a great political disaster that we call attention to the movement, in order that it may be smashed at once.

A Forlorn Crusade.

This is not by any means the first time that *The Times* has fallen upon Mr. Balfour. It has a long-standing and bitter grudge against him as a bimetallist, and in connection with this difficult economic subject—which no one on the staff of *The Times* has ever been allowed to try and understand—Mr. Balfour has invariably been treated in its columns as though he were on the moral level of a burglar, or on the intellectual level of an infant. Whether the rapid growth of international bimetallism has got on the nerves of *The Times*, or whether Mr. Balfour's confession that he does not always succeed in finding time to absorb himself in its leading articles is the cause of offence, or whatever may be the animating motive, the sooner *The Times* learns that it has entered the lists in a hopeless cause the better for its own credit. We do not maintain for a moment that it is not strong enough to do harm, but merely that it is quite incapable of effecting its object. The suggestion that Mr. Balfour should withdraw to appease a "nasty" newspaper is grotesque. Not that he would ever be a difficult man for a party to get rid of if there were any useful purpose to be served thereby. Probably if a single one of his colleagues or followers suggested such a course to him in the interests of the Party, he would adopt it without remonstrance and retire without repining. As it is, he is as indispensable as a public man can well be, and his abdication would be followed by the break-up of the Unionist Alliance, whoever his successor might be. A distinguished Liberal Unionist once observed to the writer that he regarded Mr. Balfour's character as among the most important contributories to the success of that

alliance. No other Conservative could seriously attempt to replace him, and it is out of the question that the Conservatives in the House of Commons should accept a Liberal Unionist as their party leader. Everyone in the House of Commons is perfectly aware of this—no one more so than Mr. Chamberlain, as is clear from his recent speech, and to propose him for the Leadership would lead at any rate to his own mutiny. Mr. Balfour is the keystone of the Unionist arch, it would be difficult to say whether he is more appreciated among Conservatives or Liberal Unionists, and it is the duty of all who have true and intelligent loyalty to the Unionist cause to maintain and support him against all attacks, whether they be sinister or simply stupid.

THE "BARREN" SESSION.

One of the delusions fostered by *The Times* in its anarchic enterprise, reflected in the provincial Press and eagerly adopted by the Opposition, is that the present Session is barren. It is, on the contrary, fruitful, not merely by virtue of the measures passed, but also by comparison with other Sessions. A very fair proportion of Bills promised in the Queen's Speech have been, or will be, turned into Acts before the Session closes, although the feature common to every Parliamentary year—the "massacre of the innocents"—has made its customary appearance. We may mention among the principal Acts passed, or Bills passing:—

I. The Naval Works Bill.
II. The Finance Bill.
III. The Rating Bill.
IV. The Cattle Diseases Bill.
V. The Light Railways Bill.
VI. An Irish Land Bill.
VII. The Coal Mines Bill.
VIII. The Conciliation Bill.
IX. The Naval Reserve Bill.
X. The Truck Bill.
XI. The Uganda Bill.
XII. The Locomotives on Highways Bill.

These are the twelve principal results of this barren Session, and we doubt whether any Parliament in the world can show such a record for the year. Putting aside the first six on the list, with the provisions of which the readers of *The National Review* are presumably familiar—the Coal Mines Bill, giving effect to the report of Mr. Chamberlain's Coal Dust Commission; the Conciliation Bill, establishing machinery to enable both sides in a trade dispute to

understand each other's case and put forward their own before fighting it out; the Naval Reserve Bill, establishing training stations in Colonial ports; the Truck Bill, extending the Truck Acts; the Locomotives Bill, to permit horseless traffic on the highways; and the Uganda Bill, to open up Captain Lugard's great province, are all measures of considerable importance.

GLEANINGS FROM PAST YEARS.

It is interesting to glance at random at former Sessions, and compare the promises of the Queen's Speech with the performance of Parliament. In 1874—*e.g.*, when Mr. Disraeli led a great Ministerial majority, flushed with victory—the following Bills were promised in the Queen's Speech: The Transfer of Land, Scotch Judicature, Irish Judicature, Master and Servant, Friendly Societies, and Intoxicating Liquor Bill. All these were dropped, except the last, and Mr. Childers' comment on the Session was: "It had occurred to him to see what were the promises contained in the Queen's Speech. In the Royal Speech six measures were promised"—(he recited them as above)—"so the promised legislation had resulted in half an hour more every night being allowed for drinking in London." 1875 was a model Session, as out of ten measures promised only three were dropped; but the Leader of the Opposition declared that "the Session had been marked by feebleness, that it had been aimless and purposeless, and barren of all benefit to the country and all credit to Parliament." Coming to 1883, when Mr. Gladstone was in the heyday of his power, out of ten measures promised in the Speech, only three were passed. In 1884, out of nine measures promised only two were passed. Skipping a decade, we find that in 1893 out of twelve Bills mentioned in the Speech, only two were passed, one solely owing to unparalleled gagging; and in 1894, of the ten recited measures only two were passed in the ordinary way, and a third by the gag. Every Session has, in fact, very much the same story to tell. Pressure is put upon Governments to mention various Bills in the Queen's Speech, but the Parliamentary machine, fortunately for the country, grinds slowly and easily gets thrown out of gear, and long before the end of every Session it is seen that most of the promised measures will have to stand over. We regret that a Government with so great a majority as the present one should have bowed to a bad tradition, and we earnestly trust that they will exercise severe self-control in making promises for next Session; but the attempt to make Mr. Balfour exclusively responsible for the sins of a system is at this political juncture the act of a marplot.

TWO TRIBUTES TO MR. BALFOUR.

We quote two tributes to Mr. Balfour's leadership from statesmen who know the House of Commons a good deal better than any journalist can. Mr. Chamberlain, speaking on the 22nd July, said :—

"Nothing can be more unfair, nothing can be more ungenerous than to blame the present leader of the House of Commons, my friend Mr. Balfour, as though he were responsible for the faults of a system which he did not invent and of which he has shown clearly enough he does not approve. I say that no party need desire or could have a leader more skilful in debate, more courageous in action, more loyal to his colleagues, more courteous to his opponents, more mindful of the high and honourable traditions of the House of Commons, than our present leader. And in those circumstances if any fault has been committed, we, his colleagues, are equally responsible with him, we equally share the blame."

The same night Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, addressed a gathering at Bristol in a speech containing the following passage :—

"The fact was that by his abilities, by his eloquence by his remarkable debating power, by his courage under all circumstances, but perhaps most of all by that magnetic charm of manner and of character which conciliated his opponents and endeared him to his friends, Mr. Balfour was of all men most qualified to lead the House of Commons. He knew more on that matter than all the Pressmen in the world."

THE INDIAN CONTROVERSY.

In any difference of opinion between the Treasury and somebody else, the onus of justifying itself lies with the former, but the most wrong-headed people blunder out of error occasionally. Such an occasion appears to us to have arisen this month in connection with the despatch of 2,500 Indian troops for a few months' sojourn at Suakin, where they relieve an Egyptian garrison, and, to that extent, co-operate with the expedition now engaged in recovering the Sudan. As Egypt is the half-way house to India, it is somewhat surprising to learn that the Indian Government has so little interest in that country's permanent security (which the Sudan expedition assures) as to request that the *ordinary pay* of the small contingent of troops sent to Suakin should be *transferred* from the Indian to the British taxpayer, and that the former should *pocket* a sum of £35,000 by the transaction. It is not suggested that these troops would have been disbanded if they had remained in India, it is merely a question of their being stationed at Suakin instead of Bombay; and as care has been taken to ensure the Indian Treasury's not being a farthing the worse off for the trip, we can only express astonishment that so parochially-minded a body as the British Treasury should have been given the opportunity of over-riding a piece of particularism on the part of a body with the Imperial instincts of the

Indian Government. Lord Lansdowne, the last Governor-General of India, who is as closely identified as any man with a policy of justice and generosity to that Empire, put the point in issue admirably in his speech in the House of Lords:—"What, stripped of all adventitious matter, was the question before the House? India had an army of 215,000 soldiers, which she maintained not only for the purpose of internal police, but also to defend her vast land frontier of some 5,000 miles. Of that army she was asked to lend for use outside the confines of India a small force, about 1 per cent. of the whole, upon terms which would relieve her entirely of all expense, except the ordinary cost of the troops, which she would in any case have to bear. Was that, on the face of it, a flagrantly unjust arrangement?" *The Times* took the lead in assailing the proposal, and habitually treated it as an attempt to fine the Indian taxpayer for our own purposes, and being followed by the Press at large, no doubt a large number of our readers have derived a mistaken impression of a most innocent matter. In former transactions we have frequently treated India shabbily, but we are convinced that a dispassionate reconsideration of this misunderstanding—especially in the light of Lord George Hamilton's despatch, which affirms principles for which India has been fighting for years—will lead the Indian Government to modify its objection to pay a small detachment of its men at Suakin, instead of Bombay, until the close of the year.

"Mr. Rhodes' Raid."

An article in this Review last month charged Mr. Rhodes not merely with having planned and promoted the attack upon the Transvaal euphemistically associated with Dr. Jameson's name, but also with responsibility for its actual start. Upon the first part of this indictment, organizing the raid, the Select Committee of the Cape Assembly reports as follows:—"As regards the Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes, the Committee can come to no other conclusion than that he was thoroughly acquainted with the preparations that led to the inroad, and that in his capacity as controller of three great joint-stock companies—the British South Africa, the De Beers, and the Gold Fields of South Africa—he directed and controlled the combination which rendered such a proceeding as the Jameson raid possible." With regard to the actual start, the Report states that there is no evidence that Mr. Rhodes ever contemplated an uninvited invasion, but appears to have intended "to support a movement from within." The Committee, however, point out that "there is an absence of any such peremptory command from Mr. Rhodes direct to Dr. Jameson not on any account to take action, as might reasonably have been expected from one resolutely deter-

mined to do all in his power to prevent a subordinate officer from committing a gross breach of the law." They state that on learning on the 29th December that Dr. Jameson was starting, Mr. Rhodes, in conjunction with Dr. Rutherfoord Harris, drew up a draft telegram to be sent to Dr. Jameson. The report adds that "more than half of that draft, strangely enough, has no reference to the contemplated inroad, and is not explained by any evidence before the Committee; but the latter part of it contains a distinct and peremptory injunction on Dr. Jameson not to carry out his contemplated movement on any account. . . . The message could not be sent on the 29th because the line had been cut, nor had communication with Mafeking been restored on the morning of the 30th, but by noon on that day the damage had been repaired, and the line was open. The message, however, was never forwarded at all." The Committee therefore find—

"Upon these facts it would appear that Mr. Rhodes did not direct or approve of Dr. Jameson's entering the territory of the South African Republic at the precise time when he did do so, but the Committee cannot find that that fact relieves Mr. Rhodes from responsibility for the unfortunate occurrence which took place. Even if Dr. Jameson be primarily responsible for the last fatal step, Mr. Rhodes cannot escape the responsibility of a movement which had been arranged, with his concurrence, to take place at the precise time that it did, if circumstances had been favourable at Johannesburg. Mr. Rhodes never visited Cape Town at all on the Monday [December 30], nor did he think it right to communicate the fact of the inroad to his colleagues in the Ministry. The only message actually sent from Cape Town to arrest Dr. Jameson's progress after he had started was one despatched by the High Commissioner about noon on December 30, and one conveyed through the British Agent at Pretoria, both of which were disregarded.

THE BOGUS TELEGRAM.

The Parliamentary Committee of Cape Colony have shown very commendable courage—especially in the face of the uncertain attitude adopted by the Imperial Government—in bearding to the extent they have such a great local "boss" as Mr. Rhodes. *The Daily News* complacently refers to the telegram which it is alleged Mr. Rhodes would have sent to stop Dr. Jameson on hearing that he was about to start, only unfortunately the wires were found cut.* The existence of this diffuse draft is interpreted by *The Daily News* as proving that "Mr. Rhodes disapproved and tried to stop the invasion at the moment it actually took place." The Cape Committee's report tells us that the document was the joint

* We give the text of this abortive message, which was couched in somewhat abortive terms :—"I heartily reciprocate your wishes with regard to Protectorate, but the Colonial Office machinery moves slowly, as you know. We are, however, doing our utmost to get immediate transference of what we are justly entitled to. Things in Johannesburg I yet hope to see amicably settled, and a little patience and common-sense is only necessary. On no account whatever must you move. I most strongly object to such a course."

handiwork of Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Rutherfoord Harris, the Secretary of the Chartered Company. In their anxious endeavour to stop the raid they must have overlooked their previous instructions to Dr. Jameson, otherwise their astonishment at finding the wires cut can hardly have been *bonâ fide*:—

> Harris, Cape Town, December 23rd, to Jameson, Pitsani:—
> "Company will be floated next Saturday 12 o'clock at night. They are very anxious you must not start before 9 o'clock *and secure telegraph office silence.* We suspect Transvaal is getting aware slightly."

In fact, the abortive telegram is as bogus as a good many other things in this business, and does nothing to clear Mr. Rhodes. Captain Heany was the connecting link between Mr. Rhodes and the raid. He was sent forward in a special train on the 28th December to Mafeking by the Chartered Company, and in the course of his journey he received certain instructions by telegram. Captain Heany has disappeared, but the original of those instructions remains under the control of the telegraph office of Cape Colony. *The Cape Committee has apparently been unable, or unwilling, to obtain a sight of this telegram, but until it is produced the raid remains "Mr. Rhodes' Raid."*

THE IMPERIAL ENQUIRY.

The Imperial Government has still its part to play. The ground has now been cleared for the redemption of the pledge contained in the Queen's Speech, viz., "a searching enquiry into the origin and circumstances" of the Raid, and we confidently expect to hear that the Government are taking the matter in hand. For some mysterious reason the Opposition have stipulated for an investigation by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which is of all tribunals the worst, as it is non-judicial, could not get to work until next year, and is quite incompetent for the purpose. The House of Commons should be warned against usurping judicial functions by the failure of the Cape Assembly to get at the most important document. Let the politicians have any enquiry they choose into the general administration of the Chartered Company, or any debates they fancy on the policy of granting charters to private companies, and let them waste as many years over the subject as they like—though if we were responsible for the condition of Rhodesia we should at once proclaim it a Crown colony, and appoint as its governor some man capable of bringing order into what is now a weltering chaos. "A searching enquiry," however, is not a political, but a judicial matter, and the sooner a Commission is appointed and gets to work the better for all parties. To suspend the scandal for revival next year would be intolerable; to suspend it indefinitely is impossible.

THE GENERAL ELECTION IN CANADA.

Last month in discussing the deeply interesting General Election then imminent in the Dominion of Canada, we were rash enough to indulge in a prophecy, though at the time it seemed a very mild one. In common with other better informed observers than ourselves, we anticipated either that the Conservative Party would come in with a reduced majority, or that the Liberals under Mr. Laurier would obtain a victory in conjunction with their allies the Patrons of Industry and the Conservative Secession under Mr. Dalton McCarthy. Neither of these things have happened, nor has Ontario been the pivot of the position as we thought it would be. Mr. Laurier has come in triumphantly with an independent majority. *The Canadian Gazette* gives the following as the final returns:—

Liberals	112
Conservatives	90
Independents	11
Total House	213

This gives the Liberals a clear majority over the Conservatives of 22, but a joint Liberal and Independent majority of 33. The main issue before the electors was the Manitoba Schools Bill, by which the Conservative Government sought to restore school rights to the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba, of which they had been illegally deprived by the provincial legislature. In consequence of this policy the Conservatives counted upon winning seats in Quebec Province, where the French-Canadians greatly predominate. These were expected to respond to the call of the priests, who worked under the auspices of their bishops for the Conservative Party and the Remedial Bill. The decisive and dramatic feature of the elections, however, was the rout of the Conservatives and priests in Quebec, where out of sixty-five seats they only won fifteen to the Liberals' fifty. It is clear that the French-Canadians seized the chance of making one of their own nationality Premier of Canada, and ignored the injunctions of their priests. So, after being in opposition for eighteen years, the Liberal Party, which has only had one spell of power (1874-1878) since the Dominion was created, finds itself at last in office. Their leader is one of the most respected and attractive figures in the Empire, and one can hardly conceive a more picturesque incident than the attainment of a British Premiership by a Frenchman amid universal approval. Mr. Laurier is an orator in two languages, and of his probity men cannot speak too highly. At the dinner held in London on Dominion Day, Principal Grant quoted the tribute of Sir John Macdonald—a political opponent—to the new

Premier: "I can trust Laurier without the slightest fear. He is incapable of breaking his word, even if he wished to."

THE NEW CABINET.

Mr. Laurier has been able to form one of the strongest Cabinets known to Canada, no less than three provincial premiers (Sir Oliver Mowat, of Ontario; Mr. Fielding, of Nova Scotia; and Mr. Blair, of Nova Scotia) having resigned their local pre-eminences in order to enter the new Federal Cabinet at Ottawa, which also includes politicians of such experience as Sir Richard Cartright and Mr. R. W. Scott, who served in the former Liberal Ministry of 1874. There was a time when Englishmen used to be somewhat nervous as to the ultimate direction in which the Liberal Party of Canada looked. They were supposed to be not unfavourably disposed as regards annexation to the United States. English opinion, though far from being as well-informed about Canada as it should be, is much less ignorant than it was, and "the man on the bicycle" is aware that almost the only annexationist in Canada is the embittered and isolated Professor Goldwin Smith. He has made it the main business of his life to try and persuade the principal member of the British Empire to cut herself adrift from the Mother Country. It is not a work to be proud of, and nowhere is it more resented than in Canada. His separatist sentiments find no echo there; indeed, though they still receive the honours of prominence in *The Times*, we have never come across a single Canadian who endorsed them. Mr. Laurier has not yet had time to get to business, but he is expected to patch up a compromise with Manitoba, and to open any attack he may undertake on the Canadian Tariff by an enquiry. We shall be surprised if he is found backward in co-operating in the work of binding closer the Empire. He recently declared, "One thing I can promise to do: I shall endeavour to do my best to do my duty by Canada, and not only by the Dominion, but also by the Empire."

LORD SALISBURY'S STATEMENT.

Lord Salisbury, in presenting papers to Parliament containing correspondence between the United States and the British Governments, made an important statement in his very best international style. The subject of the correspondence is arbitration, and though the negotiations are incomplete, the unfinished papers are produced with the consent of the American Government. The discussion has pursued, on the whole, a favourable course, and with entire friendliness between the parties. It deals, in the first place, with the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, in which "the United States has assumed the attitude of the friend of Vene-

zuela." Lord Salisbury prefers to meet a responsible great Power over this matter rather than an irresponsible little one, but no conclusion has been arrived at owing to the absurd pretensions of Venezuela, whose claim embraces about two-thirds of the whole colony of British Guiana. While corresponding with the United States about the proposed Venezuela arbitration there has been a concurrent negotiation on the subject of a general scheme of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain. Here, again, no conclusion has been arrived at, but distinct progress has been made by the proposals that have passed for the establishment of a joint tribunal to decide disputes between the two nations. The interests involved are so vast, and the principle of compulsory arbitration so new in its application, and "is attended with considerable hazards and doubts," that Lord Salisbury is of opinion that "a circumspect and careful method of procedure is desirable." Mr. Olney, the United States Secretary of State, appears to desire a rapid and summary decision of the matter, but the British Foreign Secretary is anxious to create the machinery of an appeal or some form of protest to prevent a miscarriage of justice owing to the possible error of the arbitrator. The various questions at issue are still being discussed, and the delay with which the Government has been in some quarters reproached is simply due to the "supreme importance" of a subject which affects not only our national interests but the frontiers of our Colonies. Lord Salisbury concluded his statement by what, coming from a diplomatist of his school, is an unique invitation to public opinion:—

"We have need to know what is the trend of public opinion on these matters. We desire in a question which is certainly not one of party, that the best intellects that we have on both sides should apply themselves to a matter that affects the welfare of the human race in a singular degree, and especially the good relations of a State with which we so desire to be on good terms as the United States of America. Therefore we have laid the papers on the table, and we hope to derive from such attention as noble lords on both sides of the House may devote to them much guidance with respect to the subsequent conduct of the negotiations that we have to pursue."

THE CORRESPONDENCE.

The "Correspondence between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States with respect to proposals for arbitration" (United States, No. 2, 1896) is not by any means as dry reading as its title suggests. On the contrary, it is a dialectical encounter which derives its interest quite as much from the *bonâ fides* as the keenness and skill of Mr. Olney and Lord Salisbury. Both diplomatists have evidently sought to advance the cause of arbitration, and each in a different way has made a material contribution to the subject. At the same time both have been fully conscious of the need of

upholding the respective rights of their countries. The two separate subjects of Venezuela and General Arbitration are inextricably mixed up in the controversy, and the documents are not easy to epitomize, though, at the risk of wearying the reader, we feel bound to try and give their gist. Upon the former question the ball was opened by Mr. Bayard, the American Ambassador in London, on February 27th, two months after the famous Presidential message. Mr. Bayard, in order to remove the boundary question from "an atmosphere of possible controversy," and to reach "a well-defined agreement for a basis of negotiation to constitute a tribunal of arbitration" on the subject, proposed that negotiations should be carried on at Washington to that end. He also sought "a clear definition of the settlements by individuals in the territories in dispute," which "it is understood Her Majesty's Government desires should be excluded from the proposed submission to arbitration." Lord Salisbury thereupon telegraphed to the British Ambassador in Washington, Sir Julian Pauncefote, that he had agreed that the boundary question should be discussed in Washington, the United States Government acting as the friend of Venezuela. At the same time Lord Salisbury was unable to accept "unrestricted arbitration," and proposed as an alternative that a Joint Commission should ascertain the facts as a basis for subsequent discussion. Subsequently Lord Salisbury took the opportunity to set forth the views of the British Government on the subject of arbitration at large. In this important despatch the Foreign Secretary began by pointing out that the obstacle which has hitherto prevented the two nations from arriving at a common ground of agreement is "the difficulty of deciding how far the undertaking to refer all matters in dispute is to be carried. On both sides it is admitted that some exceptions must be made. Neither Government is willing to accept arbitration upon issues in which the national honour or integrity is involved. But in the wide region that lies within this boundary the United States desire to go further than Great Britain."

THE BRITISH VIEW.

In defending the more limited view taken by the British Government as to the proper sphere of obligatory arbitration, Lord Salisbury observed that the system is novel and its ultimate position can only be arrived at by experiment, and that it would be wise in the interests of the idea to make a modest beginning rather than "hazard the success of the principle by adventuring it upon doubtful ground." With this view Lord Salisbury drew up the heads of a proposed treaty which we give *in extenso* below. He pointed out that cases that arise between States belong to one of two classes: (1) private

disputes where the State represents its own subjects in their individual capacity, (2) public disputes where the issues concern the State itself as a whole. A claim for an indemnity or damage usually belongs to the first class, a claim to territory or sovereign rights to the second. For the first class "the suitability of international arbitration may be admitted without reserve." But the second class stand on a different footing, and Lord Salisbury states that difference with characteristic incisiveness:—

"They concern the State in its collective capacity, and all the members of each State, and all other States who wish it well, are interested in the issue of the litigation. If the matter in controversy is important, so that defeat is a serious blow to the credit or power of the litigant who is worsted, that interest becomes a more or less keen partisanship. According to their sympathies men wish for the victory of one side or another. Such conflicting sympathies interefere most formidably with the choice of an impartial arbitrator. It would be too invidious to specify the various forms of bias by which, in any important controversy between two great Powers, the other members of the commonwealth of nations are visibly affected. . . . . This is the difficulty which stands in the way of unrestricted arbitration. By whatever plan the tribunal is selected the end of it must be that issues in which the litigant States are most deeply interested will be decided by the vote of one man, and that man a foreigner. He has no jury to find his facts; he has no Court of Appeal to correct his law; and he is sure to be credited, justly or not, with a leaning to one litigant or the other. Nations cannot afford to run such a risk in deciding controversies by which their national position may be affected or a number of their fellow-subjects transferred to a foreign rule."

The plan of the appended draft would give a court of appeal from the single voice of the foreign judge; and when the umpire's decision was not confirmed by the stipulated majority it would not stand, and the machinery for arresting a doubtful judgment would enable great issues to be submitted to arbitration without risk of disastrous miscarriages of justice. Lord Salisbury confesses that his plan will seem "unsatisfying and imperfect" to "the warmer advocates of arbitration," but believes "that it offers an opportunity of making a substantial advance, which a more ambitious arrangement would be unable to secure; and if, under its operation, experience should teach us that our apprehensions as to the danger of reposing an unlimited confidence in this kind of tribunal are unfounded, it will be easy, by dropping precautions that will have become unnecessary, to accept and establish the idea of arbitration in its most developed form."

THE BRITISH PLAN.

We give the text of the very important proposal for a draft treaty of arbitration submitted by Lord Salisbury to the United States Government. We do not think that anyone in either country will deny, on perusing it, that it marks a notable stage in the history of arbitration:—

1. Her Britannic Majesty and the President of the United States shall each appoint two or more permanent judicial officers for the

purposes of this treaty, and on the appearance of any difference between the two Powers, which, in the judgment of either of them, cannot be settled by negotiation, each of them shall designate one of the said officers as arbitrator; and the two arbitrators shall hear and determine any matter referred to them in accordance with this treaty. 2. Before entering on such arbitration, the arbitrators shall select an umpire, by whom any question upon which they disagree, whether interlocutory or final, shall be decided. The decision of such umpire upon any interlocutory question shall be binding upon the arbitrators. The determination of the arbitrators, or, if they disagree, the decision of the umpire, shall be the award upon the matters referred. 3. Complaints made by the nationals of one Power against the officers of the other; all pecuniary claims or groups of claims, amounting to not more than £100,000 made on either Power by the nationals of the other, whether based on an alleged right by treaty, or agreement, or otherwise; all claims for damages or indemnity under the said amount; all questions affecting diplomatic or consular privileges; all alleged right of fishery, access, navigation, or commercial privilege, and all questions referred by special agreement between the two parties, shall be referred to arbitration in accordance with this treaty; and the award thereon shall be final. 4. Any difference in respect to a question of fact, or of international law, involving the territory, territorial rights, sovereignty, or jurisdiction of either Power, or any pecuniary claim or group of claims of any kind, involving a sum larger than £100,000, shall be referred to arbitration under this treaty. But if in any such case, within three months after the award has been reported, either Power protests that such award is erroneous in respect to some issue of fact, or some issue of international law, the award shall be reviewed by a Court composed of three of the judges of the Supreme Court of Great Britain and three of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States; and if the said Court shall determine, after hearing the case, by a majority of not less than five to one, that the said issue has been rightly determined, the award shall stand and be final; but in default of such determination it shall not be valid. If no protest is entered by either Power against the award within the time limited it shall be final. 5. Any difference, which in the judgment of either Power materially affects its honour or the integrity of its territory, shall not be referred to arbitration under this treaty except by special agreement. 6. Any difference whatever, by agreement between the two Powers, may be referred for decision by arbitration, as herein provided, with the stipulation that, unless accepted by both Powers, the decision shall not be valid.

THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE.

This draft was received by the United States Government with cordiality, Mr. Olney stating "that these proposals of Her Majesty's Prime Minister are welcomed by the President with the keenest appreciation of their value, and of the enlightened and progressive spirit which animates them. So far as they manifest a desire that the two great English peoples of the world shall remain in perpetual peace, he fully reciprocates that desire on behalf of the Government and people of the United States. To himself, personally, nothing could bring greater satisfaction than to be instrumental in the accomplishment of an end so beneficent." While expressing approval of the first three articles in the draft—"though they hardly cover other than controversies which as between civilized States could almost never endanger their peaceful relations"—Mr. Olney takes exception to Articles 4 and 5; the 4th on the ground that an end to the controversy is not secured "unless an award is concurred in by at least five out of the six appellate arbiters," while the 5th may modify the effect of Article 3, "since the national honour may sometimes be involved even in a claim to indemnity to an individual." The United States Secretary of State consequently proposes a substitute for Articles 4 and 5:—

"Art. 4. Arbitration under this Treaty shall also be obligatory in respect of all questions now pending or hereafter arising involving territorial rights, boundaries, sovereignty or jurisdiction, or any pecuniary claim or group of claims aggregating a sum larger than £100,000, and in respect of all controversies not in this Treaty specifically described. Provided, however, that either the Congress of the United States on the one hand, or the Parliament of Great Britain on the other, at any time before the Arbitral Tribunal shall have convened for the consideration of any particular subject matter, may by Act or Resolution declaring such particular subject matter to involve the national honour or integrity, withdraw the same from the operation of this Treaty; and provided further, that if a controversy shall arise, when either the Congress of the United States or the Parliament of Great Britain shall not be in session and such controversy shall be deemed by Her Britannic Majesty's Government, or by that of the United States, acting through the President, to be of such nature that the international honour or integrity may be involved, such difference or controversy shall not be submitted to arbitration under this Treaty until the Congress and the Parliament shall have had opportunity to take action thereon."

MR. OLNEY'S ARGUMENT.

In the controversies provided for by this article the award is to be final if concurred in by all the arbitrators. If assented to by a majority only, the parties may protest within three months of its promulgation. Mr. Olney supports his view in an able paper, containing cogent arguments for enlarging the sphere of arbitration and endowing the arbitral authority with finality. His object is to make "all disputes *primâ facie* arbitrable," unless "affirmative action by the Congress or by the Parliament displaces the jurisdiction," which

bodies he has more confidence in than the Administration for the time being, as the latter is more likely to be swayed by prejudice, to decide in haste, and "to view the honour of the country as not distinguishable from the good of its party." Parliament or Congress, on the other hand, would have ample time for deliberation and investigation, while its decision is less liable to subordinate the interests of the country at large to those of the party. Mr. Olney, on this head, finally adduces "a more conclusive consideration," which is that "if war and not arbitration is to be evoked in settlement of an international controversy, the direct representatives of the people, at whose cost and suffering the war must be carried on, should properly be charged with the responsibility of meeting it." The precautions with which Lord Salisbury would fence in the proposed machinery of arbitration Mr. Olney regards as excessive "when the entire arbitration proceedings are made abortive unless the tribunal of six judges reaches an award by a majority of at least five to one." There can be no arbitration in the true sense without a final award, and he rather pooh-poohs Lord Salisbury's apprehensions as to the bias of foreign jurists, which, as "the United States is without alliances with any of the countries of Europe," would, at any rate, not give her any advantage. Mr. Olney urges that "to insist upon an arbitration scheme so constructed that miscarriages of justice can never occur is to insist upon the unattainable, and is equivalent to a relinquishment altogether of the effort in behalf of a general system of international arbitration." Failing a treaty of general arbitration, Mr. Olney finally asks whether the Venezuela boundary dispute does not offer "a good opportunity" for one of those "tentative experiments at arbitration which, as Lord Salisbury justly intimates, would be of decided advantage" as a step in advance?

"A Cautious and Tentative Advance."

In response, Lord Salisbury affirms that Article 3 was not intended to apply only to unimportant controversies, and is willing to modify its language. He dwells on the encouraging fact that the two Governments are at any rate in agreement as to this part of the draft, and proposes that they shall embody their common view, which would not prejudice in the slightest degree their chance of agreement on the more difficult part of the subject which concerns territorial claims. On the contrary, the first step would rather lead to the ulterior steps. Upon territorial claims the two Governments are still apart, as the United States desire "that any dispute once referred under the treaty to arbitration shall be decided finally and irrevocably." The British Government, however, is unwilling to surrender their freedom of action until

fuller experience of an untried plan has been acquired; and Lord Salisbury evidently fears that the adoption of obligatory arbitration upon cases of this kind might lead to a harassing array of purely speculative claims which, among other serious objections, would cast upon "every inhabitant of the disputed territory the gravest uncertainty upon one of the most important conditions that can affect the life of a human being—namely, the character of the Government under which he is to live." Moreover, there is no law existing to apply to these cases. For these and other reasons Lord Salisbury finds himself unable to concur in according finality to the proposed arbitral authority upon such questions, though he is not wedded to the special form of protection he has proposed for defeated litigants. He also contends that the knowledge that there exists an escape from a manifestly unjust decision would encourage nations to accept arbitration, rather than avoid it, on the plea recognized by Mr. Olney, viz., that "the national honour or integrity" were involved. "A cautious and tentative advance" is the only way to arrive at "the hearty adoption and practice of the system of arbitration."

LORD SALISBURY'S OFFER.

Upon the Venezuela question Lord Salisbury proposed that a commission consisting of two British subjects and two American citizens should ascertain the facts involved in the respective Dutch and Spanish rights at the time of the cession of Guiana to Great Britain; the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela to be bound by the findings of the majority of the Commission and to agree to a boundary line upon the basis of that report; failing agreement the whole question to be submitted to an arbitral tribunal consisting of two nominees of the rival governments who would co-opt a third member. This tribunal shall fix a binding boundary line upon the basis of the Commission's report, provided always that Venezuela shall not be accorded territory in *bonâ fide* occupation of British subjects on January 1st, 1887, and *vice versâ*. Lord Salisbury points out that his offer does not preclude the surrender of territory by Great Britain within the Schomburgk line. Mr. Olney declined this solution somewhat brusquely, and proposed, as an amendment, that the Commission upon Facts should be so constituted as to run no risk of being abortive, and should have power to report on all facts relevant to the boundary question, while the arbitral tribunal shall not be limited as suggested, but only as follows: "Provided, however, that, in fixing such line, if territory of one party be found in the occupation of the subjects or citizens of the other party, such weight and effect shall be given to such occupation as reason,

justice, the rules of international law, and the equities of the particular case may appear to require."

THE CONCLUDING DESPATCH.

The last document of the series, which it should be borne in mind is incomplete, is a despatch from Mr. Olney to Lord Salisbury on the larger question under discussion. The United States Secretary of State cultivates what is called "a trenchant style," and lays his pen to any forcible phraseology that may suggest itself to him. He makes himself perfectly plain, and when dealing with the phlegmatic personality of the British Government no harm is done by these diplomatic infelicities, but they would be better avoided. Thus in discussing the clear distinction drawn by Lord Salisbury between arbitrable controversies and controversies that are not so arbitrable, Mr. Olney permits himself to observe: "The advantages of this sharp line of division between arbitrable and non-arbitrable topics are very great, and the fact that it is now drawn shows that the progress of the discussion is eliminating all but the vital points of difference." After this provocative observation, Mr. Olney pursues his argument with much ability but in somewhat forensic fashion. He combats Lord Salisbury's reluctance to surrender the Government's "freedom of action" in the case of territorial claims (by submitting them to irrevocable and final arbitration) by the reminder that "each Government's freedom of action prior to entry upon an arbitration remains intact, the only change being that it is to be exercised through the legislature of each country." He suggests that "his Lordship's real position is that there shall be no genuine arbitration at all," only "the usual forms and ceremonies, a so-called Arbitral Tribunal, hearing evidence, and arguments, but as the grand result, instead of a binding adjudication, only an opinion without legal force or sanction, unless accepted by the parties." Lord Salisbury is declared to be seeking "nothing but an uncommonly ceremonious and elaborate investigation." What it all comes to is that Mr. Olney wishes to go very much further than Lord Salisbury, and the only limit he will consent to impose upon arbitrable matters is the formal "veto of Congress or Parliament declaring that the proposed adjudication involves the national honour and integrity." This is the only "liberty of refusal" he will concede:—

"But the United States' proposals contemplate no rejection of an award when once arbitration has been resorted to; they reserve only the right not to go into an arbitration if the territorial claim in dispute involves the national honour and integrity. The British proposals also reserve the same right. The vital difference between the two sets of proposals is therefore manifest. Under the British proposal, the parties enter into an arbitration and determine afterwards, when

they know the result, whether they will be bound or not. Under the proposals of the United States, the parties enter into an arbitration, having determined beforehand that they will be bound. The latter is a genuine arbitration; the former is a mere imitation, which may have its uses, but, like all other imitations, cannot compare in value with the real article."

DOES ARBITRATION MEAN PEACE?

Arbitration means litigation with national pride involved, and whether this would engender more Christian feelings between nations than private litigation does among individuals we confess ourselves unable to determine without a very much fuller knowledge of public opinion in America than we have. If the great majority of American citizens are, owing to an inherent love of law and orderliness, and a hatred of war, anxious to have disputes that may arise between us submitted to a permanently constituted court capable of pronouncing binding decisions, Great Britain should and would go far to meet them. If there is a genuine sentiment for arbitration in America, it is entitled to the profoundest respect, but is there such a sentiment beyond the professorial, editorial, and literary America of the East? Do even the same classes in the Western States care a red cent about arbitration, or, at any rate, care sufficiently about its principle to submit in practice to a deprivation of a cherished claim? And what about the great bulk of the people in both East and West? Have they any enthusiasm on the subject, and would their enthusiasm be robust enough to submit time after time to an adverse award without storing up soreness against the successful party, supposing the fortunes of arbitration should be against them? Is arbitration in their eyes something more than the polish which every politician puts on his peroration? We know that with a few of the most admirable men of the Eastern fringe arbitration is an intellectual passion, and that it is also advocated by a certain number of windbags of the Chauncey Depew type, to whom it is useful in their careers as interviewees. But every sensible American one meets warns one against treating Mr. Chauncey Depew as a man of weight—his function is to supply "copy" to newspapers—while "the best people," whom Mr. Bryce reports as being devoted to the cause, are probably not unfriendly to Great Britain as it is, and it is probably for this reason that they are utterly effaced when the great anti-British lion of the States is roused by the enterprising politician. Would the adoption of any or even all of Mr. Olney's proposals—impossible as some of them appear to us—be accepted as an earnest of goodwill, or simply as a sign of British weakness leading to further demands by the next President in difficulties, such as that we should withdraw from the West Indies or clear out of Canada? Supposing a friendly interpretation were placed by the States upon our

concession, is it certain that the perpetual liability to litigation would make us better friends? We confess to being unable to answer these salient questions.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

At this moment American citizens are engaged in business very much nearer and more congenial to them than a discussion on international arbitration, viz., their quadrennial Presidential election, which will be decided in November. We related last month how Mr. McKinley had been chosen by the St. Louis Convention as the candidate of the Republican Party. He stands for the high tariff associated with his name, and what *The Times* affects to regard as a gold platform, though, as we showed last month, and as Professor Walker places beyond doubt, the Republican nominee is pledged to work for International Bimetallism. The Democratic Party have since made their choice at Chicago, in the person of Mr. Bryan, a very able, determined, clear-headed man of the golden age of 36, with great powers of speech. Though hitherto unknown to this country, he appears to be the strongest candidate his party could have chosen. The London papers tell us he has not a chance of victory, and his programme is represented as a compound of plunder, anarchy, and repudiation, and English sympathies are sought to be enlisted upon the side of Mr. McKinley, who is "sound on gold." The tone taken by English newspapers is unwise from their own point of view, as nothing could be more conducive to the Democrat's victory than the belief among the electors that English opinion leans to the Republican candidate. As a matter of fact, English opinion is thoroughly detached towards the internal politics of America. It is to be hoped that Englishmen will not allow themselves to be carried away by mere ignorant abuse of a great section, if not the majority, of the American people, but will examine Mr. Bryan's programme for themselves, unaffected by the lurid epithets that gold-monometallist newspapers have attached to it. While Mr. McKinley is in favour of a still more stringent tariff than exists at present, plus International Bimetallism, Mr. Bryan represents a reduced tariff and National Bimetallism, or, in other words, the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at 16 to 1, which is known as "The Free Silver Movement." This is the impatient form of bimetallism which declines to wait upon the co-operation of other nations and has resolved to try the experiment single-handed. The crucial fact that Englishmen should be able to pick out from the tumble of American politics is that almost the whole nation outside New York are anxious that "something shall be done for silver." The cautious desire to wait for an International agreement, fearing that National Bimetallism, *i.e.*, Free

Silver, would lead to disaster, while the ardent spirits are prepared for all risks, rather than endure what they regard as the present paralyzing *régime.*

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Let us husband our vituperation of the Chicago Convention until we have made some effort to understand it. It is not easy to follow as the only English correspondent in the American Union is *The Times'* representative in New York, who has to attune himself to the ignorance of his employers upon economics. He appears to be a fixture in New York, whence he launches his frenzied anathemas against the policy now adopted by the Democratic Party. These are the terms in which *The Times* permits or requires its correspondent to write of the programme endorsed by one of the two great parties in the Union—the nation beyond all others with which Englishmen desire to cultivate friendly relations. We quote by no means the most outrageous of Mr. Smalley's despatches:—"In no point has the platform been altered since yesterday; in several it is more violent and more menacing. It remains a creed of repudiation public and private, of lawlessness, of warfare on property and on public and private rights, an attempt to destroy the just authority of the judicial and executive branches of Government, a crime against society. When it shall have been adopted by the Convention, a plain issue will be set before the American people. The future of the Republic is at stake, and the struggle for civilization and morality will have begun." If the facts justified this and similar Smalleyan outbursts, it would be a public scandal as between nations to indulge in them. But do the facts justify these expletives? Is the Chicago platform the "atrocity" Mr. Smalley and *The Times* consider it to be, or the "infamy" that the Anglo-New York paper, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, labels it? It has unfortunately not been published textually in London, but the extracts that have appeared are far from warranting such epithets. There is a declaration in favour of an income tax and a reduced tariff, a denunciation of "trafficking with banking syndicates" by the Federal Treasury, of pauper immigration and arbitrary federal interference with the local authority, also of trusts and pools. Mr. Bryan has supplemented these heinous proposals by declaring for the popular election of Senators, a liberal pension policy, the strict control of railroads and other public corporations, arbitration, and "the operation of the telegraph by the Government in connection with the postal system," while he is against a second Presidential term. Surely this is a very moderate manifesto compared, *e.g.*, to the Newcastle Programme—it might have been drawn up by some staid Liberal Unionist.

National Bimetallism.

There remains, however, that terrible silver plank, and this is what has sent *The Times* and its correspondent into hysterics. This declaration sets forth (what in Smalleyese is called "the familiar falsehood") that "the Federal Constitution names silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States," that "the Silver Demonetization Act of 1873 has caused the appreciation of gold, and a corresponding fall in prices of commodities produced by the people, a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private, the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad, paralysis of industry, and impoverishment of the people." Against the gold standard, "which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people," and which is "not only un-American, but anti-American," it appeals to "that indomitable spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence and won it in the War of the Revolution." Then it proceeds:—

"We demand the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be full legal tender equally with gold for all debts, public and private, and we favour such legislation as will prevent the demonetization of any kind of legal tender money by private contract. We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of obligations of the United States the option, reserved by law to the Government, of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin. We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in times of peace, and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates, which, in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves, supply the Federal Treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold-monometallism."

This is a declaration in favour of national bimetallism, or a recurrence to the policy which was departed from in 1873 with such disastrous consequences to the producer, as he believes. He finds himself perpetually struggling to discharge a debt in an appreciating standard which he has to meet out of depreciated commodities. If it is righteous for a creditor nation to boast of the benefits that the appreciating gold standard has conferred upon it, as Sir William Harcourt, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, has done in the House of Commons, is it against nature and all morality that the debtor world should call attention to the other side of the shield?

To English Investors.

We strongly advise English investors not to allow themselves to be terrified either now, or in November, when the elections take place. The new *régime*, whatever it may be, will not come into power until next March, and in the interval a good deal may happen. It is by no means certain that Free Silver will win, though it is far from a

forlorn hope. Whichever party triumphs, Great Britain will probably be asked to what extent she will help silver, for it cannot be repeated too often that in the States the battle is not between gold and silver, but between the two Bimetallisms—National and International. The Unionist Government is pledged to open the Indian mints, which would be a material contribution, and the British Parliament has pledged itself to the view that the loss of the parity between the metals in 1873 has caused wide disaster. What our public men have to consider is the desirability of inviting other European nations to confer with us as to the restoration of a ratio. We believe a ratio could be maintained if it could be agreed to by the leading commercial nations, and that the American Silverites are wrong in believing, as many of them do, that the American Union can maintain it single-handed. For the moment the point is whether they can fairly be termed "atrocious" or "infamous"?

LI HUNG CHANG'S PILGRIMAGE.

The journey of Li Hung Chang round Europe reminds us of that pathetic journey which Monsieur Thiers undertook after France had suffered defeat in her war with Germany. We notice, however, that Li Hung Chang is received by the Courts and Governments of Europe with much more consideration than was Monsieur Thiers. Yet China received a more crushing and humiliating defeat at the hands of the Japanese than France suffered from Germany. France at least offered some resistance. In the late Eastern war the Chinese armies and fleets capitulated almost as soon as the enemy opened fire. Fleets, arsenals, and forts surrendered in the most abject manner. Yet Li Hung Chang is received as if he were the representative of a formidable power. The explanation is that China, notwithstanding her defeat and humiliation, offers a boundless prospect of trade to the nations which can secure it. Li Hung Chang seems to be an astute old man, and is careful not to commit himself. He has only come "to make a kind of general enquiry into the state of the principal European nations." He wishes to "understand the civilization of Europe." His chief object is probably to negotiate a loan for China on the cheapest possible terms. He had some interesting conversation with the Director of the Crédit Lyonnais upon this subject. He offered to treat direct with any big banking house, but wished to do so without the medium of Consuls and Ministers, and "without any material guarantees." He complained that a material guarantee should be required from China in the case of a loan when none was required from Russia. The Director had to reply that this was because Russia's financial responsibility was better known. For ourselves we cannot understand the European investor putting his money

into a Chinese loan. Li Hung Chang would serve his country better by remaining at home and endeavouring to civilize it, and thus obtain a solid foundation for its credit abroad. Since its war with Japan China is but a shattered mass. It can hardly be termed a nation. There is no Empire except in an abstract sense. The Government is not even capable of protecting mission stations from the fury of ignorant mobs, and has neither the prestige nor the strength to undertake the responsibility of a financial loan without an ample guarantee.

THE CRETAN REVOLT.

The European trouble during the last month has been an insurrection in Crete, the eighth which has taken place during the present century. It is the old story of the rebellion of Christians against Turkish misrule. The population stands at 270,000 Christians to 35,000 Mahommedans. The latter, however, possess the military and naval resources. Some severe fighting has taken place, and outrages have been committed by the combatants on both sides. A Turkish mosque was blown up, and Christian churches have been destroyed, while villages have been devastated, sometimes by Turks and sometimes by the Cretans. We are not partisans, and desire simply to arrive at a pacific solution. The great Powers have intervened, and the European "concert" is again invoked to protect the Christian population. Upon the Armenian Question Prince Lobanoff had things his own way. France followed him like a vassal. Monsieur Clemenceau's recent protest against the part played by France upon the Armenian question is satisfactory reading. Great Britain did all she could to save the Armenians, but had the "concert" of Europe arrayed against her. There was a Dual Alliance led by Russia and a Triple Alliance influenced by Austria. If Great Britain had persisted she would have risked a European war. Upon the Cretan question Great Britain's humane policy is more likely to prevail. Her sea power strengthens her position. Prince Lobanoff cannot dictate. He recently joined the Powers in exercising the necessary pressure on the Porte. The Sultan was "greatly angered and disappointed at the policy of Russia in the Cretan affair." Russia had supported him in persecuting the Armenians, and it was a puzzle to his Oriental mind that she should not support him in suppressing the Cretans. The Russian desertion compelled him to accept "in principle" all the demands of the Ambassadors. He issued a proclamation to the Cretans as their "most beneficent ruler," according a general amnesty as a new proof of his "infinite mercy and philanthropy." A Christian Governor, Georgi Pasha, has been appointed at the

instance of the Powers. Greece, of course, foments the insurrection, but the worst thing which could happen to Crete would be to become annexed to this little pretentious posthumous power. An autonomy guaranteed by Europe offers, perhaps, the wisest solution.

The Touch of Sorrow.

In these uncritical days it is almost a disparagement to a new book to praise it, particularly if it be a novel. Still we venture to welcome and commend a charmingly-written story from the pen of a new writer—Edith Hamlet. It is entitled *The Touch of Sorrow* (J. M. Dent & Co.), and as a first book it is a striking performance owing to the very clever delineation of the heroine's character and the literary grace with which most of its pages abound. Stella, the heroine, revels in the sunshine of life, and is obstinate in refusing to face its gloomier aspects. So sympathetically and skilfully is the bright side of her character developed that she enlists the reader's partisanship, and he becomes very indulgent towards her heartlessness. At the end of the story she becomes chastened, after a severe struggle, by the death of her child, and no doubt by now she has become commonplace and philanthropical. *The Athenæum* credits Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton with the authorship of this most promising piece of work.

MRS. MEYNELL'S TWO BOOKS OF ESSAYS.*

THE gift for talking well has been said to transcend excellent singing in charm. We can admit that the writing of good prose in our unschooled composite English is an achievement beyond any save the highest flight of song. Mrs. Meynell has practised on either instrument, poetry being, of course, her first love. To the metrical themes attempted by her she brings emotion, sincerity, a sufficient measure of the minstrel's skill, together with an exquisite play upon our finer chords, quite her own, not to be heard from another. Some of her lines have the living tremour in them. The poems are beautiful in idea as in grace of touch; and they are unambitious, born modest; they do not lend themselves to clamorous advocacy of their merits. *Quid enim contendat hirundo cygnis?*—her verse has the swallow's wing and challenges none. It is in her Essays that her singular powers have their range, and without sacrifice of the poet she is.

Readers with a turn for literature have noticed of late a column once weekly in the Autolycus basket of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, considering it princely journalism. Mrs. Meynell's second volume is her selection from these Criticisms and Essays, as was her foregoing from the series printed in *The National Observer*. They are small books, and they contain much substance, both to refresh and to instruct. But it is not as a quintessential extract that they commend themselves to us, though they are full of matter. The Essays have, in these days of the overflow, the merit of saying just enough on the subject, leaving the reader to think. They can be read repeatedly, because they are compact and suggestive, and at the same time run with clearness. The surprise coming on us from their combined grace of manner and sanity of thought, is like one's dream of what the recognition of a new truth would be. Conceivably the writer was fastidious to the extreme degree during the term of scholarship, but that is now shown only in a style having "the walk of the Goddess"; and when she speaks her wise things, it is the voice of one standing outside the curtain of the Oracle,

* *The Rhythm of Life;* and *The Colour of Life.* London, John Lane.

humbly among her hearers. She has no pretensions to super-excellence, however confirmed her distastes. Her rule of the μηδὲν ἄγαν has become the law of her nature, as it may be seen at a first reading.

Mrs. Meynell discountenances nimiety in any form, the much scorn, the shout of encomium, the exhibition of the copious vocabulary. Part of her education was influenced insensibly by one whom she respected for "his gentle and implacable judgment"; and as he "disliked violence chiefly because violence is apt to confess its own limits," she received her guidance in criticism as in conduct. Her scorn, when it is roused, is lightly phrased, her wit glances, her irony is invisible, though it slays; and if she admires she withholds exclamations. Intemperateness, redundancy, the *ampoulé* and pretentious, are discarded by her, nor may her heroes be guilty. She cuts her way for herself through that wood to a precision never emphatic unless it be intentionally, for the signification; and this precision she contrives to render flexible, conversational even; she achieves the literary miracle of subordinating compressed choice language to grace of movement, an easy and pleasant flow until her theme closes. Her theme, too, is held in hand to be rolled out like the development of a sonnet, because of that same succinctness of idea inspiring to direct her equable delivery. The papers outside the descriptive and the critical are little sermons, ideal sermons—let no one uninstructed by them take fright at the title, they are not preachments; they are of the sermon's right length, of about as long to read as the passage of a cathedral chant in the ear, and keeping throughout to the plain step of daily speech, they leave a sense of stilled singing on the mind they fill. In all her writing we read off a brain that has found its untrammelled medium for utterance, with stores to deliver. Necessarily, where an intellect is at work, ours should be active, and we should know the roots of the words. She does not harp on a point; she pays her readers the compliment of assuming that they have intelligence. But she does not offer them puzzles. The writing is limpid in its depths.

By what strict discipline her task of preparation was done may be gathered in part from her Essay on *Composure* and on *Rejection*. They are lessons in the composition of sound and vibrant English, a sensitive English retaining dignity. Simple Saxon is too much a brawler; and emotion, imagination, the eye on things, will be shrouded by obtrusive Latin. The voice we know is not the familiar voice when we hear it through a horn. But seasonable notes of the horn will help to elevation and the more embracing discourse. Latin offers that advantage if the words are discreetly

chosen. The greater suppleness in a tongue of long usage by many races must, as Littré argues, make it an instrument of expression for the larger meanings and the delicate—the voluble semitones—that the Teutonic cannot rival. Mrs. Meynell's plea is not for a return to the learnedness of the old coining Divines, *bien entendu;* she pleads for the eighteenth century's happy refuge in the language of greater tranquillity, "Johnson's tranquillity," as an ethical need of our day. "We want to quell the exaggerated decision of monosyllables. We want the poise and pause that imply vitality at times better than headstrong movement expresses it." They are not the times when Othello has Iago by the throat. Passion knows no tongue but plain Saxon with us. Mrs. Meynell's allusion is to the times for transmitting ideas, or summarily narrating events; and in that respect Lowell was of a like opinion, at a period when the mania for mother Saxon was wrenching our parents in literary language asunder to the state of divorce. Yet we have so Saxonized "ation" and "ition" as to make those polysyllables derived from the French repugnant if they are not electively handled; and the "tranquillity of Johnson," in Rasselas, for example, conveys the scenes to our musing fancy as effectively as a sleeper's dreams are presented by the sonorous trumpet of his nose. We are not, however, counselled to return to the Johnsonian stalk, the marching of words like men-at-arms in plated steel, under which the Saxon was a trampled stubble. "One of the most charming things that a writer of English can achieve is the repayment of the united teaching by linking their results so exquisitely in his own practice that the words of the two schools shall be made to meet each other with a surprise and delight that shall prove them at once gayer strangers and sweeter companions than the world knew they were." By this linking of results our scholarly literature may get to a rhythm of life having the colour of life. How it is when "pure Saxon" reigns is to be seen in Freeman's History, where the hopping native monosyllables and stumpy trochees are multiplied to knock the sense of a situation upon our understanding until vision and connection are lost within us for lack of the one compendious Latin word.

A powerful personal sentiment was required to preserve the equilibrium in Johnson, with whom Latin was his lingual club. The balance of the tongues is the task for us, and it is hard to maintain even when there is no strong predilection for the one or the other. Mrs. Meynell herself may be lured in the cooler moment to a slight inclination. In the first sentence of *Rushes and Reeds* we have: "Taller than the grass and lower than the trees, there is another growth that feels the implicit spring." One

seems to have the enfolded spring of the year on an encloistered grass-plot when it is capped by this Latinity. We are commonly sensible of the library's atmosphere only in the apposite condensing term for the subject treated. She is too sensitively responsive to the natural world, to the humanity about her and the cry of a present time, for the exercise of doctorial pedantry. Her stores of knowledge, stores of reflection, burden her reader as little as she is hampered by them. Her eloquence is shown by repression, with the effect. Occasionally, as in *The Lesson of Landscape, Sun, Cloud, Winds of the World*,—notably the great South-west —her hand is loosened. Her disposition is to a firm grasp of the reins, and her characteristic is everywhere the undertone. We have had our eminent masters of style. We have had the stylist of the picked English, in which we saw the picking; the stylist in elegant English, *se dandinant*—very pardonably—under the consciousness of acknowledged elegance. Mrs. Meynell has much of Pyrrha's charm, the style correcting wealth and attaining to simplicity by trained art, the method unobtruded. Her probed diction has the various music in the irregular footing of prose, and if the sentences remind us passingly of the Emersonian shortness, they are not abrupt, they are smoothly sequent. It may be seen that she would not push for rivalry; the attraction is in her reserve. She must be a diligent reader of the Saintly Lives. Her manner presents to me the image of one accustomed to walk in holy places and keep the eye of a fresh mind on our tangled world, happier in observing than in speaking; careful to speak but briefly to such ear-beaten people, and then only when reflections press, the spirit is fervent, or observation calls for an exposure of some hopeful or some doubtful tendencies.

Her use of the undertone in the painting of a portrait, the sketching of a scene, is an artistic revelation. The few affirmative strokes placed among the retiring features of the Gentleman in a *Remembrance* surpass vividness in the impression. They make a Rembrandt canvas. The scene *At Monastery Gates*, soberly coloured as it is, remains with us; we are drawn by an allurement, that is not the writer's invitation, to share her feeling. She feels deeply, saying little. A funny incident occurring in the Monastery is related with an unformed smile, and the laughters are in it. Like the hero of her Portrait, she has "compassion on the multitude." The tenderness inspiring the thoughtfulness of the *Domus Angusta* is not stressed for an effect of pathos, but the reader's mind and heart are touched, enlarged, one may say with truth.

"The narrow house is a small human nature compelled to a large human destiny, charged with a fate too great, a history too various,

for its slight capacities." . . . "That narrow house—there is sometimes a message from its living windows. Its bewilderment, its reluctance, its defect, show by moments from eyes that are apt to express none but common things. There are allusions, involuntary appeals in those brief glances. Far from me and from my friends be the misfortune of meeting such looks in reply to pain of our inflicting. To be clever and sensitive, and to hurt the foolish and the stolid—wouldst thou do such a deed for all the world? Not I, by this heavenly light."

The undertone rises there to a point of shrillness for once. Poor average humanity—the world of the inarticulate—has long wanted such an advocate. Could Portia plead better before the court? It is in Portia's tone. A similar impressive reserve is noticeable whenever this writer touches on children. There is not the word of affectionateness; her knowledge and her maternal love of them are shown in her ready entry into the childish state and transcript of its germinal ideas, the feelings of the young,—a common subject for the sentimentalizing hand, from which nothing is gathered. Only deep love could furnish the intimate knowledge to expound them so. Perhaps the most poetic, most suggestive also, of the Essays in these two books is the one on *The Illusion of Historic Time*, treating of the child's views of historical events, illuminatingly and delightfully describing what the child has for his great possession in the early days, and what the man has lost, though not absolutely lost if he imagined when he was a child. "Rome was founded when we began Roman history, and that is why it seems so long ago. Suppose the man of thirty-five heard, at that present age, for the first time of Romulus. Why, Romulus would be nowhere. But he built his wall when everyone was seven years old. It is by good fortune that 'ancient' history is taught in the only ancient days." . . . "By learning something of antiquity in the first ten years, the child enlarges the sense of time for all mankind." The Essay is in its essence a concentrated treatise on the imagination of childhood and the uses in nourishing it; a piece of work of more than the literary value for which it is remarkable. It is work that philosophers may read with enlivenment; instructed, perhaps.

Mrs. Meynell indicates here and there that the "sense of humour" is the touch within us restraining from excess. Were such the case, our people would be convicted of deficiency where the common belief is in their having a fair endowment. They can laugh; they can also extravagate, can be ultra-solemn in bodies, in journals, past measure overblown, pan-anglicanly tedious, and they are peculiar for their dogged merriment in

coursing the toy-shop hare of a rank absurdity or flattering national habit round and round the field years after its creaking mechanism should have told them it has an acuter sensibility of the excessive than they. No, the principle of restraint, the leaning to proportion, is an intellectual attribute, and humour is apart from the intellect as an influence; it is often foreign to the intellect, unsanctioned, a helot at holiday or native claiming licence under the dominant lord. Restraint comes of an habitual government of our faculties by the Comic spirit—the livelier element of common sense, which has mounted to the intellectual station perforce of being more imaginative than the ordinary assemblage in debate over needs and customs. It is Right Reason's right hand weapon. Mrs. Meynell's paper on *Pathos* (sham pathos—the craze for detecting it in a broad grin) would alone be sufficient to show that she has the comic insight eminently among modern writers. She is armed for penetrative criticism, and armoured to blunt the point of attack. Were it creative with her, she would no doubt not be so securely clad. Comic creative energy somewhat shakes composure, and is tricksy, given to take different forms for covert purposes. Nothing so much provokes ἀγανάκτησις in English critics. The writer guilty of this offence shall run the gauntlet of them all down the line at every new publication, up to the end. Can she be more tolerant —or less consistent? In the passive manifestation of it, seeing that she is critical chiefly to admire, and courteous when her delicate stroke is mortal, we have to seek her peers—that is, in England.

Although she condenses, by virtue of a contemplative habit, she is reluctantly a phrase-maker; as a rule, only when the pressure of her subject enforces it: *e.g.*, of a gifted man marked by literary abstinence: "He had an exquisite style from which to refrain." Or, contrasting Greek symmetry in art with Japanese distortion, under an illustration of the human form: "Man is Greek without and Japanese within." There are more. But evidently she does not string her jewels on the way by a recurrence to the note-book. A lapse upon later journalese, in a sentence negatively describing the East wind, after a splendid picture of the South-west, offers testimony. They come from the running pen. So little does this thoughtful writer incline to the packed phrase or the smart, that one speculates on her attitude fronting an aphorist. The imposing Professor of Wisdom would require a stout constitution to keep him from seceding into vapour beneath her quiet scrutiny.

Whether the habit of journalism is likely to injure a choice individual style, is the question better asked in suspense; it is not for asking until the signs render it [illegible]nugatory. Mrs. Meynell's two

paragraphs on *The Honours of Mortality* imply, that if she has done her best in the work for the day, she is resigned to the common fate of workers for the day, like her prized exemplar, whose "finest distinction it was to desire no differences, no remembrance, but loss among the innumerable forgotten." The loftier aristocratic spirit travels by this road to democracy, if proudly or humbly it matters little. Authors "writing for posterity" are figures for the caricaturist. Apparently we owe *A Woman in Grey* to journalism, and the train of thought following her on her bicycle in Oxford Street seems worth handing down, however uncertain its descent. "She had learnt to be content with her share —no more—in common security, and to be pleased with her part in common hope." . . . "*To this courage* the woman in grey had attained with a spring," &c. How closely the writer feels with her sisterhood and for the world of the time to come, is indicated in her thoughts upon the woman's gaining courage: "'Thou art my warrior,' said Volumnia, 'I holp to frame thee.' Shall a man inherit his mother's trick of speaking, or her habit and attitude, and not suffer something, against his wish, from her bequest of weakness, and something, against his heart, from her bequest of folly? From the legacies of an unlessoned mind a woman's heirs-male are not cut off in the Common Law of the generations of mankind. Brutus knew that the valour of Portia was settled upon his sons."

The writer who does honour to journalism assists at least in salutary work, for which the honours of a delicate stylist may well be surrendered. The writer casting an irradiation on cheap daily things does an act of beneficence, and can consent to pass away with them. I have not seen any roughening or flattening of diction, or taint of limpidity; one slip only, and that can be excused as easily as effaced. Rather is it shown that service in this great school has added to fluency, and quickened the observation of the most penetrative eyes we have among us. There is less in the second book of the poise of the sentence on some costly expressive, and we have always literary English to beguile or command the reader. It will hardly be otherwise, where an exacting taste imposes the correspondent self-respect. The author of *The New Lucian* is a journalist, and of as masterly a dicacity as when he gave us those classic Dialogues Other names could be cited. The writing that is thinking may be in constant exercise to any degree without injury while the physique is cheerful; and the writing to suit the day, and thinking upon demand, make a rallying harness for the capacities of the voluntary and able in service. One sees it to be good apprentice-

ship. But journalism is necessarily impressionist. An impressionist theatrical critic, for example, should have the "Point of Honour" implanted in him animatingly if he is to do his duty to himself and to the public; and if, as Mrs. Meynell says, "the point of honour is the simple secret of the few," his office may tempt to the doings that call on force of soul to undo them subsequently in a frank palinode. Few have that either; so we behold the effects of a critic's moods, for one consequence, in the public indifference to criticism. Of the few who can recant handsomely, Mr. Archer is one; M. Jules Lemaître, the most competent of critics, is also one, as was shown in his amends to the Shade of Théodore de Banville the other day. He was an impressionist critic dogmatizing when he went wrong. I could wish him to read Mrs. Meynell's article on the acting of Eleonora Duse. He might dissent; he would own that our English critic writes with knowledge of the art of acting, with sensitive perception. She examines, and gives her good reasons for pronouncing; she is not "déterminste" or dogmatic, she is impressionist inasmuch as she is spiritually receptive. A reader of her criticism who had never seen Signora Duse on the stage, would conceive how the actress excels, though there is nothing pointed in the mention of the points. Those who have seen the great Italian are awakened by it to a better understanding of the art she illustrates and the grounds of her excellence. Great acting, great criticism: and both by reason of that quiescent, passionless, but not frigid, spiritual receptivity in study, from which issues the consummate representation, the right word upon it likewise.

Through all Mrs. Meynell's writings there is an avoidance of superlatives. Rarely does she indulge in an interjection. One may gather that she would disrelish the title bestowed by enraptured reviewers on exceptionally brilliant gifts; and it is battered enough. The power she has, and the charm it is clothed in, shall, then, be classed as distinction—the quality Matthew Arnold anxiously scanned the flats of earth to discover. It will serve as well as the more splendidly flashing and commoner term to specify her claim upon public attention. She has this distinction: the seizure of her theme, a fine dialectic, a pliable step, the feminine of strong good sense—equal, only sweeter,—and reflectiveness, humaneness, fervency of spirit. I can fancy Matthew Arnold, lighting on such Essays as *The Point of Honour*, *A Point in Biography*, *Symmetry and Incident*, and others that I have named, saying, with refreshment, "She can write!" It does not seem to me too bold to imagine Carlyle listening, without the weariful gesture, to his wife's reading of the same, hearing them to the end, and giving his com-

ment: "That woman thinks!" A woman who thinks and who can write, who does not disdain the school of journalism, and who brings novelty and poetic beauty, the devout but open mind, to her practice of it, bears promise that she will some day rank as one of the great Englishwomen of Letters, at present counting humbly by computation beside their glorious French sisters in the art.

GEORGE MEREDITH.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

The last ten years have been prolific in misfortune to political reputations, and many a soaring career which in 1885 promised to shine yet more brilliantly in the further heights, is now quenched in darkness. The same decade has seen the advance to the foremost rank of English statesmanship of two men, one of whom was in 1885 barely known by the mass of the people outside the House of Commons, while the other, though tardily recognized as a power of a certain magnitude in the nation, was in no danger of suffering from over-estimation at the hands of the majority, and by some of the duller-witted was even regarded as of negligeable value. Mr. Balfour's rise has been the more rapid and complete, for he sprang almost at a bound from the position of an unimportant private member to that of the second head of the Conservative Party. Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, was never an unimportant member of the House. His first arrival was preceded by a portentous rumour which caused some to regard his entry with anxiety, all with interest. By 1880 he had attained sufficient importance in Parliament to be necessarily included in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry. At the break-up of that Government, it was generally recognized that Mr. Chamberlain was the Minister who came best out of the wreckage. Even those who hated him most admitted that he had managed the affairs of his department well, that his Bankruptcy Bill was one of the few legislative successes of the period, and that his management of it during its progress through the House of Commons had erred neither in suavity nor in firmness. After the General Election of 1885, it was said in many quarters that Mr. Chamberlain's "unauthorized programme," like Kellermann's "unauthorized charge," had practically won the political Marengo, though the Grand Old Napoleon took all the credit for the victory.

On the other hand, Mr. Balfour possessed accidental advantages at the outset which were conspicuously absent in the case of Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain is in every sense of the phrase a man who has made himself, and whose friends are the result of personal intercourse, not of family connection. When he first

went to Birmingham to act as his father's representative in the screw-making firm of the Messrs. Nettlefold, as reconstituted under the name of Nettlefold and Chamberlain, his acquaintance in Birmingham was limited to two or three families. Even as late as 1876, though he had then been thrice elected to the mayoralty of Birmingham, and had contested Sheffield at the General Election of 1874, his name was not sufficiently well known to be included in *Men of the Time*. When he entered Parliament in 1876, his intimacy within the House was practically limited to his two co-members for Birmingham, Messrs. Bright and Muntz. When he stood in the gap between the Conservatives and the Gladstonians in 1886, and stayed the plague like the prophet of old, he deliberately sacrificed the chance of becoming the political heir of Mr. Gladstone, and all claim on the allegiance of the Gladstonians, without any certain assurance of recognition by the Conservatives, and with the by no means improbable prospect of being crushed into political extinction by the impact of the two Parties. That he rose gradually from the position of junior partner in a by no means prosperous firm to that of a wealthy manufacturer, from the local debating-society to the House of Commons, from the seat of the private member to the Treasury Bench, was entirely due to his own ability and energy, wholly unassisted by any foundation or buttresses of inherited connection. That he has not suffered political extinction during the past ten years is solely to be attributed to the same cause. While Mr. Balfour's business has been to keep the stronghold of the Government intact against all onslaughts, and to marshal his men effectively for the defence when necessity demanded it, conscious that the enemy could do but little harm so long as they were kept outside the walls, Mr. Chamberlain and his little force have been obliged to fight against superior odds out in the open without any advantage but what they could draw from their leader's genius and their own ability. Most men would say that Mr. Chamberlain's task was incalculably the more difficult of the two, and that to have succeeded, to have vindicated to the full his political existence, to have not only established himself as one of the most important factors in the political sum, but to have turned the curses of many of his bitterest opponents into praises—even if it were only for a time—required a strength of character, a firmness of conviction, a power of debate, and a capacity for action which are rarely to be met with.

It is customary to assert that Mr. Chamberlain has, at all periods of his career, owed a great deal to his adversaries of different kinds, and that the virulence of their abuse has served to bolster up his position in the eyes of the nation, and to smooth the way for his

acceptance by his allies. A writer in *The Review of Reviews* even went so far as to assert that "the men who have built the pedestal from which his familiar figure looms high over his fellow-men are, first, the Tories, who denounced him as Jack Cade, and secondly, the Radicals, who assailed him as Judas." But surely this statement confuses cause and effect. The Tories would not have taken the trouble to denounce Mr. Chamberlain as Jack Cade if they had not been afraid of him, nor would they have felt any reason for dreading him if they had not dimly realized that he was becoming a formidable power in the State. The Gladstonians would not have employed all the arsenal of vituperation on the subject of Joseph Chamberlain if they had not held such a high estimate of his ability that they felt themselves grievously disappointed and injured when they found that he was no longer with them but against them, and that their plans were ruined entirely by the loss of him. Mr. Labouchere, who cannot be accused of undue prejudice in Mr. Chamberlain's favour, or even of having stood aloof while the Gladstonian Press made Mr. Chamberlain the chief target for their arrows, admitted as much when unburdening his soul at the Birmingham Press Club on February 1st. He observed that he had expressed strong regret that Mr. Chamberlain should have gone over to the enemy, but his regrets were of a complimentary character, for no one repined at losing what was not worth anything. It was because he had such a high opinion of Mr. Chamberlain's ability that he repined because that statesman had left them. Is it probable, moreover, that Mr. Gladstone would have been so deeply offended at Mr. Chamberlain's secession from the ranks of his followers, if the event had been of no importance whatever? Is it likely that the caricaturists of the Opposition Press would have spent so much of their time in devising almost daily cartoons wherein Mr. Chamberlain was the central figure, if he had been a man of such second-rate importance that his position could have been influenced by caricature? "Judas" and "Jack Cade," equally with the "Chamberlain Picture Book" and the later cartoons, were but so many gaudy gas-balloons which, cast up into the air, showed which way the wind blew. It is conceivable, moreover, that to many who, owing to ignorance, distance, carelessness, frivolity, or absorbing occupation, were but poorly acquainted with the details of political life, these frail indicators may have pointed out for the first time that there was a strong breeze blowing from Birmingham. But it would be as reasonable to suppose that the gas-balloon exercised some occult influence on the force of the wind, as to imagine that Mr. Chamberlain's weight in the councils of the State has been added to by the vituperation of his enemies, or would have been less had they all, by a great effort of

self-control, decided to boycott his name. Their attacks advertised how much they thought of him themselves, but certainly would not have influenced the Conservatives in the least had not Mr. Chamberlain's action previously decided them. Is it conceivable, to take a lesser instance, that the abuse with which a section of the Gladstonian Press has attacked Lord Rosebery would ever induce the Conservatives to fall on the latter's neck, saying, "Thou truly great man," unless Lord Rosebery were first to make an unconditional declaration of repentance on the subject of Home Rule? It is because they realize to the full the enormous value of Mr. Chamberlain's accession that the Conservatives have offered him such high marks of their estimation, and it is for precisely the same reason that the Gladstonians are so exceedingly angry with him.

Whatever differences of opinion there may have been on the question of Mr. Chamberlain's importance in the past they were set at rest by the General Election. Mr. Chamberlain was undoubtedly the hero and principal fighting-man of that struggle. He was the chief object of the attacks of the Gladstonians, and it was considered by many that their policy in this resembled the good old, but not very impressive, practice of endeavouring to hide the weak points of a bad case by denouncing the private character of the enemy's attorney. A writer in *The Review of Reviews*, when summing up the course of the elections, declared that "the Liberals have rather overdone their caricatures of Mr. Chamberlain." The Conservatives showed their sense of the value of his services during the past decade by offering him the important post of Colonial Secretary, and when it was known that he had accepted it, he became at once the most interesting political figure of the time. "What will he do with it?" was the question which occurred to the many who had only studied Mr. Chamberlain from the point of view of his domestic policy. The one thing that seemed abundantly evident was that a man of such strong character and decided views would compile for himself a very different record to that of his amiable but weak predecessor. "Letting 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would'" might confidently be expected to be banished from the list of possible courses of action open to the Colonial Office under his management.

As it happened, the nation had not long to wait. Mr. Chamberlain had hardly established himself firmly in his seat when he was called upon to act. The promptitude and decision which he showed during the South African crisis amply justified his appointment and produced a surprising effect on his opponents. He became suddenly the hero of the nation. Many of the Opposition Press declared that he had acted well, and that in the hour of England's

danger, domestic differences must be forgotten in order that an united front might be presented to the world. This view was echoed by many of the Opposition leaders. For the first time in his life, Mr. Chamberlain was made the object of popular demonstrations in London. At Birmingham his popularity was never greater, and when he returned to Highbury for a brief rest before the opening of the Parliament now about to close, a vast concourse of his fellow-citizens met him at the New Street Station and escorted him in triumph home. It is scarcely too much to say that at the opening of Parliament he was especially the man of the hour. To those, however, who are accustomed to discount the fluctuations of general opinion it is not surprising that this "casual popularity" did not sweep away all memory of the past, and that the charges of inconsistency and desertion which were so conveniently forgotten in the hour of national trial were revived again as soon as the clouds had in a slight degree departed from the political horizon.

It would be interesting to have an exact definition of what is required to constitute political consistency. The most realistic method of obtaining the palms in this respect would seem to be the adoption of certain fixed principles in early infancy, and the preservation of them in their entirety until second childhood supervenes. Another is that of the idiot at Colney Hatch, who having conceived the opinion that he is the Emperor of China, remains true to that view until death do them part. A third form is that of the Stupidity described by Schiller which substitutes prejudices for opinions, and can be moved by no arguments because it cannot understand them. It is not proposed by the present writer to claim for Mr. Chamberlain the high merit of attaining to any of these lofty ideals. There is a fourth standard which requires that a man's spoken and written words should be as the laws of the Medes and Persians, which altered not. By this code it is requisite that one who twenty years ago asserted that it was impossible to bottle up the human speech for an indefinite length of time, and uncork it again at will, should continue to the end of his life to reiterate that the thing is impossible, even though he were to receive convincing proof that the advance of science had rendered this not only possible, but one of the ordinary tricks of the showman. On the same principle, if a statesman has ever enunciated an estimate of the character and policy of another statesman, it is necessary that he should remain convinced of this view to the end, even though he may have ocular demonstration that the policy in question has undergone a very considerable modification and development. Most important of all is it that when a politician has once made use, or attempted to make use, of certain men and methods to accomplish the ends which he has set before himself as

the objects of his career, he should continue for ever to employ those same men and methods, even though he can arrive at nothing by their assistance, and sees most clearly that he could do much more by the help of other allies, and the use of other machinery. This fantastic theory is mainly a modern growth. It may be described, moreover, as a very irregular verb, possessing practically only an infinitive, and conjugated with the second and third persons alone as "You ought to do this," "He ought to do that," but never with the help of the great "I" of the individual orator. This form of political consistency, in short, is reserved for political opponents, and the very men who are least inclined to conform to it themselves are the most shrill and indignant in their vituperation of their adversaries for following their example. Careful collation of the salient points of Mr. Chamberlain's career and the charges urged against him by the Gladstonian Party leads to the belief that this is the precise standard of "consistency" which they exact from him, though it cannot be added that they have conformed to it themselves in any conspicuous degree. It is not proposed to make any claim to this particular form of "consistency" on Mr. Chamberlain's behalf. Mr. Chamberlain himself would be the very first to repudiate the idea. He is as a rule sufficiently indifferent on the subject of antagonistic criticism, but if he were ever to be accused of stultifying his intellect to the extent required by conformity to the species of "consistency" indicated above, it is probable that the trick would prove an effectual "draw."

There is yet another form of consistency—that "of principle"—which serves to differentiate the really earnest and progressive statesman from the opportunist politician who adopts any cry by which he hopes to obtain a few more votes to enable him to maintain himself in office, or to effect the ejection of his rivals. In the matter of principle there is no more consistent and sincere thinker and worker than Mr. Chamberlain. His entire career has been dominated by two great rules of conduct—a passionate desire to be instrumental in ameliorating the condition of the honest and industrious working class* to some appreciable extent, and a firm conviction that the first and most necessary measures for securing the advantage and prosperity of any particular section of the nation

* At a meeting at Hull on August 5th, 1885, Mr. Chamberlain said: "Our object is to elevate the poor, to raise the general condition of the people. Our ideal should be that in this rich country, where everything seems to be in profusion, an honest, decent, and industrious man should be able to earn a livelihood for himself and his family, should have access to some means of self-improvement and enjoyment, and should be able to lay aside something for sickness and old-age. Nothing would be more undesirable than that we should remove the stimulus to industry and thrift."

are those which assure the existence and prosperity of the nation as a whole. The order of arrangement employed above must not be taken to indicate the degree of importance attached by Mr. Chamberlain to the two clauses of his political creed, but merely the historical sequence of their genesis. It was natural that a man whose place of habitation and work was a great dirty overgrown manufacturing village, ill-paved, worse lighted, swarming with evil-smelling and semi-ruinous rookeries, which were themselves mere hot-beds of disease, should be earlier attracted by the conditions of life prevalent among the workmen who lived in the same town and who, in a large number of cases, were workers in his own factories, than by questions of Imperial interest which he could only study by the medium of the newspapers. It happened, moreover, that after the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny (the latter coinciding with the year of Mr. Chamberlain's majority) England was passing through a period of quiet, during which there was no necessity for an active Imperial policy. She had shown her power most thoroughly to the eyes of the world, and the other nations were more occupied in rending one another than in devising plots against her. She had time, therefore, to work out her own development without fear of foreign aggression, and it was natural that domestic questions should, for the time being, loom far larger on Mr. Chamberlain's mental horizon than measures of Imperial policy. In his treatment of social reforms, however, he showed that he realized to the full the axiom that the whole is greater than the part and contains it, and that it is of little use to attempt a cure of an affected part if the whole remains out of order and weakened by the attacks of some insidious evil. He began his municipal and social reforms from the top, not from the bottom. He first obtained control of the government of Birmingham; then he brought out, clause by clause, a far-reaching scheme for the general improvement of the condition of the inhabitants. His primary object was to benefit the working-classes, but the whole town profited as well. If the improved sanitary artisan's dwellings which rose on the sites of the old rookeries were of advantage to a limited class, the entire mass of the inhabitants gained by the introduction of broad new airy streets, cheap gas, improved and cheaper fire service, better drainage, more efficient police, cheap water, improved means of transit, wood pavement in the principal streets, an excellent reference library, a fine-art gallery, and an indispensable set of public buildings for carrying on the government of the town; while if it be true, as is now generally acknowledged, that free education is a national benefit, it is probable that not even the most furious anti-Chamberlainite will deny that his work in aid of the education movement was of municipal rather than sectional importance. It must be

thoroughly understood, moreover, that Mr. Chamberlain's plans were not only advantageous to the town, but they paid, either directly or cumulatively, and when the leases of the frontages of the new streets fall in, Birmingham will be the richest town in the two islands. At this time, Mr. Chamberlain was one of the most advanced Radicals in the kingdom. He advocated universal free education, universal suffrage, disestablishment of the Church, reforms in the land laws, and a large extension of the principle of local self-government. He was regarded as such a terrible Radical by the Tories, and such an ultra-irreconcilable by the Extremists, that when the Prince and Princess of Wales visited Birmingham in 1874, it was confidently expected that "something would happen." When it appeared that the "something" resolved itself into a magnificent reception, and that Mr. Chamberlain had behaved precisely as any other loyal subject would in a similar position, the feelings of the public may be best expressed by the homely ejaculation, "Well, I never."

At the present moment universal free education is the law of the land, and the Voluntary Schools merely exist concurrently for those who prefer them; the electoral franchise is but one remove from universal suffrage; the land laws have been extensively altered by various Acts and also by custom mainly in the directions which Mr. Chamberlain indicated in 1876 and subsequently; and a very large measure of local self-government has been passed. Moreover, it is important to consider by whom the majority of the reforms referred to above have been effected. The third Reform Act of 1884, which was the greatest and most efficient measure of its tribe, owed its thoroughness to the Tory Party, which insisted on including in it a scheme of Redistribution. On the second reading of this Bill, Mr. Chamberlain declared that he accepted the measure not as a final settlement, but as a good long step towards it. He expressed a hope that the condition of the agricultural labourers would be improved when they were represented in Parliament. He added, in referring to their wretched condition, "In saying this I am not bringing any charge against either Party. I take shame to the Liberal Party quite as much as to the Conservative." This speech shows the key-note of Mr. Chamberlain's domestic policy. He did not consider either Party perfect. Even in 1884 he did not hold that Mr. Gladstone was the divinely-sent reformer who could do no wrong. But he never refused half a loaf simply out of sullen pride because he could not obtain the whole that he had asked for. On the contrary, he took whatever he could get, and was grateful. After all, the smallest advance was better than none, and in the long run a number of small steps take you as far as one great one.

To continue. Free Education and the County Council Act were the work of Lord Salisbury's last Government. The same epoch saw a very large extension of the principle of allotments. Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, has had experience in his Parliamentary career of three Gladstonian Ministries. During the first he found that there were two very formidable obstacles to the passing of the Ministerial programme—the enormous size of it and the opposition of the House of Lords. It was then that he proposed to abolish that body with the view of clearing the course. The second Gladstonian Ministry did practically nothing except furnish to Mr. Chamberlain very convincing data for the conclusion that the existence of a Second Chamber might at certain periods of grave national crisis be the only means of salvation left to the Empire. The principal items of the work effected by the late Gladstone-Rosebery Ministry were the Home Rule fiasco, the Parish Councils Act, the Death Duties Act, and the creation of some dozen or so of Peers. Set against this total the list of remedial measures carried by the Tories with the assistance of the House of Lords and it will become apparent that the interest of the people is more decidedly advanced when the Tories are in office and measures of reform are really carried, than in the epochs of boundless talk, empty promises, and dismal fiascos which characterize the Ministries of the other side.

It is now necessary to take up the second clause of Mr. Chamberlain's political creed—his conviction that the general safety and security of the nation must be regarded as paramount over sectional interests. He stated this very early in the day in his Parliamentary career. In the debates on the Bulgarian Crisis in 1876, he said that though he was opposed to any idea of war with Russia to uphold the Turkish despotism, he was not opposed to war in itself because it was war. On the contrary, war might be absolutely necessary to the safety of the nation. In the debates on the Zulu War, he said that he regarded it as a blunder, but it was a still greater blunder to enter on it with insufficient forces. If it was necessary to go to war at all, it was vitally important that the campaign should be conducted in such a way that it should be short, sharp, and decisive, that the prestige of the country should be vindicated at once and the horrors of war reduced to a minimum. This was not the kind of utterance that would be expected from one of the Gladstonian school. It was the language of the strong man armed who knows his strength and is prepared to defend his dwelling to the last, but who wishes to use a scrupulous morality in his dealings with his neighbours. In those days, moreover, there is no doubt that Mr. Chamberlain fell into the blunder of supposing that this scrupulous morality would be reciprocated by his neighbours. He did not

realize that the game of international politics is like a sett at lawn tennis, where a stroke lost counts one to the opponent, or that in the race for colonial expansion the only way of preventing other nations from excluding us and our trade entirely from vast tracts of territory is to acquire some form of control over those districts ourselves. It is not surprising that he should have given way to this error. It is a common one which only experience can dispel. The actual realities of office soon convinced Mr. Chamberlain that the scrupulous morality of savage tribes and jealous nations was not a very satisfactory factor to rely on. He had assented to the Transvaal surrender, trusting to the gratitude of the Boers, but it was not long afterwards that he was mainly instrumental in the despatch of the Bechuanaland expedition which prevented the Germans from claiming the whole of the huge tract of country now known as Bechuanaland, Rhodesia, and Mashonaland, and joining hands with the Boers to confine English enterprise and trade to the narrow limits of Cape Colony. It would seem only logical that this conduct of Mr. Chamberlain's should have been denounced as "inconsistent" by the Gladstonians, but on the contrary, his policy on this occasion is imputed to him by a writer in *The Review of Reviews* as one of his "distinctly useful" acts. The simple fact was that he could do no wrong in the Party's eyes so long as he followed the lead of Mr. Gladstone.

It is evident that Mr. Chamberlain, even when he was most under the influence of Mr. Gladstone, was no blind worshipper of that statesman in domestic matters, while his views on Imperial policy differed in principle in such a marked degree that the wonder is, not that the rupture came at last, but that it did not occur much sooner. It was rendered inevitable by the introduction of what is now known as "Home Rule for Ireland" into the Gladstonian programme. It is quite true that Mr. Chamberlain was a Home Ruler before Mr. Gladstone, but Mr. Chamberlain's idea of Home Rule differed very considerably from Mr. Gladstone's, just as Mr. Butt's views were not those of Mr. Parnell, and at the present day Mr. Justin McCarthy's are presumably not the same as Mr. Redmond's or Mr. O'Donovan Rossa's. The expression "Home Rule" has had so many different interpretations applied to it by opposing statesmen at various times, that from a historical point of view the use of it without qualification is simply misleading. Mr. Chamberlain very early in the day disclaimed any intention of becoming a Home Ruler in the sense which Messrs. Gladstone and Parnell attached to the phrase. In a speech delivered at Warrington on September 8th, 1885, he enumerated the various points of Mr. Parnell's programme, and added: "If these, and these alone, are the terms on which Mr. Parnell's support is to be obtained, I

will not enter into the compact. This new programme of Mr. Parnell involves a great extension of anything that we have hitherto known or understood by Home Rule. If this claim were conceded we might as well for ever abandon the hope of maintaining an United Kingdom, and we should establish within thirty miles of our shores a new foreign country animated from outside with unfriendly intentions towards us." He spoke with equal decision and clearness at Birmingham on December 17th, 1885. "I see in the newspapers some account of negotiations which are reported to have been proceeding between the leaders of the Liberal Party in England and Mr. Parnell. I have had no part in any negotiations, I have expressed approval of no scheme. But I have so much faith in the experience and patriotism of Mr. Gladstone that I cannot doubt that if he should ever see his way to propose any scheme of arrangement, I should be able conscientiously to give it my humble support. But it is right to say that all sections of the Liberal Party, Radicals as much as Whigs, are determined that the integrity of the Empire shall be a reality, not an empty phrase. If Englishmen still possess the courage and stubborn determination which were the ancient characteristics of the race, we shall allow no temptation and no threat to prevent us from maintaining unimpaired the effective union of the three kingdoms which owe allegiance to the present Sovereign." When Mr. Gladstone's proposals were actually made known, Mr. Chamberlain was obliged to choose between his leader and his country. The question was, would he sacrifice the effective union of the Empire or draw away from Mr. Gladstone? To a statesman whose motto was "Measures, not men," and who considered that the security of the nation was the first paramount necessity of policy, there could be but one answer to this problem. In this way originated the split in the Liberal Party. For nine years Mr. Chamberlain remained absolutely independent, while the Conservatives worked out his own scheme of reforms in many of its most important particulars, and the Gladstonians went from one muddle to another. The need of a strong Government with a decided foreign policy and a long arm of protection to the Colonies has grown so steadily during the last few years that Mr. Chamberlain felt that the time had come when all true patriots ought to unite to form one, and that union with a Party with which he was in thorough accord on Imperial policy, and which had brought itself almost level with him in domestic matters, was easier than a reapproach to those who diverged yet more widely from him in 1895 than they did in 1886.

With regard to the Disestablishment of the Church, I have thought it best to treat the question separately. On this subject Mr. Chamberlain has not altered his opinion a whit. As a good

Dissenter he disapproves of any Establishment, but twenty years of Parliamentary life have shown him that on this point he is helpless. Nor is he alone in this position. The Duke of Norfolk and his co-religionists would think it a good work to upset the Establishment if they could set up the Roman Church in its place. The many Jews, Nonconformists, Scotch Anglicans, Free Thinkers, and Indifferentists who support the present Government would not be likely to take up the cudgels for the Church if the question of Disestablishment were ever to become an open one, in which the fate of the Ministry were not involved. Many of them would be glad to lead the attack under those conditions, but they recognise that in existing circumstances they can do nothing—except endanger the Government. On this head, therefore, they are agreed to keep silence. Would it be just, however, to stigmatize the many non-Anglican Unionists as "inconsistent" because they support a Government which suits their views in most particulars of domestic conduct, though not in religious matters, and represents their opinions on Imperial policy to the full, when the alternative is to adhere to a party which does not suit them at all, and least of all in the treatment of foreign and colonial questions? Are they not exactly in the position of the gallant Lord Howard of Effingham, and the patriotic Roman Catholic lords and gentlemen who helped to fight the Armada because they held that the paramount necessity of national policy was to ensure the existence and independence of the nation? And if they are not "inconsistent," neither is Mr. Chamberlain.

B. C. Skottowe.

THE MONETARY QUESTION AND THE UNITED STATES.*

AN American Bimetallist, of long standing and of deep convictions, I cannot speak to the British Bimetallic League in this City of London, which Edmund Burke more than a hundred years ago called the Exchange of the World, without a very strong sense of the power and authority which are here exercised over the interests and the destinies of mankind. Were the City of London to give its consent, bimetallism might at once be established on a broad and enduring basis. Of all the vast expanse of the globe, one square-mile alone blocks the way to the adoption of a world's money as wide as the world's trade. The veto of this City rests upon a monetary policy which has approved itself by long and beneficent operation; a monetary policy, the economic validity and practical efficiency of which have been admitted with absolute unanimity by the most distinguished Commission which since the great Inquests on the Bank Charter, fifty and sixty years ago, has been assembled in this country; a monetary policy which the nations of the earth never needed so greatly as to-day.

Probably no one in this audience doubts that, in this matter, Germany would cheerfully and promptly second the action of the United Kingdom; and would do all that England would do, in general and in particular, for the restoration of that parity between the metals, the loss of which her Imperial Parliament has recently declared to have been the cause of wide and deep disaster. France, on her part, has long stood ready to resume, with due and proper support from other financial Powers, that beneficent function which for seventy years she exercised practically alone, to the inexpressible advantage of the commercial world, and to the advantage of no country more than to that of England, whose "stupendous and never ceasing exports"—to use the phrase of Mr.

* An address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Bimetallic League held in London on 13th July, 1896, by the eminent American economist, Professor Francis A. Walker, LL.D., who is President of the Institute of Technology, Boston, U.S.A.; formerly Professor of Political Economy and History in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College; Lecturer in Political Economy in the John Hopkins University; Superintendent of the United States Census; and author of the *Statistical Atlas of the United States, The Wages Question*, &c., &c.

Goschen—were in so small measure the fruit of an approximate par of exchange between the silver-using and the gold-using nations, during the period while her manufactures were growing from small beginnings into gigantic and far-reaching enterprises. Holland, the classic land of Finance, from which, as Lord Macaulay points out, England derived her system of banking, of funding, and of taxation, Holland is ready and eager to join in the establishment of a monetary policy which would bring order out of the weltering chaos into which trade and production were plunged by the ill-considered action of twenty years ago. Belgium and Italy, of the now-suspended Latin Union, are like-minded. Few doubt that Russia would accede to a bimetallic convention; most believe that Austria would do the same. My own country, with seventy millions of people, is only too eager and anxious to see the wrong of the past righted by the remonetization of silver.

Of the possibly recalcitrant States, Sweden and Norway might stand out against the general consent of the nations. Portugal and Turkey were long England's sole supporters in the championship of gold monometallism; but even their financial pride might stoop to bimetallism in such company. Switzerland is the only one of the European States which would, under all circumstances, be practically certain to maintain monometallism; but even without Switzerland a successful result might be attained.

In such a situation—with so many nations waiting upon England, and none willing to move without her—is it not pertinent to enquire whether the last word has been spoken on this subject? whether the present position of this country has been taken after a full consideration of all the elements of the problem of international trade? whether England does not owe something more to the world, of which she is so important a part? whether even the particular interests of the British Empire are being served by an isolated, unsympathetic, and uncompromising attitude in a matter of universal concern? May I venture to suggest the question whether, in spite of the well-known impartiality of the Metropolitan Press, the hospitality with which the views of bimetallists have been welcomed to its columns, the candour and courtesy with which the opinions of the many illustrious statesmen and authoritative economists who support that system have there uniformly been treated, the larger aspects of international bimetallism have yet received an adequate consideration? Professor Foxwell has excellently well stated the two widely-differing views of money that may be taken, according as problems of internal equivalence or problems of external valuation are deemed the more important. There is no occasion to disparage the arguments which have been used to maintain and promote the monometallic system. The ad-

vantages of that system are plain, manifest, unmistakable, so far as one of the great functions of money is concerned. But these advantages may be bought too dearly, if at the sacrifice of the larger interest of the regular, confident, progressive production of wealth.

What the monometallist says is true, but it is only one-half the truth, and it is the lesser and the meaner half. Unquestionably, monometallism enables you to do the business you have to do with greater ease and with less friction; but does not the experience of the world—aye, of England itself—during the past twenty years show that the adoption of a system which sets the two halves of the commercial world at variance and discord, monetarily speaking, gives you less business to do? Have not the navigation interest, the manufacturing interest, the agricultural interest, even the trading interest, felt, and grievously felt, the loss of that par of exchange between the gold-using and the silver-using nations which the bimetallic system so long maintained? A large economy is more than a minute finance. No one questions the accuracy with which monometallism takes tithe of mint, anise, and cummin; but we may rightfully charge it with neglecting the weightier matters of the law, which concern the public welfare in the highest degree. Whatever may be true of the banker, should not the great merchant care first and care most for those things which promote the large, continuous, ever-expanding volume of production?

With these few remarks I leave the general subject. Recent events have given an exceptional interest to the attitude of the United States on the Silver Question; and I have been asked to address myself particularly to this theme. It is not an easy and simple thing to do, at a time when one of the great national parties has only within the week met in quadrennial convention, declared its sentiments, and nominated its candidate for the presidency; and while we are still dependent on ocean cablegrams for information as to what was there said and done. I will, however, do my best to meet your natural desire to know how the American people stand on this important question; and, whatever my remarks may lack in breadth or accuracy, they shall, at any rate, be neither timid nor time-serving.

A little while ago, when speaking of the attitude of the European nations towards bimetallism I said that my own people are *only too eager and anxious* to contribute towards a fortunate solution of the problem. That eagerness and anxiety have unfortunately been too strong for prudence and diplomatic reserve. Diplomacy and reserve are not characteristic of the American people. Whatever they desire and believe in, they are even impatient to work for, and are ready to make sacrifices for, to the very limits of their

strength and of their means. It was in this spirit that the people of the United States took up the Silver Question, when the pain, the alarm, and the indignation of its whole commercial world were aroused by the early effects of demonetization. While the European nations were investigating and discussing the causes and the effects of the fall of silver, we rushed precipitately into the breach; and, by the Bland-Allison Bill of 1878, provided for the remonetization of that metal and for a large compulsory coinage. That act was the will of the American people by a very large majority. It was undiplomatic, it was injudicious, it was practically mischievous, for by it we simply put our fingers into the door and took the squeezing that belonged by right to those who had brought about the trouble, and by just so much diminished the interest they might feel in remonetization. Yet I believe that act to have been one of genuine enthusiasm; in the main, disinterested; in the main, loyal. Twelve years later, the American Congress, stung to the utmost impatience by futile efforts for the general remonetization of silver, in which one nation waited for others, and each was disposed to haggle as to its share of the common contribution, took another step forward, and passed the Sherman Act of 1890, by which still larger amounts of silver were to be purchased on Government account. It may have been magificent, in the view of those who took part in it; but it certainly was not war. The entire action of the United States, from 1878 to 1893, in the large coinage of silver dollars and in the large purchase of silver bullion, was prejudicial to the cause of bimetallism; it was so held by the leading bimetallists of the United States, who opposed both the Bland-Allison and the Sherman Acts; it was so considered by the most authoritative economists of Europe. But it was in the main due to a loyal intention to undo the great wrong of demonetization, which followed the gold monometallic propaganda set on foot by the Paris Conference of 1867. The opposition to the measures referred to was almost solely on grounds of policy. As to the desirableness of restoring silver to the place it had immemorially held in the currencies of the world, there was no doubt in the minds of a vast majority of our citizens. Even to-day, after eighteen more years of wearing delay and irritating disappointments, there is no proper gold monometallist party in the United States. There are a few city editors, of a type not unknown to you; a few bankers, especially among those having direct London connections; a few economists, mainly of the harsh, arbitrary, *à priori* school, and some other highly respectable citizens whose intellectual conformation specifically adapts them to that sort of reasoning, who favour gold monometallism for its own sake. There are others, in greater numbers, whom the successive dis-

appointments regarding the remonetization of silver have disposed, in a kind of despair of any other issue, to accept the situation without further struggle. But I assert in the most positive manner that, if a proposal for a bimetallic agreement were to come to the United States from the principal countries of Europe, the opposition, upon a popular vote, would be so trivial as not to be worth a formal count. That I may not be suspected of exaggeration, I quote the following from the *Boston Herald*, the leading gold monometallist paper of the second financial city of our country. The article has reference to certain declarations made by Mr. Gray, of Delaware, in the United States Senate. It appeared in the *Herald* of March 30th, 1896 :—

"In this declaration Senator Gray climbs to a lofty level of soundness ; but we fear that he has no chance of persuading the American people to clamber up beside him. He takes up the position that the United States ought to maintain the single standard of gold, even if it stood alone in doing so. Though all the leading nations of Europe should unite to establish a double standard of the two precious metals, Mr. Gray would have this country hold aloof and refuse to come into the arrangement. Very well ! The *Herald* has not a word to say against the scientific correctness of this position. The only criticism we make is that the Delaware senator, in assuming it, puts himself in a hopeless minority. He is quite out of touch with American sentiment. In Europe, especially in England, he would have plenty of company of the best possible kind ; but here, in the pending campaign, he will not find a sufficient number of followers to give any practical value to the strict doctrine which he so frankly professes.

"In both parties the great mass of the sound money men are international bimetallists. They do not see much prospect of an international agreement on the matter ; but, if such an understanding could be reached, they would tumble head over heels to welcome it. Senator Gray would not find a corporal's guard in Congress to join him in rejecting a proposal from Great Britain, France, and Germany for the adoption of common ratio between silver and gold."

Another paragraph relates to a further suggestion of Senator Gray's ; and then follows the magic word, "Editor."

During all the long controversy which has gone on since the first demonetization of silver, it has been freely charged in Europe that the United States were chiefly moved to their successive efforts for the monetary rehabilitation of that metal, by a selfish and particular interest. Doubtless, this charge has been made in good faith ; and it must be confessed that we have ourselves to blame, in large measure, for that unfavourable opinion. That opinion is, however, in my humble judgment, mistaken. Silver-mining, as carried on in the Rocky Mountain region, is one of the smaller of the vast and diversified industries of the United States ; and, while those who pursue it have pressed their cause in Congress with intense zeal, and while they have been given a greatly disproportionate political power by the system of the equal representation of States in the Senate, their utmost activity could never have seriously affected the public policy of the country, had not

the convictions of the people at large favoured every effort for the restoration of silver to its full rank as a money metal. But for this, there would have been no more likelihood of the Government purchasing silver bullion and storing it in the vaults of the Treasury, than of its buying pig-iron or copper, and holding it in a similar manner. The selfish and particular interest of the silver-mining communities of the United States, it will be observed, is not a financial, but wholly an industrial, one. With them, the question of silver-coinage is a question, not of monetary circulation, but of the sale of a product of their own. They have the same concern in this as the wool-raisers of Ohio and Michigan and the iron-producers of Pennsylvania and Tennessee have in the duties on wool and iron.

It is, also, unfortunately true that there is in the United States a party consisting of those who, irrespective of any personal interest in silver production, have always advocated superabundant and cheap money. Such persons are to be found in all new countries, especially in agricultural and planting regions. In the United States, the men of this class, beaten on the issue of greenback-inflation in 1874 and 1876, have taken up the issue of silver-inflation. They have adopted "the cause of silver," not because silver is more valuable than paper (which they prefer), but because it is cheaper than gold, at the legal ratio. They are for depreciated silver because, in their opinion, it is the next best thing (by which we should understand, the next worst thing) to unlimited greenbacks. What they really want is silver-inflation. Real bimetallism would deprive silver-coinage of half its charms for them. And yet, by the necessity of the case, they would be obliged to accept international bimetallism; and their occupation as currency agitators would be gone. All the danger which has menaced the national credit from this source would at once disappear. Nothing has made this party formidable, since the sound beating it got twenty years ago, except the existence of a real grievance, in the forcible, unnecessary, and wanton demonetization of silver, and the steady and unceasing fall of prices.

Such, as I conceive them, are the relations of the silver-producing and the inflation elements of the United States to the question of bimetallism. Widely separated from both of these classes, as to their economic views and motives, remain the true international bimetallists of that country, who constitute so large a majority of the American people that, on a fair issue—for example, as to the accession of the United States to a bimetallic league comprising England, France, and Germany—or *any two* of these—all opposition would be swept away as by a whirlwind. These men are not inflationists, although, in accordance with their general economic

views, they earnestly deprecate a diminishing money-supply. That contraction of the currency is an evil, does not need to be argued before an American constituency. Instinctively our people shrink from it, as, in the language of Mr. Balfour, "one of the most benumbing and deadening influences which can touch the springs of enterprise in any country." The glib demonstrations of *à priori* economists, that it does not in the least matter what the volume of the currency may be, are lost on them. They know contraction to be a curse, as surely as men climbing a mountain-side know that the more rarified becomes the air the harder it is to breathe and the more the heart refuses its action. They have too recently and too painfully experienced its effects, in enhancing the burden of all debts, in cutting into the profits of business, in paralysing enterprise, and heaping capital up into great, useless masses, to pay any attention to reasoning of that sort.

These men are not bimetallists because they have any wish to scale down debts and pay off mortgages in a depreciated currency. Among them are to be found the vast majority of the men who have built up the gigantic fabric of American industry, and have helped to place the bonds of the United States so high in the markets of the world. Anything that threatened to touch the credit of the nation would be to them more hateful than death. They are bimetallists because they believe that this system will at once avoid the evils of a restricted circulation, secure a par of exchange between gold countries and silver countries, and promote stability in the money of the commercial world. Within the past week a gentleman occupying a high financial position said to me: "We, in England, want a money that is *as good* as gold; if there is any better money than that, we want it." This is precisely our attitude. We know that there is a better money than a money of gold alone. It is furnished by the two metals joined in the money-function, as under the French law of 1803; only, we reasonably desire for it a larger *factor of safety* than can, in the present day, be secured by any one country acting for itself alone. Such a money would be a better money, because it would be a sounder money, being, according to its very description, more widely based. It would be a more honest money, to use the favourite phrase of my country, because its value-variations would, according to the admission of every economist worth quoting on such a subject, be less than the value-variations of monometallic money.

Such, down to the beginning of the present year, were the positions and views of the three classes which, in addition to a small but devoted band of gold monometallists, made up the American people. Within a few months the outward and formal attitude of our political parties has greatly changed; a monetary

agitation, rarely equalled in its energy and intensity, has set in; and events have rushed rapidly to a crisis. In June, the Republican Party met in national convention at St. Louis; nominated their candidate for the Presidency; and adopted a declaration of principles. In that convention the all-engrossing question related to the currency. The result was a resolution absolutely in the spirit of the British Bimetallic League, viz., the maintenance of the gold standard, without further coinage of silver except by international agreement. This expresses the view of the bimetallists of the United States, England, France, and Germany alike. Disingenuous efforts have been made by some partisan newspapers to create the impression that the St. Louis Convention pronounced for gold monometallism. Not only the terms of the resolution, but the records of the proceedings, are dead against this view. The nominee of the party is a man who never was a monometallist, and could not be one if he tried. During twenty years of public life he has uniformly spoken and voted for bimetallism, the only trouble in his case being a certain leaning towards the possible free coinage of silver by the United States alone.

Again, the resolution adopted at St. Louis is known as the *Kohlsaat* Resolution. I have here a declaration of principles put forth from Chicago in the latter part of 1894. I read the text.

"The Committee is formed for the purpose of promoting the establishment of international bimetallism upon the plan of the Latin Union, but with a broader basis. Those concerned in the movement, while earnestly opposed to free coinage of silver, or any increased use of silver by this country independent of international action and agreement, believe that the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman Act affords a fitting and fortunate opportunity for advancing the cause of international bimetallism. They believe that the day is not far distant when the necessities of commerce will compel the international use of silver, as well as of gold, in the currencies throughout the world."

This declaration is signed by the first fifty-two citizens of that great inland metropolis. If any man who was asked to sign it declined to do so, I never heard of it. Among the names are not a few well known as far away as London, such as Philip D. Armour, Lyman J. Gage, Marshall Field, Robert T. Lincoln, George M. Pullman, J. W. Doane, L. Z. Leiter, Henry W. King, Marvin Hughitt. On this list, the second name is that of H. H. Kohlsaat, the reputed author of the St. Louis resolution.

Still again, the political energy and diplomatic skill which carried that resolution through the convention, against the avowed purpose of so-called "managers" of Mr. McKinley's candidature to have no specific mention of the gold standard, were, by universal acknowledgment, furnished by Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts, more than by any other, perhaps more than by all other men, there present. I hold in my hand the declaration of the Boston

Bimetallist Committee, under date of February 5th, 1894, in terms absolutely identical with those of the Chicago declaration, and signed by many of the leading bankers, manufacturers, merchants, and railroad presidents of that city. On that list I not only read the name of the Honourable George Frisbie Hoar, the venerable Senior Senator from the staunchly Conservative State of Massachusetts, a State which during the War of Secession bought sterling exchange in London, sometimes at a premium of 100 per cent., to pay in gold every dollar of interest or principal of its public debt, which by the law of the land had been declared payable in legal-tender paper; but I also read the name of his young, able, vigorous, scholarly, and eloquent colleague, the Honourable Henry Cabot Lodge.

It will thus abundantly appear that the attempt to make the attitude assumed by the Republican Party at St. Louis appear hostile to bimetallism is utterly unjustifiable. It is more than that; it is a scandalous perversion of facts.

On the other hand, the Democratic Party, at its convention in Chicago last week, to the deep regret of many patriotic citizens altogether irrespective of partisan convictions, and wholly from a view to the national honour and credit, adopted a resolution demanding the free coinage of silver, at the ratio of 16 to 1, without reference to the action of other countries. To this result the silver-mining interest contributed; the inflation-element contributed; the so-called Populist, or Socialist, Party contributed. All these, however, would have been insufficient to commit the Democratic Party to a policy so profoundly distrusted by all conservative men, had it not been for the deep dissatisfaction and angry impatience felt by hundreds of thousands of sincere bimetallists, west and south, at the frequent disappointments and humiliating failures experienced in the efforts made by the United States to secure the co-operation of European Powers in the re-establishment of international bimetallism. That action has been passionately taken; it will speedily be regretted, if it is not already regretted, by many of those who participated in it. It was taken against the earnest advice, protest, and warning of some of the staunchest bimetallists of the United States, like the Honourable W. C. Whitney, of New York, and ex-Governor Russell, of Massachusetts, a member of the Boston Bimetallist Committee, and of the eastern delegates to the convention, generally.

It would not be becoming for me to enter, here, upon partisan predictions; but I confidently believe that the maintenance of the gold standard in the United States is not a whit less secure, by reason of anything that was done at Chicago, last week. In spite of many friendly suggestions from this side of the water, we are

not going to pull anybody's chestnuts out of the fire. The United States will maintain the position it has so long held, as a nation thoroughly believing in bimetallism, and, in the main, disinterestedly desirous to promote that object, yielding place to none in its readiness to make all reasonable exertions, and sustain all reasonable sacrifices, for the common good. But the great Republic of the West will make no doubtful experiments in finance, at any rate, none more questionable than what it did in 1878 and 1890. The bonds of the United States will continue to be paid in gold coin or its full equivalent; and its credit will stand where it has ever stood since the triumphant vindication of its nationality, in the War of Secession.

FRANCIS A. WALKER.

CONTRIBUTORS.

YEARS ago a young and thoughtless man carrying on the profession, trade, or business of a free-lance journalist presumed to congratulate a friend upon the dignity of his position as assistant editor of a great daily paper. Those were the days when editors were editors, when nobody dreamed of assigning the title of "News Editor" or "Sporting Editor" to the man who divided his time between the scissors, the paste, and the noisome and oleaginous flimsy, or to the man who knocked into shape the effusions of the sporting reporter. Those were the days also when to be an assistant editor was to occupy a position of responsibility, trust, and power; whereas in these times the assistant editor is too often nothing better than the editor's secretary. The assistant editor and the free-lance journalist were not far apart in age; they had almost been contemporaries at Oxford; but the man of dignified position had a harassed and weary look, tired eyes, and a ragged beard; and the free-lance was young and lusty as an eagle. And this was the answer to the congratulation:—

"My dear X, wait until you have tried your hand as an editor, then you will know what it is to long for the days that are past; you will realize that the life of a tolerably successful contributor is a thousand times more choice-worthy than that of an editor. I used to write with pleasure, and to take a modest pride in my work. Now I never write a line except to fill up 'white,' or to make an article turn the column. Much of my time is spent in spoiling the work of others."

I was the free-lance, and I owed many an obligation to the clever man who never altered except to improve; but I left him then, sitting with a bundle of wet proofs beside him under the glare of an Argand lamp; and when I reached my club, and told the story to another casual contributor, I was quite ready to endorse the comment, "Poor A is one of those men who never know when they are well off." But since those days I have become an editor, and A has returned to the ranks of the contributors. He came to see me a few days ago, full of spirits and good-humour, looking, and avowing that he felt, ten years younger, in that he had passed "from

penal servitude to liberty." He observed also, truthfully enough, that the wear and tear of editing had turned my hair grey.

It is in the capacity of an editor, and with the view of proving that even a worm will turn, that I offer some observations suggested by the article on "Editors," by "A Contributor," which appeared in *The National Review* for June. My remarks cannot take the form of a reply, because "A Contributor's" disjointed anecdotes do not amount to an indictment of editors in general. Nor shall I permit myself references to individuals, easily to be understood by the public, since, in my poor judgment, to speak of an editor who is "reputed to set more store by the names of his contributors than by the quality of their contributions," to describe another as "Euphues Junior," and to pour whole sauce-boats of melted butter upon two or three named editors (who are not at all likely to value the unasked flattery), is to set an example unworthy of imitation. Nor shall I address my observations to writers of experience, who, because they know their business and the limitations under which an editor works, never complain, and are the backbone of periodicals and of journalism. Such men stand in no need of advice or of gentle reproof. They may not have contributed to five daily, eight weekly, six monthly periodicals, and to one quarterly periodical, as "A Contributor" tells us he has. Their work, indeed, is performed so well, is delivered so punctually, and reaches editors so perfectly ready for use, that the number of channels through which it is distributed to the world grows ever less and less. But there is another, and that a very large, army of writers for the Press, and in that army "A Contributor" has a place. In it are men and women of all ages, who circulate their productions profusely amongst editors. A great volume of their work passes under my eye. Sometimes the manuscript bears the marks of many journeys through the post. Sometimes it has the ornament of a fresh front page to disguise its age and its history of misfortune; often it is accompanied by a note, which, to me personally, seems touchingly pathetic. The writers of these notes ought to read Mr. Thackeray's *Thorns in the Cushion;* so reading they would learn that appeals *ad misericordiam* may pain the editor, but must not be permitted to influence his judgment. The magazine, the weekly review, and the daily paper are offered to the public which refuses to make any allowance for imperfections in the finished production, and does not see the heart-breaking plea which accompanied it to the editorial office. In this same genus of peripatetic manuscript is a species emanating from writers who deserve no sympathy at all. They are more irrational and not less troublesome than the prowling cabman. He, at worst, confines his importunity to wayfarers

who appear likely to be able to engage him. They, on the contrary, waste innumerable postage stamps in forwarding to editors utterly hopeless manuscripts which, by their very tone and length, prove that the writers have never so much as wasted a thought upon the character and the quality of the paper conducted by the editor upon whom they design to inflict trouble. How many Radical squibs have been placed into Tory letter-boxes? How many Tory essays have been hurled at Radical editors? Why do women attempt to storm the fortresses of serious journals with columns of so-called gossip, the said gossip consisting of stale scandal and rubbish about chiffons? All these time-wasting insults are flung at numberless editors every day. Yet, even at the most unpromising contribution, the editor must glance, for, in the accumulated mass, he may chance to find that pearl without price, a useful contributor, who, *pace* "A Contributor," is uncommonly like to a black swan. But that is no excuse for the reckless want of consideration of the general contributor whose conduct gives rise to the suspicion that he keeps a clerk for no other purpose than that, with a list of some hundreds of heterogeneous publications before him, he may send on to the next station, so to speak, the rejected addresses of the morning's mail.

After making all reasonable allowance for the disappointment of unsuccessful writers, after admitting that no honest editor can expect to be popular among contributors, the plain fact remains that the casual contributor does not understand his true position. His demands are frequently unreasonable, and there need be little hesitation in saying that he receives far more consideration than he deserves. "Not to answer a civil letter on business is at once ill-bred and unbusinesslike, whether the recipient occupies an editorial chair or not." So writes "A Contributor": but the observation is unsound and absurd. In my private capacity, I receive, every day, civil and even fulsome letters on business, offering to lend me money, to sell me cigars, wine, baby's socks, and a thousand things. The writers offer me something I do not require or cannot afford to buy; and I answer, as no doubt "A Contributor" answers, by silence. In strict logic the uninvited contributor stands in precisely the same position as the volunteer money-lender. When unasked he sends his goods on approval, in the face of a notice to the effect that rejected articles cannot be returned, he stands in the same position as the tobacconists who send out sample boxes of cigarettes. But he obtains far more courteous treatment than is accorded to the tradesman. An attempt, at the least, is made to read the most ill-written manuscript; sometimes it is even sent up to the printers in the faint hope that, after they have

wrestled with it, the meaning of the scrawl may be extracted. If it be rejected, it is almost invariably returned, whether stamps have been enclosed or not. Such is the practice of nearly all reputable publications; there are, however, a few exceptions in the shape of papers which give distinct notice that they will not take the trouble to return unsuitable contributions. These papers are perfectly well-known, their rule of business is strictly honest, and the man who runs the risk of submitting articles to them and loses his venture has none but himself to blame. Most editors, however, return that which they cannot use, and when they fail to do so, the reason is one out of three. The first is the most common: the contributor has not affixed his name and address to the manuscript, and as the pretty note explaining the virtues of the article which came at the same time has been destroyed, nobody knows to whom the contribution belongs. I have scores of articles in a cupboard to which this statement applies. The second reason is less common, but not rare. It is to be found in the persistency with which some writers continue to submit articles after they have been requested to discontinue the practice. The third reason is that articles are sometimes retained because, in holiday time, when good writers are lazy, it may be necessary to use matter of slightly inferior quality.

But contributors go beyond all limits of reason when they demand that the question whether their work shall be accepted or rejected and returned shall be decided within a limited period of time. The organ over which I have the honour to preside is not of daily appearance; but there is not a moment to spare on press day, as a contributor with any sense in his head must know full well. Yet it is not at all rare for me to receive a great roll of paper on press day, and when I open it a few days later, to find that it contains a request, or blunt demand, that the offered contribution shall be sent back by return of post if not accepted. From "A Contributor's" point of view, I suppose, I ought to be penitent; but in truth I feel not a pang of remorse in the matter. The editor is not the servant of the contributor, but of him concerning whom the writer of the article under consideration observes generically "the proprietor is a common trader, whose profoundly commercial instincts are the curse of honest journalism." Here is fine high-falutin nonsense for you, written by a man, or a woman, who, after writing for twenty publications, after taking all the money he could obtain for his work, and taking payment twice on one occasion, always turns round and bites the hand that fed him.

Of some of the minor grievances of "A Contributor" it is unnecessary to speak at any length. He is pleased to object to the

various ways in which editors do their work. Euphues Junior, he tells us, used to "sprinkle the pages of his contributors" with peculiar phrases, tricks, and mannerisms. That is true enough, but it has to be observed that the editor thus described applied this method consistently and with the set purpose of giving unity of tone to his paper, that his practice was well-known in the literary world, and that his regular staff held him in an affectionate esteem which did honour to him and to them. When the casual contributor objected to the process a very simple and obvious course was open to him. But a contributor cannot pocket his money and expose his bleeding heart at the same time, any more than he can introduce his wife to an old love and talk of blighted affections. "A Contributor" objects also to little Gudgeon—I may be Gudgeon for all I know—whose "alterations are conceived in a niggling mood and designed to water down any spirit shown by the contributor to a standard of general feebleness." Perhaps Gudgeon discovered that some contributors mistook vulgarity for spirit; and certainly most of us will agree with Gudgeon in insisting upon "grammatical precision or something of that kind." Gudgeon also seems to have distrusted "A Contributor's" accuracy; and Gudgeon appears to have been justly suspicious, for the aggrieved one complains of another editor, who left him to himself, mistakes and all, and commends *The Times* for improving his work by suppressing indiscreet words, inserting fresh paragraphs, and rearranging stops. This confession does not leave the firm conviction that "A Contributor" is a finished or perfect writer. He is the kind of man who must expect to see the fruit of his labour altered, more or less, by various editors according to their individual tastes; but he is quite right in saying that, in signed articles, obvious slips only ought to be touched by the editorial hand.

The man, or woman, who has written for twenty publications has, like our old friend "one who has fired 20,000 shots at marks," some sound advice to give to the beginner. By all means let him who would make his way in that part of the literary kingdom over which editors reign eschew introductions as he would poison. Especially let him avoid introductions given by one editor to another. In such cases the second editor thinks the first a bore, for good contributors are not to be picked up by the wayside, and the editor who finds one has a pretty way of keeping him to himself. So, in nine cases out of ten, the introduced is suspected by the introducee of being a nuisance of whom the introducer wishes to be rid. This suspicion is an obstacle to the introducee at the outset, and if he overcomes it by submitting a sound and acceptable article, he does no more than he might have done just as well by submitting the article in the first instance. In fact,

there is always a market for good wares, and they stand in no need of the puff preliminary; nay, they have a better chance without it. With commonplace stuff, of course, the market is glutted, and circumstances will sometimes compel the publication of a good deal of it. But the beginner must not delude himself into the belief that *his* commonplace productions will secure the honour of print for many a long day, for men who have done good work in the past and will do good work in the future have, it is submitted very properly, a stronger call on the editor. In short, the new man must be satisfied that he has something of striking merit to offer if he hopes to hear that it has been accepted. On this point, however, he rarely feels difficulty. His satisfaction with his own work, he usually calls it craftsmanship, is instinctive.

The advice to eschew personal visits is also wisely given by "A Contributor." On a great daily journal no doubt daily consultation is necessary between the leader-writers and the editor. But that is because the policy of the paper on this question or that has to be settled in view of the most recent news in the world of politics. Occasional interviews are necessary between editor and leader-writers on weekly publications; but here there is more time than in the case of the daily paper, and most of the consultation is done by correspondence. But with this kind of article the beginner has no concern, and he will be wasting his time by attempting to force an entry into the leading columns with any political article before he is invited. Nor will he be so invited until he has proved his capacity by writing forcibly, gracefully, and judiciously upon matters of minor importance; and, when the invitation comes, he will be well-advised to remember that the work into which he is about to plunge is far more difficult and far more dangerous to his reputation that that on which he was engaged before.

It follows that there is no reason why the contributor or would-be contributor should attempt to see the editor—whether he is likely to succeed or not is another matter—in the first instance. And there are a good many reasons why he should not make the attempt. Every editor, when he is at his office, is full of occupation. He has a vast amount of correspondence to read, many letters to answer, many schemes to think over, books to send out for review, subjects of leading articles to select, the policy of the paper to settle, proofs to read, MSS. to sit in judgment upon. The caller may be the very man whom the editor would be delighted to meet at the club or at dinner; in the office he is for the most part an unmitigated bore, and, *experto crede*, he, or she, is uncommonly difficult to get rid of. The busy men and women, the writers who are established,

have no time to spare for calls, and are able to realize that the penny post operates with punctuality and despatch. But to the writers, or embryo-writers, who are at a loose end, time is a matter of no importance. Having no occupation, or next to none, they will travel miles to see the editor, and to him, having caught him, they will discourse gently upon golf, or bicycling, or literature in general, or on their family history. In time, perhaps after ten minutes, perhaps after half an hour, and when the victim is beginning to fiddle with the door-handle, the contributor suggests a subject, and, unless it is too manifestly ridiculous, the editor says he would like to see the article, and will be glad to have it submitted. In effect no advance has been made, for the article might have been submitted without all this trouble, and for "middles" almost any subject will serve if it is treated skilfully. The treatment is the beginning and the end of the whole matter. Roast Pig, Letts's Diary, Ribbons, do not sound the most promising subjects in creation, but Charles Lamb and Mr. Thackeray wrote about them, and could have written on any conceivable topic in a manner to charm the world.

But this is parenthesis. Let us return to the contributor. Having obtained this permission to write, which he never required, he proceeds to suggest confidently that a few books, books upon which the authors have lavished endless labour and such ability as they possessed, should be entrusted to him for review. That attack parried, he invites the editor to appoint him dramatic critic in ordinary, but the request is received coldly. The fact is, that to ask for books to review, or to volunteer for dramatic criticism, is the mark of the amateur. At last the visitor is induced to go, the editor wades through a page of manuscript, and, as he turns to the next, a fresh visitor is announced.

It is a weary business, and the late-comers must not complain if they meet with curt answers. Any man or woman who has to listen to half-a-dozen folks in succession blowing their own trumpets—to be sure, poor souls, if they did not blow them there would be no braying of trumpets at all—is liable to grow short in the temper. And to this trumpet-blowing there is no limit. One contributor, who had written a little for me, observed complacently that it would be delightful to see my publication brilliant in every line, and that he, or she (cart-ropes would not draw the sex from me) could ensure that by writing more for me. Another, after some offered MS. of which I had the hardihood to disapprove had been rejected, was pleased to say that I had a supreme contempt for youth and originality. Another has complained of the refusal of a contribution on the ground that it was quite up to his usual standard. No doubt it was, but he forgot that there was a

standard of excellence also. In nine cases out of ten the volunteer will criticize, crudely, but with virulence, an article that has appeared recently. In such cases it is my invariable practice to reply that I wrote the article in question with my own hand. This answer is not always true; though it has been true on occasion; but it is always effective, is, indeed, the only deadly repartee to what, in my firm opinion, is an act of gratuitous insolence. Sometimes I wonder whether these visitors of mine go away thinking that their cause has been advanced.

In effect, after want of consideration, illegible hand-writing, writing four times as much as they are asked to, using technical or foreign phrases which they do not understand and somebody else has to verify, and incorrigible unpunctuality, the worst fault of bad contributors—good contributors have no faults—is an almost incredible vanity. That vanity is, I understand, a mark of the artistic temperament, and I know I once made an enemy for life of a flautist (quite deliberately, for I loathed his instrument) by telling him that another man could play the flute. Certainly that particular characteristic of the artistic temperament seems to be acquired with considerable ease, and, once acquired, to be ineradicable. You may detect it, for example, in the first two pages of "A Contributor's" article. I extract his words:—

"There is only one editor whom I should like to kick. He directs the destinies of a famous periodical, and his name is known far and wide. I offered him an article on a subject of current interest. He took it, and kept it until it was too late for me to place the thing elsewhere at the time. Then he sent it back, but meantime he had appropriated my idea and had got someone else, supposed to be an authority, to write another article on the same subject. He may be an honourable man, and this manœuvre may have been within his rights, but according to my notions it was a dirty trick, entirely opposed to the unwritten law of honourable journalism, which scrupulously respects property in ideas. He was quite at liberty to reject my contribution, and even to commission someone else to do the same thing, but then he should have told me so at once, and not have kept me out of the market until it was too late to compete with him in the pages of a rival. Subsequently I did publish my article elsewhere, and had the satisfaction of knowing that it attracted a good deal more attention than his substitute, which was, indeed, very poor stuff, written to order and in a hurry by a man who had really nothing to say."

As to the kicking, as I once told a blustering peer who asked me whether kicking an editor was as expensive as running a theatre (he had tried both with signal ill-success), a good deal depends on the size of the editor. But the point for consideration is the vanity of "A Contributor." He offered an article "on a subject of current interest." The editor did not publish it, returned it after a time, and published another article on the same subject. The other article was "very poor stuff, written to order and in a hurry by a man who had really nothing to say." "Poor stuff" is "A Contribu-

tor's" opinion, "written to order and in a hurry" is a mere guess in the dark, and "A Contributor" secured publication elsewhere, so he had nothing to complain of. Yet he complained that his "idea" was appropriated. What idea? Surely not the subject, for no man can presume to claim the monoply of a subject of current interest; surely, also, not the idea contained in "A Contributor's" article, for the second article was "very poor stuff," written "by a man who had really nothing to say," whereas he would clearly have possessed a mine of ideas if he had seen "A Contributor's" masterpiece. In fact, "A Contributor" contradicts himself many times over. Strange, however, as it may seem, this complaint is not unusual. In very young days I have been disposed, but never quite foolish enough at last, to make it in relation to essays that have failed. But it has always seemed to me unwise, and calculated to expose me to hatred, ridicule, and contempt. Later experience, however, shows me that it is far from being rare for the suggestion to be made, sometimes in very abusive terms. There is, however, a plain truth which may be impressed upon the small fry of contributors. In subjects of current interest it is farcical that any man or woman should claim copyright. It is, indeed, difficult, impossible to me, to conceive any subject ancient or modern, interesting or uninteresting, with which any writer can claim an exclusive right to deal; nor can he acquire such a right by sending an article to an editor. If Jones offers me an article on the Education Bill, or China and Japan, or shipwrecks, or what you will, may I not direct Robinson to take the subject in hand? The very suggestion that the "unwritten law of honourable journalism" prohibits me is childish. Of course, if I gave Robinson the article by Jones to read before he wrote, the matter would carry a different complexion. But even if editors were knaves, they would not dare be guilty of this dishonesty; for Robinson would protest. Again, as there is no copyright in subjects, though there may be a moral copyright in the method of treating them, so there is no monopoly of the commonplace and the obvious; and it is to this lamentable truth that half the literary coincidences of history are due. It is difficult, perhaps, for the esteemed contributor to realize that the comments which he deemed sage, and the criticism which seemed to him acute and original as he wrote, are precisely the comments and the criticism which every man of ordinary intelligence would offer on the same topic. But editors, to their sorrow, find by experience that there is a weary monotony in the originality and the sapience of many contributors.

AN EDITOR.

THE UNPOPULARITY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The English House of Commons, after a past which has not been entirely democratic, has now undoubtedly become a very autocratic exponent of the democratic principle. From small beginnings it has grown, with the spirit of the age, till it has acquired an authority which is sovereign in everything but in name. Twenty years ago, or even less, the power of the Crown and of the House of Lords seemed to be dying of pure inanition. Within the last few years there have been signs of a change. Public opinion has apparently become alarmed. Political writers have pointed out that the old balance of power has been destroyed, and, with some persistence, have invited the country to consider the "referendum," and the various expedients devised by the Constitution of the United States for checking the power of a purely democratic executive. It is impossible to say how far this apprehension is wide-spread. The future alone can tell; but it may be of interest to put together some of the signs which are leading men to hint that the House of Commons has passed the zenith of its power and reputation.

Before attempting to deal with the causes of what, if it exists, must be described as a very remarkable change of opinion, it may be well to enumerate one or two manifestations of the disfavour with which the House of Commons is beginning to be regarded. The fact is sufficiently notorious, and it will not be necessary to elaborate in great detail this portion of the theme.

The House of Commons purports to be the guardian of the public purse, and probably the most useful work which it has performed throughout its long and honourable career has been its criticism of our public expenditure. From 1832 down almost to Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill of 1867, the House of Commons did much to repair the spendthrift corruption of earlier times. In recent years, more especially since 1867, when the fuller tide of democracy began to flow, the House of Commons has continued to encroach on the function of the executive and to direct rather than control the public expenditure. The great increase of taxation, both local and Imperial, which has taken place in the last thirty

years has been the result, not so much of the initiative of the Imperial and local executives, as of the pressure brought to bear on our spending departments by popular representatives in Parliament and the municipalities. All the influence of the democracy has been cast in favour of more lavish public expenditure.

At the same time the scrutiny of the Estimates has become more and more a perfunctory farce. At the beginning of the present Session of Parliament (1896), the Government appears to have realized this aspect of the situation. Discussion in Supply had become, it was said, a mere cloak for obstruction. Such debate as arose was carried on almost entirely by the bores and self-advertisers who abound in the popular assembly. Effective obstruction, notwithstanding many new rules of procedure, was still possible under a system which allowed an unlimited discussion on the Estimates. Bills could be abandoned with considerable cheerfulness even by their promotors, but the Estimates must be passed. The carrying on of her Majesty's Government, therefore, was the occasion of much unnecessary weariness of the flesh to Ministers, their supporters, and even to the Opposition.

At this juncture, a far-seeing statesman proposed that debate on Supply should be limited to twenty days. It would then be made clear that obstruction, confined to this comparatively short period, would not be effective. Members who had nothing to say might possibly desist from saying it at unnecessary length. The golden age of Parliamentary institutions might be expected to return. Criticism of the Estimates could not be more perfunctory than it had been, and it was quite possible that under the new arrangement it might again become effective. Above all, it would enable the House to adjourn earlier and seek its well-earned repose.

This last consideration seems to have had the greatest weight. Alarmists, however, declared that the new proposals would facilitate legislation. The Government repudiated the suggestion with some warmth. Mr. Lowther, who proposed an amendment that, after Supply voted, the game should be at an end, was told that this proposal was unnecessary. The House was to some extent reassured. It was tacitly agreed that the most serious misfortune which could befall the nation, would be an arrangement giving the House of Commons more time for legislation. There were in the House of Commons, as of course there are in every assembly, a few paradoxers, who professed desire to see the House devoting more time to legislation, but their intervention in debate was not considered serious. Throughout the discussion there was manifested an eager, nay, almost an indecent, anxiety to get members sent away to their homes before they committed any mischief.

This feeling does not appear to be confined to one party. The

respectable Radicalism of *The Speaker* had misgivings all of its own, leading it to object to the new rules, but based, as the following quotation will show, on the same patriotic desire that somehow or other the mischievous activity of the House of Commons should be controlled. The good of the people, in this case the limitation of the legislative power of the House of Commons, is desired by all parties; but no self-respecting party journal, of course, will admit that any measure proposed by the Opposition can contribute in the least to this ardently longed-for consummation. On February 29th, 1896, accordingly *The Speaker* remarks, and, as it appears to me, with great propriety and truth, "To us the danger of ill-considered reactionary legislation seems an increasingly grave one." Again, "The block due to the weight of Supply at the end of the Session has hitherto prevented any great number of unconsidered Bills passing." The learned writer then points out that in America things are different. In that great republic the popular representatives passed an Act making it unlawful to give away anything with a pound of tea. The United States have a Constitution, and the Courts declared this remarkable outcome of representative wisdom to be unconstitutional. "But we," continues *The Speaker*, "who have no written Constitution, must rely on the House of Commons and its procedure to save us from such absurdities."

The House of Commons, so the Ministry seems to argue, is so conscious of its own incapacity, and is generally so discredited, that excessive legislative zeal is the last thing now to be feared. *The Speaker* gravely shakes its head, and points out how we owe our liberty in respect of the sale of pounds of tea to the debating powers of Dr. Tanner and his patriotic friends. *The Speaker* has naturally no confidence in the present Government, and suggests some doubt as to how far the budding Tory Democrat, and the deluge which possibly cometh after, will continue the admirable self-restraint which the present Ministry has promised to observe.

With the merits of this high controversy it is unnecessary to meddle, it suffices to point out that while the Government wishes to pack the Members of the House of Commons off to their homes at the earliest opportunity, the wisest exponent of the Radical Opposition will not trust them to go off quietly, but prefers to keep them out of mischief by binding them in the toils of endless and irrelevant Parliamentary debate. The highest patriotism of both parties evidently lives in a state of extreme apprehension as to what the House of Commons will do next. This feeling Mr. Lecky (*Democracy and Liberty*, vol. i., p. 118) tells us is not confined to England. All over Europe and in the United States, "a growing distrust and contempt for representative bodies has been one of

the most characteristic features of the closing years of the nineteenth century." . . . "Laveleye," he remarks, "has truly noted the sigh of relief that is felt in many lands when a Parliament is prorogued, and the growing feeling that America has acted wisely in restricting many of her State Legislatures to biennial Sessions. He observes, with some cynicism, that Italy has one special advantage in her capital—the Roman malaria effectually abridges the Sessions of her Parliament."

While thus everyone is relieved when Parliament is prorogued, no one is desirous to hasten the time of its meeting. During the crisis of the Venezuela and Transvaal disputes, a perfect chorus arose from every class and section of society: "What a mercy it is that Parliament is not sitting!" The music halls and, to some extent, perhaps, the enterprise of the Press caused a slight embarrassment to the Ministers responsible for foreign and colonial affairs, but this, so it was said, was a mere bagatelle to the inconvenience and mischief that would have been caused, if all the great authorities on foreign and colonial policy who sit in the House of Commons had been able to debate the subject with that impartiality and cosmopolitan frankness which always distinguishes them.

Again, when Parliamentary candidates fall out, the general public obtains much interesting information which cannot fail to make a deep and lasting impression. It is an integral part of our theory of popular government that the free and enlightened electors of an English constituency form, for political purposes, an impartial and competent tribunal. It is a rude shock to the feelings of the constitutionalist, when disappointed candidates come forward and declare that the verdict of the free and enlightened has been sold for a parcel of soup tickets. This incredible contention has been supported by statements made during the hearing of recent election petitions by numerous specimens of the free and enlightened who swore that they had themselves accepted bribes. Some went the length of formulating a tariff in terms of pots of beer. Others affirmed that, having been drunk for some days at election time, they still found money in their pockets, a fact which irresistibly led them to the conclusion that the money had been placed there for purposes of bribery. In one notorious instance two judges of the High Court listened for about forty days to details of this nature; then, with the strong common-sense and impartiality which always distinguishes the English Bench, they very properly set this evidence on one side, remarking that such incidents were not unusual at elections, and that the electorate of St. George-in-the-East, if not as pure as the driven snow, was still quite as pure, as sober, and as competent to elect a representative as is required by

the terms of the Corrupt Practices Act, 1883.* The unsuccessful candidate, it is true, has been found guilty of an illegal practice, but the fact redounds to the credit of the constituency, for it refused to be beguiled by the seductive device of Mr. Benn, who seems to have nailed a portrait of himself to a stick and used it as a banner in a way and under conditions forbidden by the wisdom of Parliament. Reasonable men must accept the finding of Her Majesty's judges, but unfortunately all men are not reasonable, and though the purity of Parliamentary elections has been amply vindicated in St. George-in-the-East, there are many other places where the popular misgiving has not been removed by a like searching judicial enquiry. Notwithstanding, therefore, the vindication of electoral purity pronounced by the judges, such is the prejudice of the popular mind against the House of Commons and its methods of election, that the vulgar are to this day of a contrary opinion. After all, we are governed not by the opinion of the judges, but by the opinion of the vulgar, and it is quite possible that some erudite member of this latter class may support his contention that Parliamentary elections are not devoid of corrupt influences, by the following quotation from the philosophic page of Mr. Lecky's recent volume :—

"Another tendency, which is very manifestly strengthening in English politics, is that of attempting to win votes by class bribery. With very large democratic constituencies, in which a great proportion of the voters are quite indifferent to the main questions of party politics, some form of corruption is certain to arise. The kinds of bribery, it is true, which prevailed in England under an unreformed Parliament have either disappeared or greatly diminished. . . . But a form of bribery which is far cheaper to the candidate, yet far more costly to the nation than that to which our grandfathers were accustomed, has rapidly grown. As Sir Henry Maine has truly said, the bribery which is most to be feared in a democracy is that of 'legislating away the property of one class and transferring it to another.' Partial, inequitable taxation, introduced for the purpose of obtaining votes, is an evil which in democratic societies is only too likely to increase."

Again, the same high authority may be cited for the opinion that,

"When the votes of a body of men in a nearly balanced contest may be purchased with public money, or at least lost if public money is withheld, a higher standard of public virtue than is now general is required to resist a mode of bribery which is at once cheap, easy, and not illegal."

The graver offences of our forefathers in respect of soup and illegal banners are now prohibited by all the terrors of the law, but no indictment can be brought against the "cheap, easy, and not illegal" mode of bribery adopted by their more scrupulous and penurious sons.

* Injustice is done to the anxiety of Parliament to purge itself of the rise of corruption by quoting only one Act. Acts for this purpose have been passed in 1842, 1852, 1854, 1858, 1863, 1868, 1879, 1883, and the present Government has promised further legislation on the subject.

Earlier generations have questioned the reasonableness of the hereditary principle of selection for high office in the State, and the tendency of recent years has been to exalt the popular representative principle at the expense of every other form of selection. It seems incontestable that this new superstition is now, in its turn, being undermined by the more critical spirit of the present day. In this connection it is worth while to notice one curious incident brought to light in the course of a recent election petition; it will throw some light on the working of representative institutions generally, and explain the disillusionment which is now overtaking them. Hitherto, appointment to even the humblest position in our judicial system had been kept apart from the popular elective element. This precaution has not been observed in some of the judicial appointments in the United States, and, as we all know, with most disastrous result. It was a bright inspiration of the late Government that the elective principle might be introduced with advantage into the choice of justices of the peace. It was accordingly enacted that the chairman of a vestry or a district council should *ex officio* be created a justice of the peace. The chairman of a certain vestry, who seems to have filled many of the local posts of honour, became in this way a justice of the peace. Unfortunately for himself, however, he came forward as a witness to attest the demoralizing results of soup distribution, thereby rendering himself liable to cross-examination as to character and general credibility. He was obliged to admit that he had been in the habit of receiving presents from contractors to the various boards of which he was an influential member, and from a publican who was an applicant before the licensing jurisdiction of the Bench of magistrates. The facts were put before one of the London police magistrates, who committed this popularly elected justice of the peace for trial at the Central Criminal Court, where, however, the Grand Jury threw out the bill. We do not question the justice of the decision, but incidents of this sort do not fan enthusiasm for popular government to a white heat.

On two or three occasions within the last few years, the Lower House has tried to raise an agitation against the Peers. The general public, if it has not actually sided with the Peers, has not taken the slightest notice of these attempts. Outside the ranks of blinded partisans, the predominant feeling is probably one of regret that the House of Lords has not used its power of veto more often and more resolutely. Constitutional writers, as in the passage already quoted from *The Speaker*, are keenly alive to the danger of the present situation. The safeguard which *The Speaker* finds in the congestion of business brought on by the irrelevancy and loquacity of Members of Parliament, though it may have worked well in the past, is not

altogether satisfactory, and a more dignified substitute for the constitutional courts of the United States is undoubtedly wanted. For this reason the renascent authority of the House of Lords has been welcomed in many quarters. Unfortunately, the House of Lords has been identified with one political party. There is now no real difference between parties, both are the delegates of the democracy. If the House of Lords permits a Conservative House of Commons to legislate at pleasure, it is obvious that the public expectation which regards the Peers as a protection against popular tyranny is doomed to disappointment. The public, in looking to the Lords for assistance in this crisis, may be leaning, it is plausibly objected, on a broken reed. Earlier criticism has destroyed men's belief in the efficacy of hereditary and aristocratic rule. A different, but equally conclusive line of argument is to-day destroying the halo of enthusiasm which attaches to popular government. The pendulum may sway backwards and forwards between these two extremes of opinion, but the general results will probably be an ever-increasing scepticism as to the constructive capacity of all forms of government.

One other symptom of the time is worthy of notice. The magnitude and complexity of the interests with which legislation attempts to deal, are proved by the frequent appointment during recent years of commissions and committees of enquiry. Obviously, these bodies are intended to conduct their enquiries, and frame their reports in a judicial spirit. It is a lamentable fact that when Members of the House of Commons are included in these bodies, the business almost invariably loses its judicial character. A very notable instance of this is to be found in the proceedings of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor. The subject to be investigated was one on which opinions were bound to differ. No exception is taken to this, but the singular feature is the nature of the reasons given by the political members for their dissent from the verdict of the majority. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has marked the fact by witholding his signature because "the subject has now, to a considerable extent, become one of party controversy." A general election was near, and no politician was anxious to deprive himself of any votes by returning an answer which might give offence to a section of the electorate. The minority, who were definitely in favour of some plan of State pensions, complain that the report of the majority "does not proportionately represent public opinion on the subjects remitted to us," and the political signatories of the majority report hasten to nullify the effect of their verdict, which denies the necessity and practicability of a State provision for old age, other than is already provided by the poor law, by affirming "that the strength of public

opinion brought before us on this subject cannot, and ought not to be ignored."

This assumption that the object of a judicial enquiry is to find out and recommend not what is right, practicable, and statesmanlike, but merely what the man in the street is saying, sets up an entirely new canon of political truth. There was a time when representatives were sent to the House of Commons to support a government which had views of its own. Ministers took the responsibility of conducting their own enquiries and making up their own minds; they adopted a policy and enforced an acceptance of it. However subservient members may have been to their party, the political leaders of the party were not mere creatures of the caucus. Later, Ministers, instead of governing the country, leaving the nation free to approve or disapprove of their policy by constitutional methods, ceased to act on their own initiative, and looked round to catch an inspiration from the man in the street. This may or may not be an improvement on older methods, with that question we have now no concern, but the assertion is unanswerable that under such conditions it must occasionally be desirable to take certain questions out of the hands of the man in the street, because they require scientific consideration. Hence the necessity of enquiry by Committee or Commission. Much valuable work has been done by such bodies in cases of exceptional difficulty. Of late years unfortunately there is a marked tendency in Members of the House of Commons to regard these enquiries as mere opportunities for electioneering, and, as a consequence, they have lost much of their judicial character. In other words, the rule of the man in the street has invaded the last refuge of scientific administration. Rightly or wrongly, a section of the public resents the way in which Members of the House of Commons have given away this last opportunity of appeal from the democracy to science.

But, it is not only the general public which is becoming dissatisfied. On the contrary, they are only arriving, slowly but surely, at the opinion which has long been entertained by some of the most distinguished political thinkers of the age. Mr. Froude in the singular apology which he framed for Lord Beaconsfield's Reform Bill of 1867, remarks: "In the opinion of the Conservatives the need of England was wise government, not political revolution. They might have said that if the experiment of democracy was to be tried, it should be tried by those who were in favour of the change on their own responsibility." As we all know they did not say so, for Mr. Disraeli educated them to say something else, as possibly was inevitable. "Tories of the old school," Mr. Froude continues, "would have said so and dared the consequences, which might not have been

very terrible after all, *and Parliamentary government would have escaped the contempt into which it is now so rapidly falling.*"

Professor Flint in his work on Socialism remarks that when "a democracy fails to provide for itself a true aristocracy—raises to leadership not its ablest, wisest, and best, but the incompetent and unworthy—it must be held not to satisfy the requirements of good government. I doubt very much whether democracy in Britain is satisfying the requirement at present. . . . It has been said, and there can be little doubt accurately said, that were the average of intellect in the Royal Society of London not greater than that in the House of Commons, British science would be the contempt of the world. Yet legislation, not less than science can only be successfully engaged in by persons of exceptional brain-power and thoroughly trained intellect. To be quite candid, however, I must add that what is most to be desiderated in our political rulers is not so much brain-power as moral fibre; not intellectual capacity, but integrity. On the only occasion on which I met J. S. Mill I heard him say, 'I entered Parliament with what I thought the lowest possible opinion of the average member, but I left it with one much lower.' Parliament has certainly not improved since Mr. Mill's time, and especially morally."

It would be easy to multiply quotations, but the following brief summary from Mr. Lecky must suffice:—

"After all due weight has been given to the possible remedies that have been considered, it still seems to me that the Parliamentary system, when it rests on manhood suffrage, or something very closely approaching to manhood suffrage, is extremely unlikely to be permanent. This was evidently the opinion of Tocqueville, who was strongly persuaded that the natural result of democracy was a highly concentrated, enervating, but mild despotism. It is the opinion of many of the most eminent contemporary thinkers in France and Germany, and it is, I think steadily growing in England. This does not mean that Parliaments will cease, or that a wide suffrage will be abolished. It means that Parliaments, if constructed on this type, cannot prematurely remain the supreme power among the nations of the world. Sooner or later they will sink by their own vices and inefficiencies into a lower plane. They will lose the power of making and unmaking ministries, and it will be found absolutely necessary to establish some strong executive independently of their fluctuations. Very probably this executive may be established, as in America and under the French Empire, upon a broad basis of an independent suffrage. Very possibly upper chambers constituted upon some sagacious plan, will again play a great restraining and directing part in the government of the world. Few persons who have watched the changes that have passed over our own House of Commons within the last few years will either believe, or wish that in fifty years time it can exercise the power it now does. It is only too probable that some great catastrophe or the stress of a great war may accelerate the change."

In an interesting contribution to *The Nineteenth Century* for

May, Mr. Morley has criticized with much severity Mr. Lecky's methods of argument, but his own admissions seem to me to be almost as damaging as Mr. Lecky's indictment. "Socialism brings us to Militarism," he remarks, and every Liberal will sympathize with his eloquent protest against the crushing burden of military and naval expenditure under which the so-called civilized world now groans. "No other effect of democracy," he concludes, "is comparable with this, no other so surprising, no other so widely at variance with confident and reasoned anticipations. We can only be sure"—(Mr. Morley, to the disappointment of the reader, does not here give the grounds of this faith)—"that the retrograde military phase through which the modern world is now passing must be due to deeper influences than those belonging to democracy as a mere form of government, and must have its roots in the hidden and complex working of those religious and scientific ideas which at all times have exercised a preponderating influence upon human institutions and their working." The argument applies, as I understand it, to our international relations. Here democracy has not succeeded in exorcising the spirit of the tiger and the ape. On the contrary, under its rule there seems to have come an accession of strength to our most savage and barbarous instincts. It is not alleged that democracy is the cause of these instincts, but merely that, internationally, it has displayed no organizing power capable of mitigating and subduing these anti-social elements of human nature. Let us transfer the argument from international politics to the relations which subsist between the individual members of society.

Mr. Morley assumes that peace and a mutual respect for international right is a higher form of polity than the system of armed brigandage to which Europe is now condemned. Mr. Lecky assumes, but is rebuked by Mr. Morley for the assumption, that the sense of right and wrong is the basis of respect for property and for the obligation of contract. "This will never do," says Mr. Morley. "It begs the whole question. The Socialist believes that he can make an unanswerable case the other way, namely, for the proposition that the unsophisticated sense of right and wrong, so far from being the root of respect for property, is hostile to it, and is at this moment shaking it to its very foundation all over the modern world." The Socialist apology for inaugurating a period of warfare against the institution of private property has its counterpart in international politics, in the revival of protectionist theory, and in the "Jingoism" which glories in colonial extension and aggressive Militarism. Mr. Morley is repelled by Militarism, Mr. Lecky by Socialism, and both perhaps assume, without sufficiently setting out the proof, the unreasonableness of the theory

which they condemn. But is Mr. Morley prepared to reconstruct the institution of private property? Can a periodical distribution of property by legislative revolution ever wholly supersede the recognized tenures which at present obtain? The Opportunist will reply that on occasions these legalized revolutions are necessary. A small portion of our social arrangements should be liable to such rearrangements. The complaint, as I understand it, brought by Mr. Lecky, who, like Mr. Morley, is an Opportunist, is that under democracy the sphere of this legalized Robin Hood justice is being indefinitely extended, that, in Mr. Morley's phrase, the institution of property, which rightly or wrongly is the present basis of industry, is being shaken to its very foundations. The result is a paralysis of industrial effort. Security of tenure and freedom of exchange are essential conditions of progress as it has been conceived and described by every coherent thinker. Militarism and Socialism, two forms of the same thing, destroy these conditions, the one as between nation and nation, the other as between man and man.

Our "unsophisticated sense of right and wrong," it may be admitted, desires a greater equality of condition. Democracy with its present tendency towards Socialism strives to attain this ideal by legislative processes, and is perpetually trying to stave off revolution by remodelling the tenure and institution of property. Stripped of all euphemisms this means that the primitive system of private warfare which civilization had destroyed is being revived again in the form of legislative war. The one valuable political discovery of the older Liberalism was that, *if Government interference were reduced to a minimum,* international trade would supersede international war, and that the only practical Communism between man and man was Communism based on freedom of exchange. The reason that the prophecies of Cobden remain unfulfilled is that the condition above mentioned has never been present.

The pertinent question to be answered by those who dispute the truth of Mr. Lecky's proposition with regard to property is this: Can it be denied that under the auspices of democracy, there has been a certain retrogression, not only in the comity of our international relations, but also in the growth of goodwill and mutual concession as between class and class and man and man? Has the larger appeal now being made to physical and legislative force proved more successful in advancing civilization than a reliance on the equal justice implied in a respect for property and contract and liberty of exchange? And to come to the particular indictment against democracy: Is there any human force, other than democracy, sufficiently powerful to resist the natural tendency of a free society to recognize to the full these fundamental principles of our associated life?

Mr. Lecky has expressed his dissent from the view of those who regard the ideal of the voluntary State as the object to be aimed at both by the ruler and the political philosopher. Each case of State interference must, he says, be judged on its merits, but his own judgment on the merits of modern legislation has carried him a long way in agreement with Mr. Herbert Spencer. To the logical mind, however, the reservation is not altogether satisfactory. Still the almost complete unanimity for practical purposes of two such high authorities must, without doubt, exercise a very powerful influence on the formation of educated public opinion. The divergence of opinion may be less real than at first sight appears. A complete voluntaryism may be the ideal of social health; but as the primitive condition of society is the exact contrary of this estate, it is obvious that if progress means a movement from one to the other, considerable difference of opinion may exist as to the right step to be taken at some particular point in the journey from primitive slavery to an estate of freedom. In this sense there must always be a judgment on the merits of each case, but it would not probably be difficult to show that successful political action had, as a rule, been merely destructive of the fetters imposed on mankind by irrational custom and by injudicious legislation, and only constructive in so far as it liberated the natural forces of growth that are latent in every free society. Apparent exceptions, services which have been organized by the State, will probably be found, sooner or later, to be the subject of much ill-will and dissatisfaction, and sooner or later these monopolies may have to be submitted to the healthier influence of free exchange.

The following brief and, of necessity, somewhat dogmatic account of the legislative events now under review, suggests the explanation which presents itself to one who is inclined to accept the view rejected by Mr. Lecky.

Before the Reform Act of 1832, the Peers, it has been justly remarked, were the pivot of government. The peaceful revolution of 1832 was inevitable. Great Britain had ceased to be a mediæval and military State. The new industrial era had commenced. When the history of Parliamentary institutions comes to be written, the years which followed the Reform Act of 1832 will probably be described as the golden age of representative government. It is the only period of history in which the rival forces of democracy and science seemed for the moment to have laid aside their eternal irreconcilable quarrel. The legislative work of the period was in the main the repeal of many unjust and impolitic laws. Of so-called constructive legislation there was little or nothing. By way of illustration it will be sufficient to cite two instances. One of the first acts of the reformed House of Commons was to abolish the

parochial socialism of the Old Poor Law. I have no hesitation in saying that it would, at the present time, be absolutely impossible to pass a similar measure through the House of Commons. The Parliament which legislated in 1834, acting on the advice of the Ministers of the Crown, deliberately abdicated its authority in favour of three permanent, non-elective commissioners, whose duty it became to legislate for the removal of the abuses of the Old Poor Law. Contrast this wise and patriotic self-restraint with the insatiate love of encroachment shown by our latest democratic institution, the London County Council, and we shall have some measure of the changed temper of the times. The second instance is the great financial reforms which were then inaugurated, the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the almost total abolition of a protective tariff. This was the work, as has been justly remarked by Sir Louis Mallet, of the only scientific school of statesmen that has ever attained a brief ascendancy in English political life.

If, as will probably be conceded, the material welfare of an industrial society depends on its success in increasing year by year the production of wealth, if every advance in the comfort and the leisure of toiling millions depends on this process, it is of the utmost importance that our industrial effort shall be guided by some true appreciator of wealth or value. Now, the only true test of value is the voluntary demand of a free market. In such freedom of exchange as we at present enjoy, necessary commodities have grown cheaper, and labour, being a thing mobile and transformable to many purposes, has continuously increased in value. If money and the industrial effort which it sets in motion is appropriated by Government, the product, in almost every case, is something which men, of their own free-will, would never desire to buy. Some such expenditure is necessary, but it is an expenditure to be jealously watched. Unfortunately, this feeling no longer exists. Millions are voted and wasted without a word of protest. Every attempt to preserve the wealth of the country from the rapacity of the State, to keep it circulating in channels of trade which must enrich the working-class, and by the operation of the free market promote the production of true value, is decried as a churlish attack on the perquisites of labour. The House of Commons, of course, takes the lead in this reactionary stampede.

The alliance between advancing democracy and science has not lasted long. In the struggle to obtain release from the unwise disabling legislation of earlier times, the instrument (the franchise and political agitation) became more thought of than the result for which it laboured, namely, industrial freedom. The voluntary constructive forces of progress which sprang into activity when the restrictions of legislation were removed, have been ignored, and

men have become infected with a strange enthusiasm for constitutional change and political agitation. There were, and are, many things in existing social arrangements calling loudly for reform, and the nation has repeatedly lowered the franchise in the hope that the same happy results which followed the reform of 1832, would again be vouchsafed. Unfortunately, the new electorates have not followed the example of the electorate created in 1832. On the contrary, we have reversed the policy of that time, and are drifting back again to the old system of privilege, paternal socialism and protection, and to the criminal waste of our material resources which these involve.

The complaint against our present political system is that men of light and leading have abdicated their function of governing, that instead of guiding they are guided by the democracy. As a form of government democracy is inevitable, it is neither better nor worse than other forms of government. It only becomes ruinous when it is regarded as a source of plenary inspiration. Mr. Kidd, in his ingenious work on Social Evolution, has somewhat euphemistically described this abdication as a form of altruism. The question still remains, Is it an enlightened altruism? Under a voluntary system the discharge of human responsibility is accompanied by a correlative development of competent character and useful social habit. It may be altruistic, but it is surely neither kind to the individual, nor in the interest of society at large, to legislate these responsibilities out of existence. The attitude of sentimental aspiration now adopted by all classes towards social problems is admirable in its motive, but as yet public opinion has failed to adopt a scientific conception of the constructive forces of social life. The arrival of democracy, and the abdication of a former ruling class do not help us to a solution. Successful legislation must be based on a true theory, and in our present political life the necessity of any such theory is contemptuously denied.

T. Mackay.

THE SECRET OF CATHOLICISM.*

LATEST, and not least remarkable of the pilgrims to Rome, is M. Zola. With an assurance not unworthy of his previous exploits in fiction, armed with guide-books, coated over with a shining varnish of archæology, history, canon law, and ecclesiastical ceremonies, dazzled or inspired by dramatic reminiscences from the gorgeous days of Leo X. and Julius II., but, as he imagines, cool and critical by reason of the science which he believes himself to have mastered, the genius of Realism enters the Eternal City to take possession of it with his eyes and his pen. Eyes, undoubtedly, M. Zola carries about in that southern French head of his, eyes that take in the colour and the form of things, unwearied, ever-waking, almost as quick and omniscient as the glances of Charles Dickens, though the vision which they apprehend is not quaint or fantastic, and still less humorous. It is solid fresco, the paint laid on thick, the atmosphere heavy and storm-laden, the whole effect Spanish rather than Italian in its turbid magnificence. What the eyes do see, however, the hand is ready to draw; the brush dipped into its pail of blues, and yellows, and scarlets, throws them with a splash upon the wall; and seven hundred yards—a page of print to every yard, we will say—of panoramic scene-painting, give us the Rome of to-day, as it enters through the eyes into the brain of a nineteenth century tourist.

All that M. Zola can grasp is the outside of things; but he holds it firmly, renders it with power, and will stir up others who can see beyond matter into spirit to ask themselves a question, as new as it is old, which has not lost its fascination, "What is the secret of Catholicism?" This great volume attacks it on the first page,—"What message has Rome, or has she any, for the world of science, criticism, culture, for democracy, for the disinherited, for the nations that will flourish in the new continents to-morrow? Is she dying in her purple shroud, or destined again to subdue the barbarians?" To all these demands M. Zola returns a peremptory answer; but the significance of his book, as of many that the years have brought forth and seem likely to multiply,† is not the

* *Rome*, par Émile Zola. Trente-Cinquième Mille. Paris, Charpentier, 1896.

† See, especially, in the March number of this Review, Mr. Holland's article "The Conversion of Manning."

solution he proposes, so much as the fact of his deeming it necessary to offer one. There must be some real and potent spell in Catholicism, some deep source of life not yet exhausted. Nothing less will account for these pilgrimages of religious men and women, of artists, philosophers, politicians, of the modern no less than the Christian, to a city which, alone in Europe, where so many things have changed during the last hundred years, remains what it has been time out of mind, hieratic, supernatural. Rome is yet a temple and a shrine which no disbelief in the miraculous seems capable of overthrowing. What is its charm, then, and how shall we explain it?

First, let us hear M. Zola. It is, he tells us confidently, the charm of the visible, the past made present to our senses by a sort of perpetual incantation. M. Zola is not learned, or he might have distilled the essence of all he has seen into those famous words of the English philosopher, "The Papacy is no other than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof." Thomas Hobbes, who did not put faith in the supernatural, thus divulged the secret, as he deemed, of "this great ecclesiastical dominion." And Pierre Froment, who speaks according as his Creator gives him leave, looking from the heights of San Pietro in Montorio, notes, like a Roman augur, the "mystic triangle," formed by the Palatine, the Quirinal, and the Vatican, in order that he may visualize the story of twenty-eight centuries, and deduce Pope Leo XIII. from Romulus, the King, and Augustus, the Emperor-Pontiff. Again and again, as if it were a musical *leit-motiv*, this sentence echoes up and down his meditations, "The blood of Augustus flows in the Papal veins." The soil of Rome, composed to a depth of thirty feet and more of dust which was once heathen and imperial, sends up, we are told, a miasma, an intoxicating and deadly malaria, which fills with the fume of conquest all who pitch their tents or build their palaces on that haunted foundation. A line of dark cypresses, fringing the ruins of the Palatine, marks where Divus Cæsar once abode; the tourist calls up those golden phantoms for a moment, but they melt and disappear against the kingly mass of St. Peter's and its triumphant dome, "the colour of heaven," under which is burning the eternal fire, *ad limina Apostolorum*,—old Rome transfigured shines in the new, and the Pontifex Maximus dwells on the site of Nero's gardens. He has simply moved from east to west, and from the windows of the Vatican looks out with patient disdain upon the raw modern city, already half in ruins, of which the barrack-like Quirinal is the fitting symbol. Such, observes Pierre Froment to himself, is the contrast between our bourgeois civilization, and that high and splendid world of the Cæsars. Yes, the Pope is

Cæsar; and who can refuse a passing sigh of admiration, nay, of regret, when the august figure expands to its due proportions, above the poverty-stricken proletarian city which Italians, blind to their own greatness, have built in the rear of the Capitol, or beside the Castel Sant' Angelo?

Within this magnificent frame, and on a background so imposing, we are invited to study the Roman Church;—a picture at once melancholy and majestic, but somewhat recalling the hard Byzantine style, in which painting itself becomes crystallized, and flesh has the colour of bronze. The hieratic is the monotonous; if it fixes in the present what else had been irrevocably lost, it seems to abolish life and movement; it is death glorified in the garments of the grave, or, as we might say, men are turned thereby into the marble gods of which they seem to be the ministers and oracles. They never emerge—these Cardinals, Popes, and serried ranks of clergy—from the overshadowing eclipse of a tradition that has grown to be immovable. Italy was, indeed, until Mazzini and Cavour, the Sleeping Beauty of the world, "*si belle et si endormie*," —Latin, Roman, Florentine, Venetian, always in the slumber which gracious forms visited, idle, dreaming;—and now, when the steam-whistle has broken the spell, behold, centuries are gone, the palace-walls crumble into dust, and the Pontifex Maximus, sitting there enchanted, hears the vast thunder of a sea which is rising up to the foot of his throne,—democracy comes in a full tide, and science pours its waves, and perhaps the inevitable end is here at last.

But it will be the end of a dynasty unparalleled in the human record. What an astonishing line of rulers, and how colossal an ambition! Where shall we find the equals of the Gregories, the Innocents, the Leos, endowed, the best of them, with that rare Roman quality, "*regere imperio populos*,"—so politic, yet so inflexible, attracting to themselves kings, adventurers, saints, artists, fanatics, recluses, crusaders, contemplatives, explorers, and whole nations winning each, yet pursuing an impersonal aim, and yielding not one iota to bribes or solicitations, or even to sincere homage? Authority has ever been their first and last word; they govern in the name of a Divine Right, and hold of the New Testament by a charter which they have written in letters of gold round St. Peter's dome.

The tourist, seeing with M. Zola's eyes, and tracing the Pope's pedigree from Cæsar, has not seen this, which, nevertheless, one would have supposed was patent enough. In the far-reaching high-resounding Basilica, where he stands or kneels with the congregation of sixty thousand, while Leo XIII. is borne above their heads, it seems to him that a present Deity passes by, on his way to celebrate that ancient rite; but if the sentence round the dome

could be erased, would the congregation or the Deity be visible there any more? Augustus and his Etrurian augurship will not account for the coincidence, as a matter of history, by which a Hebrew fisherman, holding the keys of heaven, comes to reign in those gardens where eighteen hundred years ago He was crucified. The ghost, concerning which Hobbes delivered himself mockingly, as though it were an empty cloud, is not Cæsar's shade but a spirit, a power from the world to come; or so men thought when they bowed down to it. I remember a saying of Novalis, which appears to me profoundly philosophical, "Faith is miraculous and wonder-working; God exists the moment I believe in Him. Faith works and feels in another world; it is a transcendental act, and is the will made real." Of the two elements which are indispensable to a right vision of Rome, M. Zola has perceived the less important. He reminds me of a fault common in those who, arguing from the prehistoric ape to historic man, and seeing, or fancying that they see no gap in the chain of bodily evolution, talk as though Newton and Michael Angelo had received their inspiration from a bestial brain. But the something which made these supreme men of genius did not exist in the pre-historic ape. The organism is not the spirit; and all which the Roman Empire could furnish to Roman Christianity was an outward frame. We must look elsewhere if we would trace the religious idea which alone is creative, and which informs the body, holding its otherwise dissoluble parts together, and giving them life in itself.

Not being possessed of this clue, M. Zola bewilders himself in the labyrinth of visible resemblances and historical associations. Surely we may doubt whether an Augustus, throned in the Vatican but unconsecrated by those words "*Tu es Petrus*," would ever have been recognized as the Father of Christendom. On the other hand, if so ample a commission was given, or could be claimed on behalf of a Christian Bishop at Rome, how would this faith show itself in deeds, when the old civilization knelt at the new Pontiff's feet and besought his blessing? To M. Zola, and to his imaginary priest, whose acquaintance with the Catholic theology is of the slenderest, there is continually looming up a contradiction between Christian principles and any settled form of society whatsoever. That may be excellent doctrine according to Rousseau, perhaps according to Wycliffe and the Gnostics from whom Wycliffe descended; but how would art, science, commerce, literature, and progress in general have fared, if those that set up the early Christian order of things had taken so austere a view? An imperial vocation forbade them to renounce and condemn the past, which had given to Greece a world of beauty, and to Rome an orderliness in sacred things as well as an urbane splendour not un-

befitting the mightiest of monarchies—that City of God, as Augustine speaks, the law of which was a descent of the Divine upon the human, and its purpose to cleanse and consecrate rather than to destroy. We hear much of the wisdom attaching to continuity, now that so little profit has come of revolution. With an idea at its heart so masterful, so penetrating, as Christianity, no wonder if the Church displayed a boldness and freedom in handling the good things bequeathed to her, which no spirit less vigorous would have ventured upon.

But the creed that overcame Augustan Rome was not a flaccid, verbal system, the invention of chamber philosophy, or religion diluted into literature. Had it been no more than a school like that of the Stoics or the Academics, it would have dissolved like them into private opinion, too timid and vaporous to aim at the Government of mankind. The Roman Empire from Augustus onwards was a Pagan Theocracy; the Roman Church as we see it from the first, moves along the path of a Christian Theocracy. It is the Empire taken up to a higher plane, with new principles informing it, and the power of the spirit coming upon it. Do we consider Israel with its prophets and its Messianic golden age as leading up to the ideals set forth in the New Testament? Then, in like manner, Rome, when it becomes the Imperial City and draws the nations as if they were tribes in one human family, leads up to Catholicism. The universal religion must have a definite centre because it spreads out to so vast a circumference. None but the most intense unity, both visible and invisible, will enable the new Theocracy to triumph over the old. On every principle the heart of this world-wide contest, and its issue, must be at Rome. Conquer Paganism there, and it is defeated everywhere, as the sequel under Constantine will prove.

No religion can deny its past. This is the past of the Christian religion. So far as appears in history, it is a kingdom which embodies the principle of dogma, which acts by authority, and which assimilates all human good in the peoples, the philosophies, the laws, and the arts upon which it exercises an influence. It follows the method of reconciliation, not that of iconoclasm. We may trace one line of conduct along the centuries, from the catacombs to the reigning Pope; and it is only the more conspicuous inasmuch as another, parallel indeed, but opposed to it, has never ceased to pursue its own course—the idea of a Christian Church that should refuse at every price to discriminate between the light and the darkness in Pagan antiquity; of a Church that denounces matter as evil, philosophy as rationalism, art as idolatrous, and literature as vanity. The Montanist, the Manichean, the Paulician, the Wycliffite, the Lutheran, the Puritan, the Jansenist—and now

M. l'Abbé Froment in this *olla podrida* of a realist fiction—all partake of the same Bedouin-like contempt for what civilized man has accomplished. Their supernatural rejects and tramples upon nature. To the Catholic, nature is fallen, but nature has also been redeemed; and the mission of the Church is to carry out, to realize that redemption in great things and small. To the Manichean or the Lutheran, no such conception of a Divine dialectics, as Plato would say, no method of sacramental efficacy which may purify and restore the works of man, is possible. Antiquity, whether in the Greek poets or the Roman lawgivers, in the monuments or the usages of a graceful civilization, outwardly so much more beautiful than our industrial present, was abhorred of Puritans, early and late; could they have had their way, Christendom would have been a whitewashed Islam, without symbols or colour, paintings or architecture, and the whole world of the classics would have sunk into depths unfathomable.

To adopt the language in which Catholicism delights, the difference between these two kinds of Christianity lay in their view of the Sacraments, and, at last, in the idea which they held of the Person of Christ Himself. No Manichean ever believed that in the Founder of Religion a true humanity was taken up into God —the flesh could not be made Divine, it was beyond redemption. And all earthly tokens of religion, from the Eucharist downwards, were bare signs, external and dead, depending for such efficacy as they seemed to have, upon the faith of the individual, not upon the action of the Church. Thus, upon this principle, all things outside the circle in which a pure spirit lives its unseen life (and how many they are!) will be secular and profane. Religion, like the faith which apprehends it, is henceforth to be hidden; it retreats from the public order into the recesses of conscience; it becomes, not at once but inevitably, a matter of taste, and is determined by emotion, research, the idiosyncracy of the private person; it is not dogma but opinion, and everyone may think that which seems right in his own eyes. The Church? What is the Church, except a voluntary meeting-house? Authority? There is none which I am bound to obey, none which can inflict a lawful punishment on me, in this world or the world to come, if I disobey. The visible Kingdom—the Fifth Monarchy—has disappeared with the Pope. And Liberal Protestantism, by force of logic and the law which governs development, is in its latest forms a return, no less curious than unequivocal, to some of the earliest in which it came upon the scene. Private judgment and religious anarchy are the same thing viewed as cause and effect, or as seed-time and harvest.

How does the Roman Church escape this danger? M. Zola talks more than once of the "wind of schism" which is blowing

from France, or perhaps across the Atlantic. Observers better acquainted with the modern spirit have long been agreed that the age of heresies went out before Döllinger, nay, before Lamennais; there are no rank and file to follow the heresiarchs. But any schism which did not abolish the Papal Chair would leave Rome where she stands. Now, M. Zola himself shall say whether that is a probable contingency. In the judgment of not a few, Leo XIII. has displayed a more extensive action, and met with a more willing obedience, than any Pope since the close of the Middle Ages. And, to put the matter in a strong light, heresy or schism at this time of day would be nothing else than a relapse into some form of Protestantism already existing; but all its forms have lost their power, and the current of religious thought is moving in quite the opposite direction. Unity, not dissent, is the magnet which draws hearts enamoured of a Christian Renaissance. The social disorder cries aloud for healing; what we want is an "applied Christianity," as Novalis says again,—something planted deep in eternity but acting upon time, a visible influence which shall face these giant evils and overcome them by its concentrated energy. Nor can it be expected to improvise ideals at a moment's warning; if they do not exist, where shall we look for them? The Roman Church has before now faced a dying civilization; she has her precedents and her examples; above all, she is independent of the society which calls upon her aid, and can, therefore, propose it on her own terms. All this, which is undeniable, may help us the better to understand what is meant by a Christian Theocracy, and why that formidable yet attractive name excites admiration, hatred, enthusiasm, or fear; neither is it given to any Church but the Roman, as by no other is it willingly adopted. Other Churches are national or Erastian; she is the creature of no king, or parliament, or people, but is cosmopolitan and free.

If contrast, then, be a source of artistic and interesting effects, here is contrast enough, between a world which has fallen to industrial slavery, unredeemed by the graces of that fair ancient heathendom, and a city where Religion sits enthroned, the treasures of classic times about her feet, and the traditions of the East still echoing from her lips, as though she were the eternal Sibyl, guardian of sacred volumes, apt to prescribe laws and ceremonies of purification, oracular and divine, amid the vulgarities, the sordid bargainings, the dust and smoke of a populace crowding the market-place. Imagination is kindled at the sight of her; a great forgotten idea revives, taking this venerable form of Theocracy incarnate. Once mankind were ruled by priesthoods; kings wore the mitre and sacrificed in vestments of gold; the State was a hierarchy, and every office sacerdotal; nay, the common handi-

crafts and their instruments, the loom, the plough, the sickle, were gifts of the gods and dedicated to them; the whole of existence fell into a ritual which moved with stately pace and decorum from birth to death, a procession towards eternity the light of which was cast forth upon its way. Life, not now conceived of as a battle by night in which man smites his neighbour and is smitten in turn, was become an impressive creation of art, its lines fixed, its duties clear;—in this all-embracing *function*, as it might well be termed, everyone knew what was expected of him, and the action went forward with the smoothness of a drama cunningly devised. The interpretations of the sages, who governed by Divine right, were equal to every emergency; original genius proved itself not by inventing unheard-of principles and troubling the State or the Church, but by applying to fresh cases and new material the principles already known. Science was constructive rather than critical, and art found inspiration as it looked up to the ideals which had long been worshipped as stars in a heaven that, turning on its daily axis, was ever the same.

Of all this wonderful world not a symbol is left in modern Europe save only Rome. The Pope has been called, suggestively, the "heir by default" of a tradition which was once alive and all-ruling in the Eastern capitals, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople. He is, in every sense, the heir by default of antiquity which, did he not sum it up in his own person, would be to us little but the shadow of a name. Ancient learning provides the language that he speaks to the nations: the old poetic strain of Plato, the common-sense, refined into the sublimities of reason, which makes Aristotle so great a master, the large streams of Cicero, the Virgilian tenderness, the Roman style and sacerdotal measures of Livy, these belong to him by perscription. His monks, in their scriptorium, saved the priceless parchments whereon was inscribed a literature that can never lose its charm until the barbarians come again. And when the marble under-world of gods and heroes was laid open at the Renaissance, still it was the Pontifex Maximus who dared to bid them follow his triumphal car along the Via Sacra, and do homage in their shining majesty to One mightier than they. Curious to reflect how the fallen deities found their last refuge in the Vatican! They were too beautiful to be utterly cast out. By long lying in the mould of oblivion their evil had been done away; and the symbolism of nature they expressed so surpassingly could never be forgotten in the temple of reconciliation. Who is insensible to their charm? Nor is it, let us bear in mind, for the most part, the charm of revolt; it is rather childlike, unconscious, the first lovely speech of a people awakening to this scene of things, and touching the clay with fire as it flows

out in inspiration from their lips and hands. Classic art, classic literature remain to us, in fragments; but their very dust is golden, and without Rome what should we know of them?

But these are the lesser gifts, arresting in their beauty and most gracious, yet the mere vestibule to a holy place where they cannot enter. If Catholics be asked what the Roman Unity has given them, few except the learned would pause at this great gate. Nevertheless, it yields a divine prospect—this portal between East and West, up to which we see the ancient peoples marching—all Milton's gorgeous entablature, as it were, unfolded before us, Cæsar bidding them hasten with their histories, arts, and achievements to a Pantheon which shall not long be his. "What conflux issuing forth or entering in!" But St. Peter's on a Pentecostal day, when the nations meet in its aisles, would beggar any description, and put to shame the census, of a Rome Imperial that knew less than a third of the planet, and was tolerant only of strange gods, not the harbinger to announce an universal religion. If the old description of the beautiful be not false, which calls it "unity in variety," *unum in multis*, such a Roman gathering cannot fail to subdue by the extraordinary spectacle of myriads, assembled from the four winds to chant a common creed. It is, surely, a sight as touching as the sun looks upon. For how are these ten thousands, with the millions whom they represent, brought into one? Is it not by a power which is girt with no sword, which does not appeal to the affinities of race, or the weight of interests, or the establishment of the State—which has one motive, and one alone, for continuing to exist amid the Babel of competition; and that motive transcendental, if ever motive was?

The figure of Leo XIII., seen from this point of view, is unique among present-day sovereigns. He is the symbol or the embodiment of a spiritual force, which can act only if there be a world beyond this where it is recognized. So astonishing are the miracles of faith, which dies if the last word be the phenomenal, that in this solitary old man it discovers a strength and a light unknown to the proudest of material civilizations, and hitherto not within the compass of the whole of modern science. What is the earthly dominion, of which M. Zola talks incessantly, compared with an influence such as this? Does he imagine that a prophet will envy a king? The temporal power of the Church was great in its day; it is gone, and the spiritual survives, more intense than ever. It survives; but, assuredly, it must have perished, had not the Pope insisted on his prerogatives, and made submission to himself an absolute condition of peace, as it was from of old the cornerstone of Christendom. St. Augustine, who bears witness for antiquity, wrote as much fifteen hundred years ago, *In cathedra unitatis posuit doctrinam veri-*

tatis, "The chair of unity is the safeguard of truth." It was a witness and a prophecy. What do the ages tell us concerning it, what the present power of religion, and the hopes which it is reasonable to indulge?

The revolutionary experiment undertaken by Luther and Calvin, was an attempt to have done with the Roman Theocracy, while keeping the Bible, the early creeds, and the grace of a spiritual power in the world. It has now run its course. With what results? The Bible, says M. Zola, lies in ruins; Free Thought has made short work of the Creeds; and Christianity has become to a vast extent invisible, a matter of taste and choice. If we hold that there is such a thing as Revelation, it ought, surely, to make itself felt in the public order, as well as govern the private thoughts of the individual; and such, amid excesses of every kind, the mediæval Church strove to be. No one will assign to Christianity at this hour an acknowledged rank and sovereign sway to compare with that which it owned in the thirteenth century. To what is the change attributable? Catholics will affirm that the Christian idea at the Reformation was robbed of half its life, and reduced to a mere impalpable essence, by the men who divided it from history, from civilization, and from almost every material on which it could stamp its image, in their zeal to purge away its dross. Henceforth, it became a wandering ghost, without substance, or antecedents, or definite shape, mumbling its schemes of justification, but fleeing away from the problems of life, and leaving the immense vacuum into which unbelief was to descend and there to reign. Revelation had always appeared as tradition and authority. When the authority was denied, the tradition received a deadly wound. The principle of criticism, or, to repeat the formula, of Private Judgment, once admitted, a philosopher might have foreseen its consequences; it was sure to dissolve what authority had built up. "In an age," says Cardinal Newman, "in which reason, as it is called, is the standard of truth and right, it is abundantly evident to anyone who mixes ever so little with the world, that, if things are left to themselves, every individual will have his own view and take his own course; that two or three agree together to-day to part to-morrow; that Scripture will be read in contrary ways; that philosophy, taste, prejudice, passion, party, caprice, will find no common measure, unless there be some supreme power to control the mind and to compel agreement.*

Certainly, that is what has come to pass. But in the Roman Church, with its peremptory decisions and infallible Chair, the

* *Development of Christian Doctrine,* p. 90.

Bible, the Liturgy, the Sacraments, the Creeds, remain unaffected by movements which elsewhere have told upon them to their irreparable injury. Nor should we fail to observe that loyal Catholics are by no means subservient from fear; neither do they chafe under this discipline; when the Pontiff speaks, he is uttering their voice and confirming their prepossessions; they hold emphatically the very doctrine which he defines; and they would rise up against anyone who should lay a bold hand upon the Mass, or deny the Tradition, in which they see their beliefs outside them, objective and real. Again M. Zola is scandalized at their passionate fervour, their exuberance in the faith, their enthusiasm which appears to him so extravagant. Human nature will not change because of the sceptic's dislike to its manifestations in a region where he is petrified. But let him not utter the word tyranny while these repeated acclamations, and plébiscites of instinctive devotion, prove that nothing would be more welcome to Catholics than a Pope whom the kings and republics should accept for their supreme arbitrator. Behind the congregations at Rome with their silent machinery is a real and popular religion, spontaneous, free, not manufactured, an instinct deep as life in these innumerable hearts. And it is growing, not diminishing. The great Protestant experiment having been made, and ending, as we see, in disaster, what more natural than that the authority which it supplanted to so little purpose, should gain by its defeat? Once more, history is asserting its claims, and the ancient institutions of Christendom are emerging from the shade which was cast about them by a speculative system, itself incapable of bringing to a successful issue the enterprise it had snatched from them in an hour of revolt.

Rome, therefore, is Theocratic, because the religion she expounds is something more than speculation. But Theocracy with all its pomp and splendour is a means to an end; and the end is a supernatural life, or religion as a mystic union of man with the Divine. Those who enlarge, admiringly or otherwise, upon the vision of the Eternal City, forget too often that the picture is only the surface; they imagine æsthetic aims where quite another spirit has been brooding over the deep and drawing forth from it shapes of loveliness. The Liturgy which "satisfies the soul of worship" in us, may be dwelt upon as an achievement of art supreme in its kind; but the kind is spiritual, and its hidden meaning far beyond its expression. That, too, has grown by a long development, by taking to itself the precious things of the past; it goes back to the Apostolic age, indeed; we may perceive in its elements a symbolism as ancient as man; but still, it is new, and not a beautiful antique;

and all the ways of religion centre in it, and the life of Catholicism goes out from it.

Not preaching but sacrifice; not the meeting but the altar; not that which I can do for myself, but the power which flows out from an ordinance upon me; such is the charm, the grace of this undoubtedly historical faith. And preaching has grown wearisome, ineffective, or, at last, dangerous to belief, where the Liturgy did not inspire and bear it up on heavenly wings. A Presence that should have filled the house with glory was not there; men talked to one another of an absent God, and went away downcast. No casual or deliberate words of a preacher could work upon the spirit with a sweetness so penetrating as the ordered action, fraught with significance beyond speech, addressing itself to our whole nature, and impressing all alike, which had for its divinely-appointed purpose to bring Heaven and earth together and to evoke the Eternal,—a marvellous thought, in the grandeur of which every modern religion pales and grows silent.

This, then, is the life so magnificently adorned round about, itself far more than the raiment, which that high and severe government of the Holy See is to protect against enemies, and to render accessible to the lowly, the faithful, the children of the New Testament. Can we marvel if Providence has put into the hands of its guardian a flaming sword which turns every way to keep the tree of life? So rich a treasure demands in him who has been called the "Keeper of the Vine" all the great things which Catholic tradition assigns to St. Peter; and, as in the whole system there is a wonderful agreement, so the inward and the outward are here providentially matched, and form together an unity which we may not unduly exalt as the most beautiful thing religion has to show. For it is Christianity summed up in a radiant jewel, adamantine like the diamond, burning with celestial fire. All miracles are wrought in this one; it is the glass wherein we may behold the long glories of sanctity and martyrdom; the far-off subterranean lights that soften the gloom of the catacombs; the basilicas with their golden roofs, and the aspiring fretwork cathedrals of the Middle Ages; the lonely wayside chapels, also, and forest sanctuaries, and the still ray of the everlasting lamp which not even our flaming furnaces, or their pall of smoke can quench in the Babylons of to-day. The new generations of believing Christians feel themselves more and more attracted to the Mass; some boldly avowing it, others, fatigued with their barren prayers and services extempore, sighing for an order of worship that shall not seem trivial or a thing of caprice; and the ancient solemn rite which their teachers handled so despitefully, beckons them onward—that Church deem-

ing itself happiest which has least of all done it violence. But if the Mass should be restored, will not the "Keeper of the Vine" come likewise as its guardian? These two were in the past not divided; can the future separate them?

Religion, therefore, being so much more than a philosophy, holds within it the supernatural life; and here it is that any science or civilization, which takes no account of the Divine, must acknowledge an inward want; for man will have religion, and its shadow will not content him. Now M. Zola, whom we may set forward as speaking in the name of popular unbelief, and who will at no price be a Christian, tells us we are standing in the first watch of a science that "does not satisfy our thirst for justice, our desire for security, or our inherited ideal of happiness in a life to come." His science, in short, is neither ethical nor transcendental; with Darwin it stays in the primeval forest among beasts, and sharpens their teeth and claws. Biology untouched with metaphysics or not enlightened from above by religion, knows nothing of justice; it halts on this side of the tomb; it has no spiritual vision. "Science has destroyed faith," concludes Pierre Froment when he is at the end of his bitter pilgrimage, "a nation fed upon science, believing no longer in dogma or mystery, in the system of pains and penalties according to our works, is a nation whose faith has expired for ever; and without faith, Catholicism cannot be." Nay more, to this dust of ruin where the old Christian dogmas lie buried, "all religious ideas," and "every hypothesis of the Divine," are hurrying down. Science alone is eternal, infallible; and it is contrary to faith, and will be the servant of no God. Are there any whom science does not satisfy? They may betake themselves to fancies and nurse their chimera, provided always they respect the certitudes which science alone can give. But the democracy trained upon manuals of modern knowledge, if it ever has a religion again, will find it nowhere save in the halls of medicine, or natural history,—in the museum, perchance, but not before the altar; by the sight of the eyes, not by the faith of the heart.

Prophecy in the room of induction, M. Zola? We grant that experience may do much, even where religion is the subject-matter; but have we now to begin this arduous enquiry? What is religious experience unless it be the life of the spirit and the testimony of saints? Call it mysticism, if you will; the name does but point us on into that formidable and austere domain through which we must pursue our travels, if we would learn what religion has been to mankind. Induction? But the Gospel history is induction; the record of monasticism is induction; the whole Christian Church is induction; and the consequences of religion denied or sifted out of modern society, they, too, are induction, of an appalling

clearness. Let us imagine a world in which everyone had lost "the sense of justice and security, belief in moral recompense, and hope of a life to come," would the condition ensuing not teach us some certain truths about human nature, its constitution and its laws?

M. Renan professed to disbelieve in the supernatural, as M. Zola does; but he was well aware, and he has said more than once, that Europe is living on a religious capital acquired in less stormy days, and that, as it becomes exhausted, moral values will lose their power. He did not commit the mistake of binding down his science within the circle of phenomena, and then bidding it soar into the Beyond. A religion which is not transcendental is an imposture. But to most men at all times, and to the wisest of men outside their passing moments of metaphysical reflection, the transcendental is revealed by tradition, and does not depend upon a chain of syllogisms. Biological science may investigate what is given; it has no secret whereby to communicate God to the Soul. There is a devout or inward life that we all, with rare exceptions, desire in our hearts to live, could we learn its ways, and not shrink from the fiery trial which it involves. As civilization fulfils less and less the hopes conceived of it by such men as M. Zola, the need will make itself felt of an existence buoyed up on another sea, into which our mortality may sink undismayed, for the spirit is immortal, and eternity is its home. Whither shall we turn, then, if we are seeking the light? Can fresh inductions yield us a better and holier thing than Christianity? This question, not many years ago, would have been put aside as unintelligible or superfluous. The Religion of Humanity, under one of its various forms, or all of them, was to make the world happy. M. Zola's indignation with Pope Leo XIII. arises from the reluctance which that Christian philosopher shows, to abandon, at M. l'Abbé Froment's bidding, the dogmas and creeds he has been appointed to defend, whereas, it would appear, nothing can be more reasonable than to accept the Positive ideals and undertake to furnish the nations with as much enjoyment as they may demand. But science, we know, has not yet discovered this *Pays de Cocagne.* Why should religion, which professes to keep an utterly different object in view, be more successful?

In his *Souvenirs de Jeunesse,* M. Renan laid it down that "with chemistry at one end of the chain and astronomy at the other, but, above all, by means of general physiology, we hold the real secret of being—of the universe—of God, name it how you will." That is the science on which M. l'Abbé Froment would build his Religion of the Future, which it is impossible to distinguish from Secular Socialism, for it consists of the "equitable division of wealth," and labour imposed upon all. Now, so far as the chemist can see (and

the physiologist does not see one inch farther) death may be what the Revolution engraved on its funeral vaults, "an everlasting sleep"; immortality need not mean anything more than that the dust of man will enter into fresh combinations with other dust; while for the astronomer Heaven is boundless space, and we are already in it. What new faith or worship can be derived from these experiments with atoms and vapours, which are perfectly legitimate and quite unspiritual? They decide nothing in a province to which they are, by definition, no less foreign than mathematics are to the emotions. Yet M. Froment concludes that "all is over, science has conquered"; and before his dreaming eyes St. Peter's has fallen down, a mighty wreck; the majesty of Jehovah is forgotten like that of Jupiter; with the old world religion is no more, and reason goes forth to subdue the unknown, trusting in its scalpels and its microscopes. But these, it is only too certain, will reveal no God who transcends matter and is independent of time and space. They leave us before the veil, which still hangs there impenetrable.

Nevertheless, in this supreme hour, mysticism appears to be returning. Many signs and tokens announce it. The argument which assails Rome as the head and front of Christianity; which will not so much as glance towards the Churches of a later standing; which denies Revelation and disowns the Supernatural, would seem, by its marvellous tenacity and unyielding logic, to have elicited, on the part of believers, a sense of unity hitherto latent among them or despised. It is as though science, delighting in analysis, but unable to sustain, and much less to create life, had provoked the desire of a synthesis in which art, and poetry, and the ideal, and religion should be one. Analytic science, it has been remarked not untruly, is the occupation of a people in decline. Faith alone is constructive; genius perceives the pattern of a better world and works accordingly; but inspiration, without which no great human achievement was ever wrought, is not to be secured by chemical combinations. Enthusiasm and fanaticism are enormous powers; and the society which can awaken either may prove more than a match for individual selfishness. When Socialism professing to rely upon science enters the field against religion, the issue grows clear. It is simply this: Shall we aim at reforming the world by means of Revelation as it has come down through the ages—a history, an institution, a Church possessed of its own ideals? or shall we have done altogether with the past, disown "atavism," reduce morals to a calculus of the largest sensuous products for the greatest number, and shut out the Beyond with a veil of nescience? These are the alternatives presented now to Europe and the world.

Regard for history, therefore, and belief in the supernatural would seem to stand or fall together. But, if this be granted, the Roman Church will exercise an influence upon all Christians in proportion as they are drawn to the dogmatic creeds, to the ancient public worship, to the life which is towards God in the Spirit, to authority as the safeguard of the Faith, and to unity as a refuge from scepticism. That which cannot fail to astonish and attract in the Catholic system is its power of reconciling tendencies apparently so divergent; the strict orthodoxy of Rome with the incessant meditation of the anchorite, philosophy with popular devotion, formal rites with mystic exaltations, enthusiasm with discipline, magnificence with asceticism and self-denial, the elective principle with an unchanging policy, an inexhaustible human tenderness with doctrines inviolable. The ethics and social science of unbelief are not yet made—anarchy is the single word which falls from its lips. No other plan of guiding men along the path of development is within our reach, if we put Christianity aside. And the Catholic past has, in fact, given to Europe all that renders it a stable system. By selection, by refinement, by applying to the things of everyday her principles of redemption into a spiritual order—in brief, by dealing with the whole of man's existence as a sacrament which grace might consecrate and work upon, the Church has brought into being a new and more humane world, and those who scorn her dogmas are living on her benefits.

Nowhere has M. Zola betrayed his extraordinary lack of knowledge so shamefully—I had almost said, so criminally—as in charging upon the Mother of Christendom a "contempt for the poor and lowly." It is her most persuasive attribute that she has ever been the Church of the poor. For them she puts on her gorgeous robes, fills her sanctuary with light and music, paints her windows and her walls that they may be refreshed with sacred colour, and crowns the year with festivals which are their holidays. She has called into existence a thousand religious orders and institutions; is there one of them so hard in its dealings with the unfortunate as the Poor Law of countries from which she has been driven out? But this cruel ignorance, unless it deserve a worse name, is fitting enough in a volume which transfers to the nineteenth century legends from the Renaissance; and which, bold and libellous at its good pleasure, does not hesitate to instruct its thousands of readers that Cardinals like Borgia still exist, and that poison is among the treasures of the Propaganda. What should we think of an English novelist who, writing a story into which the names of living men were freely introduced, drew a scene for us where the Archbishop of Canterbury planned assassination, and one of his clergy carried it into effect? This melo-

drama, out of place, and hundreds of years behind its time, is an insult, as base as unmanly, to venerable and unoffending persons who cannot defend themselves. But it is something more; it is a sign and a proof that the modern French unbeliever knows as little of Catholicism as of religion in general. He is blind to its strength because he has never learned its spirit; and with his growing self-confidence, he is preparing for his own discomfiture.

It must be, in truth, apparent that "a society which thinks to secure the felicity of man by exiling God"—to quote the language that, on this occasion, Leo XIII. might well be supposed to utter—has set out on its journey towards the abyss. We shall not live to behold the "cities of labour, science, and health" imagined by fantastic realism, or sketched on paper by companies eager for dividends. The bleak white town, ruined before it was dwelt in, that lies along the Prati di Castello in front of the Pope's windows, tells a tale more significant than M. Zola's lurid romancing. If any kind of constructive ideal were rising from the shock of social forces, grander and endowed with a richer life than Catholicism, the future might become its estate. Neither friend nor enemy can point to such; all the new theories destroy; none has ever shown that it could build. To these vague and shifting outlines, the historical Church presents a spectacle, imperfect, doubtless, when the pattern laid up in Heaven is our standard, but large, and noble, and glorious with the conquests of a true civilization, abounding in the trophies of art and charity, and lifted high enough to disclose a prospect into the kingdoms of the spirit.

This, at last, is the secret of Catholicism. It is the supernatural in the world and rising beyond it, immanent that it may civilize, transcendant that it may redeem. Every Church calling itself Christian which has done, or is doing, a work among men capable of resisting the fire, will be seen, on close view, to have kept from the wreck of Christendom some one or other principle, whereby a living authority applies to circumstances what else had been a phantom of the truth. Here it is the Sacerdotal principle, there the Sacramental; with certain bold spirits the Church's freedom from State interference; with their neighbours, perchance more spiritual, the tradition of the inward life; with another kind still,—and the whole Eastern world is here included,—the inflexibility of dogma and prescription. But historians candidly marking the various phenomena, will, if I may trust my own reading, allow that Rome has excelled in meeting the demands of so many-sided a mission. Elsewhere, either the Christian dogma is in peril, or it cannot defend itself against internal yet open heterodoxy, or it is stereotyped and gives no reply to modern questions. The Roman Church seems to be at once consistent and progressive. It is

taking its own deliberate view of all that lies implicit in the sciences, the democracies, the socialisms of the age, even as sixteen hundred years ago it was judging and selecting from the Greek and Roman world, adapting to its service whatever appeared to be susceptible of regeneration, and slow to cast aught away until trial had been made of it. On the other hand, no inducement will persuade the Holy See to forego its principles or be merged in a foreign system. It assimilates from without; it cannot surrender from within. It is rooted and founded in the idea of a Theocracy whose credentials are held to be Divine, and therefore unchangeable. It has an all-pervading spirit, a stern logic, a language peculiar to itself, a tradition immemorial, a power of adaptation to circumstances, an endless fertility of resources and institutions, a place which none other can pretend to occupy, an empire at once visible and spiritual, and a sovereign city into which all periods and civilizations have brought their treasures. There is no second Rome; and, when all is said, there can be but one Catholic Church. Moreover, the shrine of the supernatural is the meeting-place of history. Who knows that it may not prove once again the beginning of a new and less dolorous period in the progress of mankind?

So much on the attractions of the Roman Church for many in our time. If there is another side to the shield, as we well know, I must crave leave to put off its consideration until a later day.

WILLIAM BARRY.

FIVE YEARS' POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORM IN NEW ZEALAND.*

During the last few years there have been frequent references in the English newspapers to the legislative activity of New Zealand, but, so far as I am aware, no recent account of the precise nature of the legislation adopted has been published in England. I propose, therefore, to give in the following pages—so far as the limits of a review article will permit—an epitome of the work that has been accomplished during five most prolific years in the history of the Colony. It is necessary that the reader should understand the circumstances amid which the period opened.

Many say that, as an element in Australasian politics, Labour Parties date from the maritime strike of 1890. In point of time this is correct. It was then that the Labour politician first entered colonial parliaments. But the oft-repeated assertion that the Australasian maritime strike was not only coincident with the forming of Labour Parties in various colonies, but was itself the chief cause thereof, is not true. Colonial Labour Parties have, no doubt, been influenced by two noted strikes, themselves divided by the width of the world. I mean the English dockers' strike and our own maritime strike. But the great Thames strike may be said rather to have given a fillip to Colonial Trades Unionism, apart from politics altogether, than to have created any Party. As for the other conflict, though the utter rout of the colonial maritime strikers in 1890 undoubtedly sent Trades Unionists to the ballot-box sore and with a keen desire to redress the balance by gaining political successes, it was not the sole, or the chief cause of their taking to politics. In 1890, the political course which lay before the Labour Unions in New Zealand was, as it still is, different to that open to their friends in the continental colonies. In Australia, except in South Australia, it seemed inevitable that Radical and Labour Members returned mainly by workmen should stand aloof from existing sections. How could they do otherwise when their supporters regarded all the older sections with about equal distrust and dislike? Not so in New Zealand. There the Opposi-

* This article was written in New Zealand before the writer was appointed Agent-General for the Colony.

tion of 1889-90, though not without Conservative elements—the remnants of a former coalition—was mainly and avowedly Radical. It had always supported Sir George Grey in his persistent efforts to widen the franchise, efforts which in 1889 were finally crowned by the gain of one-man-one-vote. And in 1889 it chose as its head John Ballance. Sir Robert Stout, its leader and protagonist, had been beaten at the previous election. In his absence, Ballance, was perhaps the only man who could head with success a combined Liberal-Labour battalion. John Ballance was a journalist, but as the son of a North Irish farmer, he knew country life on its working side. His views on the land question were not therefore mere theories, but part of his life and belief. Not only was land monopoly in every form hateful to him, not only had he adopted and advocated State tenancy, as opposed to freehold, but his earnest belief in, and extension of, what are known as village settlements had made him amongst New Zealand workmen the most popular Lands Minister of the time. In Ballance and his followers in 1890 New Zealand Labour Organizations found a ready-made political Party from which they had much to hope. With it, therefore, they threw in their lot. The result showed the power both of Unionism and of one-man-one-vote. In New Zealand, all the elections for the House of Representatives take place on one day. In 1890 the day was the 5th December. On the 6th of that month it was clear enough that John Ballance would be the Colony's next Premier. After a short delay his opponents yielded, and on 24th January, 1891, he took office.

The difficulties of the new Premier were neither few nor small. He was fairly committed to carry a Radical policy containing startling features. His colleagues, with one exception, had never before held office. Moreover, that one exception sat in the Upper House, and the first and fiercest battles had to be fought in the Lower. Outside his Cabinet, he had to consolidate a Party made up largely of raw material. Amongst it was a novel and hardly calculable element, the Labour Members. Could they be counted on to fall into line with the rest of the Party? As already indicated, this was what they did. Some of their reasons have been given. Others were, that at the elections no attempt had been made to reserve the Labour vote for candidates belonging exclusively to Trades Unions, or who were workmen. Of some score of Members who owed their return chiefly to the Labour vote, and who had accepted the chief points of the Labour policy, six only were working mechanics. There would therefore have been neither principle nor policy in any attempt to draw a line of demarcation between these six and the others. Moreover, though the six were new to Parliament, several of their closest allies had been there before, and were

old members of the Ballance Party. Not only, therefore, was a distinct Labour Party not formed, but there was no attempt to form one. For the rest, the feeling of nervous curiosity with which the artisan parliamentarians were at first regarded soon wore off. People got tired of sharing the fears of Tennyson's baronet whose visions saw the "raw mechanic's bloody thumbs sweat on his blazoned chairs." The Labour Members were without exception men not only of character and intelligence, but of good commonsense. They behaved as though their only ambition was to be sensible Members of Parliament. As such, they were soon classed, and lookers-on were only occasionally reminded that they held a special brief.

This article has dwelt at some length upon that complete fusion of the Liberal and Labour Parties which was a feature of New Zealand politics in 1891, and succeeding years. It has done so because it seems probable that the amount of Radical progressive work done in the New Zealand Parliament, and in certain departments of the public service during the last five years, has been rendered possible by this fusion. This is not the place to argue for or against the socialistic reforms of which the Party's work has largely consisted. But it was the duty of the politicians who were returned to Parliament for the purpose of doing that work, to do it, and as much of it as possible. Therefore, from their point of view, anything which enabled this work to be done was good, and from that standpoint, the Liberal-Labour alliance in New Zealand has been justified. It is known by its fruits. On the Continent of Australia, on the other hand, most of the Independent Labour Parties are still known by their barrenness. It does not follow, therefore, that the Australian Labour leaders who stood aloof from other parliamentary sections were mistaken. It may be that they took the only course open to them. But the fact remains that in New Zealand the union of Liberal politicians and Labour voters and Members has resulted in the speedy passing of a number of reforms and the trial of a number of experiments beyond precedent, both in their number and nature.

Anything like a detailed history of the struggles which marked the carrying of these measures and the initiation of these administrative changes would be out of place here. Nor is it possible yet to sum up the results of the changes, none of which are five years old, and some of which have not yet been at work for as many months. A mere enumeration of them would take some space. Even the most succinct description of each and all would require the contents of a fairly thick pamphlet. Some were carried after long and hot debate; some after very little. Some were resolutely contested in the popular chamber, and were assented to

rather easily in the Upper House; others, especially some of the "Labour Bills," went through the Lower House without much difficulty, but failed again and again to run the gauntlet of the nominated chamber. The voting on some was on strict Party lines: in other instances leading Opposition Members like Captain Russell frankly accepted the principle of important measures. Some were closely and diligently canvassed in the newspapers and throughout the country; others, and these perhaps not the least important, were not examined outside Parliament, and have perhaps scarcely yet been studied even in their leading features, by a majority of the electors of the Colony. But roughly speaking, the chief reforms of the last five years, with which I propose to deal, may be divided into five sections. These relate to (1) Finance; (2) Land; (3) Constitutional Reform; (4) Labour; (5) Law Reform.

One of the first and—to a New Zealander's eyes—boldest strokes delivered by the Liberals was that against the Property Tax. This, the chief direct tax of the Colony, was an annual impost of 1d. in the £ on the capital value of every citizen's possessions, less his debts and an exemption of £500. Its friends claimed for this tax that it was no respecter of persons, but was simple, even-handed, and efficient. The last it certainly was, bringing as it did into the Treasury annually about as many thousands as there are days in the year. But inasmuch as different kinds of property are by no means equally profitable, and therefore the ability of owners to pay is by no means equal, the simplicity of the Property Tax was not found to be equity. The shopkeeper, taxed on unsaleable stock, the manufacturer paying on plant and buildings as much in good years as in bad, bethought them that under an Income Tax they would at any rate escape in bad seasons when their income might be less or nothing. Why, moreover, should the comfortable professional man or well-paid business manager pay nothing on their substantial and regular incomes? Why, too, should the working-farmer settling in the desert feel that for every pound's worth of improvements made by muscle and money he would have to account to the tax-collector at the next assessment? Nevertheless, the Conservative politicians rallied round the doomed tax. It was a good machine for raising indispensable revenue. Moreover, it did not select any class of property-owners or any description of property for special burdens. This suited the land-owners, who dreaded a Land Tax, for might not a Land Tax contain the germ of that nightmare of the larger colonial land-owner—the Single Tax? It suited also the wealthy, who feared graduated taxation, and the lawyers, doctors, agents, and managing directors, whose incomes it did not touch. So, when in

the autumn the rumour went round that the Ballance Ministry meant to abolish the Property Tax and bring forward Bills embodying a Progressive Land Tax, and Progressive Income Tax, the proposal was thought to represent the audacity of impudence or desperation. When the rumour proved true, it was predicted, first, that the Lower House would revolt; second, that the Upper House would stand firm; third, that the farmers throughout the length and breadth of the country would rise in wrath and terror, scared by the very name of Land Tax. None of these prophecies came true. Parliament passed the Bills, with the addition of a light Absentee Tax. As for the smaller farmers, they on the whole took the appeals of the Property Taxers with apathy, suspecting that under a tax on bare land values they would pay less than under a Property Tax which fell on land, improvements, and live stock as well. Since 1891, therefore, progression or graduation has been in New Zealand a cardinal principle of direct taxation. Income earners pay nothing up to £300 a year. Between £300 and £1,300, the tax is 6d. all round; over £1,300 it rises to a shilling. Joint-stock companies pay a shilling on all income. Land pays no Income Tax, and land-owners who have less than £500 worth of bare land value pay no Land Tax. This complete exemption of the very small land-owners forms an almost insuperable barrier to the progress of the single-taxers. On all land over £500 value 1d. in the £ is paid. The mortgaged farmer deducts the amount of his mortgage from the value of his farm, and pays only on the remainder. The mortgagee pays 1d. in the £ on the mortgage, which for this purpose is treated as land. An additional graduated tax begins on holdings worth £5,000. At that stage it is an eighth of a penny. By progressive steps it rises until, on estates assessed at £210,000, it is 2d. Thus under the graduated and simple Land Tax together, the holders of the largest areas pay 3d. in the £, whilst the peasant farmers whose acres are worth less than £500 pay nothing. The Graduated Tax brings in about £80,000 a year; the 1d. Land Tax about £200,000; the Income Tax about £70,000. The assessment and collection cause no difficulty. South Australia had a Land Tax before New Zealand; New South Wales has imposed one since. Both differ from ours.

Less successful has been an attempt to authorize by law local governing bodies to levy rates on bare land values. Three times the Bill has passed the Lower House, only to be rejected in the Upper.

The unexampled and, till 1895, continuous fall of prices in the European markets made it hard for colonial producers to make both ends meet. The cultivator found his land depreciated because, though he grew more than he did, he got less for it. As the volume of produce swelled, so the return for it sank as by some fatal com-

pensation. To pay the old rates of interest is for the mortgaged farmer therefore an impossibility. Various schemes for using the credit of the State to reduce current rates of interest have been before the public in more than one colony. The scheme of the New Zealand Government has been fortunate enough to pass into law, and is contained in the Advances to Settlers Act, 1894. Under it a State Board may lend Government money on leasehold and freehold security, but not on urban or suburban land, unless occupied for farming or market-gardening. The loan may amount to three-fifths of the value of the security when freehold, and one-half when leasehold. The rate of interest charged is 5 per cent., but the borrower pays at the rate of 6 per cent. in half-yearly instalments, the extra 1 per cent. being by way of gradual repayment of the principal. Mortgagees must in this way repay the principal in 73 half-yearly instalments, provided they care to remain indebted so long. If able to wipe off their debts sooner they can do so. The Act came into force in October, 1894. Machinery for carrying it out was quickly set up; applications for loans came in freely. Complaints, however, have been loudly made that the State Board, in its anxiety to avoid bad security, has shown an over-cautious spirit.

The battle of land reform in New Zealand has, for many years, been a conflict between the two forms of tenure. Shall the State go on parting with the freehold of its Crown lands, or shall these henceforth be leased in perpetuity in small holdings to be occupied by State tenants? If the latter, then shall the rents be periodically revised, say once in a generation? In 1891 an attempt was made to pass an Act greatly favouring perpetual leasing, with periodical revisions of rent. It was rejected in the Legislative Council. Next year the Bill was sent up without the periodical revisions, and the Council accepted it. To one school of land reformers, however, the abandonment of the readjustment was most unpalatable, and they mean to continue agitating for its restoration. For the present the perpetual lease on an unalterable rent is highly popular with selectors, and most of the Crown lands disposed of are taken up under this tenure. Young as New Zealand is, land monopoly is already thought to be a national evil. It was in great measure to combat it that the graduated Land Tax was made so heavy. Unwilling to wait for the slow operation of this solvent, the Liberals have, after four years' conflict with the Upper House, managed to pass a Lands for Settlement Bill, taking power to repurchase, for full and fair value, portions of private estates. Where this cannot be done by mutual arrangement, the right to take the land by compulsion is given, subject to certain safeguards. The chief object-lesson in the repurchase and cut-

ting-up for settlement of a large estate was given in a curious way. Two years ago the huge Cheviot property, 84,000 acres in extent, was thrown into the hands of the Government through a dispute over its assessment for Land Tax. The grassy slopes and fertile valleys of Cheviot lie on the sea-coast, easy of access. Yet in 1892 it was still a wilderness, tenanted by sheep cared for by a score or two of human beings. In less than two years later there were between 900 and 1,000 people there, and the land was divided amongst 218 settlers, owning stock worth £50,000. In the first year of occupation the improvements made were worth £23,000. The rent paid to the Government comes to 5 per cent. on the net cost of the estate, and on the outlay incurred in making 112 miles of road. Such was the encouraging result of the first great step in State resumption and use.

With one exception, the constitutional changes effected by the Liberals may be dismissed in a very few words. The Upper Chamber, or Legislative Council of New Zealand, is nominative and not elective, nor is there any fixed limit to its numbers. The result is that it is not so strong an obstacle to the popular will as are the Elective Councils of certain Australian Colonies. Indeed, Australian Democrats have constantly expressed to me their opinion, the outcome of hard experience, that if a second Chamber is wanted at all, it is better to have it nominated than elective. Prior to 1891, however, the nominations in New Zealand were for life. This was objected to for two reasons. A Councillor who at the age of sixty might be a vigorous and valuable adviser, might ten or twelve years later be but the shadow of his former self. Moreover, experience showed that Conservatism was apt to strengthen in the nominated legislator's mind progressively with advancing years. For this reason a seven years' tenure has been substituted for life tenure in the New Zealand Council. Then, again, in 1891 the Liberal majority in the Colony was weakly represented in the Council. Indeed, it could hardly be said to be represented there at all. In important divisions, Government measures passed by decisive majorities in the popular Chamber could only muster two, three, four, or five supporters in the Council. This not only meant that a Conservative majority could reject and amend as it pleased, but that measures were not even fairly debated in the Upper House. Only one side was heard. In 1892, the Ballance Ministry, therefore, asked the Governor to call a fresh batch of Councillors. His Excellency demurred to the number. As there was about to be a change of Governors, the matter stood over to be dealt with by his successor. The new Governor proved as unwilling as his predecessor. Ballance held that in this matter, as in others, the constitutional course was for the Governor to take

the advice of his Ministers. His Excellency thought otherwise. By mutual consent, the matter was referred to the Colonial Office, which, on being referred to, decided in favour of the Premier. The importance of this victory to any Democratic Party in a Colony where the Upper Chamber is nominated cannot be overestimated. Though this reference of the constitutional question to the Colonial Office was attacked not only by colonial Conservatives but by Sir George Grey, it was highly approved of both by the Lower House and the mass of the electors, and was regarded as one of Ballance's most important successes.

Another triumph he did not live to see achieved. His Electoral Bill, twice rejected by the Council, was only passed some months after his death. Under it, the one-man-one-vote was carried to its complete issue by the clause providing for "one man one registration"; that is to say, that no voter could register on more than one roll. Consequently, property-owners were not only cut down to one vote in one district at a general election, but were prevented from voting in another district at a by-election. The right to vote by letter was extended from seamen to shearers and commercial travellers. But of course by many degrees the greatest extension of the franchise was the inclusion of women in the ranks of voters. This was a curious example of a really remarkable constitutional change carried by a Parliament at the election of which the question had scarcely been discussed. Labour, Land, and Progressive Taxation had been so entirely the ascendant questions at the General Election of 1890, that it came quite as a surprise to most people to learn next year that the majority in the House of Representatives were in favour of women's suffrage. Even then it was not generally supposed that the question would be resolutely faced. Sir John Hall, however, a Conservative leader but a consistent advocate of the reform, brought it up in the House, and the Premier, an equally earnest supporter of women's rights, at once accepted it. After that, the only doubts as to its becoming law sprang from the attitude of the Legislative Council, and from the scruples of certain persons who thought that so vast a change should be definitely submitted to the constituencies. Feeling on the question was both strengthened and exacerbated by its enthusiastic adoption by the Prohibition lodges, some of whose members at the same time demanded that the Government should pass the measure, and emphatically assured everyone that its passing would forthwith bring about the Government's downfall and damnation. There is no doubt that this latter opinion was widely entertained by the Ministry's opponents, and that to this was due, to some extent at least, the escape of the Bill in the Legislative Council. It was passed on the eve of the General Elections by the narrowest

possible majority. The rush of the women on to the electoral rolls; the interest taken by them in the election contests; the peaceable and orderly character of these contests; and the unprecedented Liberal majority returned by the polls, are all matters of New Zealand history. So is the fact that most of the women voters showed no disposition to follow the clergy in assailing the national system of free, secular, and compulsory education. That they clearly pronounced in very many cases for temperance reform is true. That they were by no means unanimous in favour of total prohibition is true also. On the whole, the most marked feature of their first use of the franchise was their tendency to agree with, rather than diverge from, their male *entourage*. Families, as a rule, voted together harmoniously, and the women members of any class or section were swayed by the interests, prejudices, or ideals of that section to just about the same extent as males thereof. Thus, the friends and relatives of merchants and professional men, large land-owners, or employers of labour usually voted Conservative; factory girls, domestic servants, wives of labourers, miners, artisans, or small farmers, voted Liberal. Schoolmistresses "went solid" for secular education, just as unanimously as did school-masters. Perhaps it is too soon to pronounce yet with anything like confidence on the results of this great experiment. We have yet to see whether female interest in politics will intensify or fade, and whether this general friendly concord of women voters with their menkind will continue or will be interrupted. At present, perhaps, the point most worth laying stress on is, that observers outside the Colony must be warned not to suppose that New Zealand women are in the least degree as a race either "wild" or "new," or belong to any shrieking sisterhood. Though we have learnt from the pages of an illustrated London newspaper that there are feminine wearers of knickerbockers in New Zealand, one may pass a lifetime there without catching a glimpse of them. Marriage, one is thankful to say, is fashionable with us, and divorce is not. Daughters are, as a rule, too comfortable in their father's homes to be prematurely worried into matrimony. Most New Zealand women are engaged in domestic duties. Those of those who go out into the world do so to work steadily and unassumingly as school-teachers, factory hands, or household servants. As school-teachers they are usually efficient, as domestic servants civil and hard-working, as factory hands, neat, industrious, and moral. It is true that they are, without exception, educated to the extent of having had at least good primary school teaching, but this, so far from making them inclined to favour frantic or immoral social experiments, will have, let us hope, just the opposite effect. On the

whole, there seems good reason to expect that the more our women learn about politics, the better it will be for the politics.

There are some who connect the appearance of women in the political arena with the recent passing of an Infants' Life Protection Act, the raising of the age of consent to 15, the appointment of female inspectors to lunatic asylums, factories, and other institutions, with improvements in the laws dealing with Adoption of Children and Industrial Schools, and with a severe law against the keepers of houses of ill-fame. Last, but by no means least, the influence of woman is believed to be evident in highly important measures dealing with the liquor laws and with a Prohibitionist movement which is a very prominent feature of New Zealand public life. Of these last measures it may briefly be said that they have pushed the principle of local option very far indeed, but not to what the most advanced prohibitionists declare is its logical extreme.

The Labour Laws of New Zealand have been published in a cheap and handy volume for general information. Therein are comprised twenty Acts of Parliament, directly regulating the relations of employers and employed. Of these Acts, no less than fifteen have been passed during the four years dealt with in this article. The first and easiest to pass was an Act amending the Law of Employers' Liability. Under it, and a further amending Act passed in the following session, "contracting out" is specifically prohibited. The doctrine of common employment, though not abolished, is limited. The amount recoverable by the family of an injured workman may not exceed £500—a restriction eloquently, but unavailingly, denounced by Sir George Grey, who complained that a coloured slave could not be purchased for so little. A workman, on becoming aware of a dangerous defect in his employer's machinery, must give notice to the employer or the foreman, but if, after doing so, the workman sticks to his post, he does not, in the event of injury, forfeit his or his family's right to compensation. The owner of rotten plant or defective machinery cannot escape from liability by subletting to some contractor who may be a man of straw. There has been next to no litigation during the four years and a half that this Act has been in force, but employers in many instances effect insurance to protect themselves against its provisions, and complaints are made that in some few cases there are endeavours to induce or compel workmen to contribute to the insurance premiums. The excuse given for this is that the accident insurance policies cover the workmen against injuries outside the Act, as well as inside it.

The Truck Act, passed in 1891, was opposed as being designed

to meet evils which did not exist in New Zealand. As a matter of fact, truck of rather an obnoxious kind was by no means unknown in the Colony. It will easily be understood that in a country containing large districts thinly peopled, it might often happen that gangs of workmen assembled to carry out some undertaking in a bush district, far from a market town, might find themselves in the matter of supplies entirely at the mercy of their employer, or their employer's contractor. A law, therefore, to enable all workmen to demand payment of wages in full in current coin, and forbidding an employer to cash orders given by workmen on a storekeeper, or to recover for stores supplied himself, or to profit by partnership with a storekeeper, was really needed. A Truck Act was therefore passed with certain reasonable provisoes, and in practice it has caused neither injustice nor inconvenience.

The Factories Act, 1894, consolidates and improves upon no less than four previous measures, two of which had been passed by the Ballance Government. As compared with European and American laws, it may fairly claim to be advanced and minute. Under it all workshops, where two or more persons are occupied, must register, pay an annual fee, and submit to inspection at any hour of the night or day. A master and servant working together count as two hands. Inspectors have absolute power to demand such cubic space, ventilation, and sanitary arrangements generally as they may consider needful to preserve life and health. The factory age is fourteen; and, after a long struggle, the Upper House was induced to pass a clause enforcing an education test before any child under fifteen should be allowed to go to factory work. This is but logical in a country wherein primary education is not only free, but compulsory. Women and children under eighteen may not work before 7.45 a.m. or after 6 p.m., nor more than forty-eight hours per week. Whether time-workers or piece-workers, they are equally entitled to the half-holiday after 1 p.m. on Saturday. In the case of time-workers, this half-holiday is to be granted without deduction of wages. The rates of pay and hours of work in factories have to be publicly notified and returned to the inspectors. Overtime may be permitted by inspectors on twenty-eight days a year, but overtime pay must be not less than 6d. an hour extra. The factory-owners who send work out have to make complete returns thereof. All clothing made outside factories for sale is to be ticketed "tenement made," and any person removing the ticket before sale may be fined. A peculiar feature in the Act relates to the accommodation provided on sheep stations for the nomadic bands of shearers who traverse this and other colonies, going from wool-shed to wool-shed during the shearing season. The huts in which these

men live are placed under the factory inspectors, who have power to call upon station owners to make them decent and comfortable. The Act has clauses insisting on the provision of a separate dining-room for women workers, of fire-escapes, and protection against dangerous machinery. Girls under fifteen may not work as type-setters; young persons of both sexes are shut out of certain dangerous trades; women may not work in factories within a month after their confinement. Such are the leading features of the Factories Act. To the credit of the larger New Zealand factory owners let it be said that, drastic as this statute is, and strictly as it is enforced, comparatively few alterations have had to be made in many of the better factories to comply with its provisions.

The Conspiracy Law Amendment Act, passed in 1894, contained but three short clauses and a schedule. It did not a little, however. In a few words it swept from the Statute-Book and the common law of the Colony all laws and doctrine specially relating to conspiracy among members of trades unions and labour combinations. In future members of these bodies in New Zealand will only be amenable to such conspiracy laws as affect all citizens. It must be remembered that until last year the position of trade unionists in New Zealand was much less enviable than that of their brethren in England. The English Act of 1875, repealing the old Conspiracy Law and modifying the common law doctrine relating to Labour conspiracy, had never been enacted in New Zealand. Therefore, until a few months ago, the famous intimidation law (6 George IV.) was still in force here, and the common law doctrine relating to Labour conspiracy had not been in any way softened. Within the last few years, Australian unionists had found the old English law unexpectedly revived for the purpose of putting them into gaol, and New Zealand Labour leaders were by no means anxious to have the same measure meted out to them. Henceforth this will be impossible. A saving clause in the Act provides that workmen employed in gas, electric-light, or water works must give a fortnight's notice before quitting their employment, under penalty of fine or imprisonment. The Labour Members readily assented to the justice of this.

The Contractors and Workmen's Lien Act of 1892 is to be read with the Workmen's Wages Act of 1893. These two measures were framed to protect both sub-contractors, and wage-earners working for contractors. In New Zealand, as elsewhere, undercutting causes contracts to be taken at prices that will not pay. Nor are contractors honester or less liable to the accidents of trade than other men. Over and over again, therefore, the spectacle has been seen of workmen coming to the employer of a contractor and complaining that their work has been done and

that their contractor is either insolvent or has vanished. Until three years ago the employer, being under no liability to them, had simply to inform them that he had paid his contractor in full: that closed the discussion. Since the passing of the two Acts in question, however, a man who lets a contract will do well to assure himself of the stability and *bonâ fides* of his contractor, before making any considerable payments to him. Workmen who find their wages in arrears may at once serve on the person who has let the contract a notice by which unpaid contract monies are attached. Wages are made a first charge on the contract money, nor may the latter be paid in advance; the contractor must have earned progress payments before he gets them. In the case of building contracts, or contracts relating to the making of chattels, workmen and sub-contractors have the right to register liens. All wages have to be paid weekly, in default of a written agreement to the contrary. Finally, one-fourth of the contract monies have to be retained by the contractee for one month after the completion of the contract, unless he has thoroughly assured himself that all wages have been paid by the contractor. The testimony of practical men avers that the effect of the Acts has been excellent. Indeed, whatever difference of opinion there may be about legislation which attempts to regulate the price and methods of labour, there can surely be none about a law, the only effect of which can be to ensure for labourers the just payment of stipulated wages honestly earned. So at any rate thought the New Zealand Parliament.

Shop assistants in the larger New Zealand towns are not only numerous, but well organized. They are heard of at election time, and, in their efforts to bring about early closing, have plenty of sympathizers in all classes. So far as evening closing goes, however, they are as yet a long way off success. The smaller shopkeepers, who are, of course, many in number, believe they cannot exist without evening trade. Though the Early Closing Bill passed the House of Representatives in 1891, it was so decisively rejected in the Council, and provoked so much opposition in the country, that the Government was thereafter satisfied to try for a weekly half-holiday, coupled with shorter hours of daily labour for women and children in shops, and the provision of seats for shop-girls. After some five years of fighting, a Bill providing for these things has passed into law, and the weekly half-holiday has become a recognized institution. The compulsory closing of shops takes place only in cities, boroughs, and town districts, and the choice of the day for the half-holiday is left to the local council. Small shopkeepers not employing labour may choose every year their own afternoon for closing. The first choice of the local council was a little curious. Out of seventy-seven urban districts,

two chose Tuesday, forty Wednesday, twenty-six Thursday, two Friday, and only seven Saturday. Of these seven, two very soon petitioned Government to allow them to alter their day. Though a strong feeling prevails that Saturday should be the universal and compulsory day for shop-closing, it is doubtful whether this will be made law. It may be worth noting that the fighting against the shop-closing Bills was bitterer and longer than that against much more important measures; more stubborn, too, was the resistance in the Legislative Council. When, however, the Councillors did pass the Bill, they added, with light hearts, a clause compelling merchants' offices and places of business to close at 5 p.m. on ordinary days, as well as at 1 p.m. on Saturdays.

Purely experimental is the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. It is an endeavour to substitute resort to conciliation boards, in case of labour disputes, for the old-fashioned trial by industrial combat. Moreover, where conciliation fails, a central arbitration tribunal is provided, whose decisions, if the court so wills, may have the force of law, and may have a money penalty attached to be inflicted should they be disregarded. Under the Act, both conciliation boards and the final court have absolute powers to enquire into disputes, summon witnesses, secure the production of papers, and view premises. The conciliation boards, however, are only to make recommendations. The sole body having greater power than this will be the arbitration court. In dealing with this very difficult problem, the framers of the Act based their hopes of success upon confining its operation to organized Labour Unions. Unorganized labourers are not recognized, on the ground that it is not labour disputes with them which have in the past reached such dimensions as to call for State interference. Trades Unions, registering under the Act, become corporate bodies, with power to sue and to be sued, to hold land, and to recover dues from their members. In the event of arbitration, not only is the Union liable for costs, but its members are individually liable to the extent of £10. Strikes and lock-outs are forbidden during arbitration. English trades unionists, one hears, would look upon such a law as this with doubt. The Labour Unions of New Zealand accepted it readily, and supported those who worked for three years to get it passed. They registered under it without hesitation.

A Bill passed last year provides for the inspection of servants' registry offices and the regulation of the fees charged therein. These fees are fixed by the Labour Department and gazetted. Office-keepers to be of good character; have to register and take out a license; have to keep books and records which are inspected. They are not allowed to keep lodging-houses for servants or have any interest in such houses.

Yet another Labour Bill is meant to improve the lot of Jack afloat, and not only to protect Jack, but cargo and passengers too. The Shipping and Seamen's Act, 1894, mitigated the old-fashioned severity of punishments for refusal of duty, assaults on the high seas, and other nautical offences. The forecastle and the accommodation thereof become subject to the *fiat* of the Government inspector, as are factories on shore. Regular payment of wages is stipulated for, overcrowding amongst passengers is forbidden. Complete powers are given to the marine authorities to enforce not only a full equipment of life-boats and life-saving appliances, but boat-drill. Deck loading is restricted; and the Plimsoll mark insisted on. But the portion of the Act which gave rise to the intensest opposition was the proviso by which all sailing vessels are obliged to carry a certain complement of able seamen and ordinary seamen, according to their tonnage, while steamers must carry a given number of able seamen, ordinary seamen, firemen, trimmers, and greasers, according to their horse-power. Parliament was warned that the passing of this Act would paralyze the trade of the Colony, but passed it was—with certain not unreasonable amendments—and trade goes on precisely as before.

In 1891, moreover, the colonial laws relating to mining generally, and to coal-mining especially, were consolidated and amended. An interesting feature in the New Zealand Coal Mines' Act is the provision by which mine-owners have to contribute to a fund for the relief of miners or the families of miners in cases where men are injured or killed at work. Every quarter, the owners have to pay a halfpenny per ton on the output, if it be bituminous coal, and a farthing a ton, if it be lignite. Payment is made into the nearest Post Office Savings Bank and goes to the credit of an account called "The Coal Miners' Relief Fund."

Such are some of the salient points of the Labour Bills passed since Labour became a potent and patent factor in parliamentary life. As may be imagined, they have not gone on to the Statute-Book without hard fighting. They are sometimes said to have caused much irritation and alarm. Some irritation, no doubt, they have brought about, but then it would be difficult to name a social reform which does not irritate someone. But as for alarm, it can truly be said that some of the rousing newspaper articles directed against these Bills have caused more alarm in the breasts of their readers in a week than the Bills themselves have created in a year.

The administration of these Labour Bills is part of the work of the Department of Labour, one of the newest and cheapest of the branches of our public service. It costs but £4,000 or £5,000 a year, much of which is recouped by factory fees and other receipts. Its salaried officers are few and not highly paid.

Much of its work is done as an extra duty by civil servants employed and paid by other Departments. In a humble and imperfect way, the New Zealand Labour Department imitates that of America in its effort to collect statistics dealing with the condition of work-people. Its officers inspect shops and factories, and see that the Truck Act is not disregarded. All the interests and legitimate grievances of the working-classes are considered fair matter for their attention. Their most troublesome duty is that of keeping the number of unemployed down to a minimum. Of recent years, the unemployed have become as chronic an institution in Australasia as in older countries. You cannot see a fall in five years of about 25 per cent. in the price of Australasian wool; you cannot see the market price of meat, tallow, butter, cheese, and kauri-gum all declining simultaneously without seeing employment growing sadly scanty. All that can be claimed is, that in the face of the national disasters—for they are no less—the New Zealand Labour Department has done good work, and has done it cheaply. In four years it found employment for 13,000 men, with women and children dependent upon them to more than twice their number.

Of course, State ownership of the railways helps the Labour Officers very much in circulating labour. The Department's labour journal, published monthly, not only gives figures relating to trade and labour, and endeavours to be a collection of labour news from all the world over, but contains articles on industrial and social questions cut from the chief European and American papers and magazines. Though the articles are not all on one side, their reprint in the Government publication is angrily objected to. The Department is accused of disseminating socialistic teaching at the expense of the taxpayer. At present, however, the Labour journal goes on.

Workmen engaged through the Department of Labour to do Government work are usually employed on what is called the Co-operative Contract System. Road-work, drainage, fencing, supplying railway sleepers, masonry work, building, and painting are now no longer let to contractors by the officials of the Lands and Public Works Departments. Instead of that, the Government buys the material direct; the work to be done is divided into sections by engineers and overseers, and fair schedule rates of payment are fixed. The endeavour is to enable first-rate workmen to earn the highest current wages; inferior men have to be content with somewhat less. The men applying for the work divide themselves into small gangs of from four to eight in number. In effect, they are groups of piece-workers, whose relations with each other are those of partners. The groups elect one or two trustees apiece, with whom the Departments deal. The tendency is for first-class

men to join together, and for second-class men to similarly arrange themselves. Sometimes, of course, the Government officers make mistakes, and men will earn extravagantly high wages, or get very poor returns. But as the sections are small, this does not last for long, and the balance is redressed. After some years' experience, it seems fairly proved that the average of earnings is not extravagant, and that the taxpayer loses nothing by the arrangement as compared with the old contract system, while the change is highly popular with workmen throughout the Colony. Though under the system the men employed are at the same time piece-workers, contractors, and partners, there is no driving, no sweating, and less quarrelling than might fairly have been expected.

When one remembers the somewhat lurid descriptions that have been circulated of Colonial Labour Parties as anarchical foes of law and order, it is a little amusing to recall that it was the last Parliament of New Zealand which codified the criminal law of the Colony. The whole of this great branch of law is now contained in two statutes, the one dealing with summary jurisdiction, the other with graver offences. The latter is based upon the labours of Fitzjames Stephen, with such adaptations as the Colonial statutes and public opinion made needful.

This article is neither an apology nor a trumpet-blast. It is not written either to justify the measures passed by the New Zealand Liberal-Labour fusion, or to forecast what their results may be. Many as they are, none of them profess to go to the root of the relations of labour with capital, of currency with wealth, or of exchange with production. But then, those who carried these reforms did not aim at rapid revolution, but at gradual change. Men who take things as they are, and try in a practical way to improve them, or palliate the worst sufferings caused by them, are always accused at one and the same time of doing too much and of doing too little. They are attacked on the one side for venturing on changes at all, on the other for not having revolutionized human nature and social life in the twinkling of an eye. But as there are always in every country others ready to make similar attempts, or at any rate to study such efforts, even when made in small and distant lands, a plain statement of some of the work done in New Zealand since 1891 may be of interest to at least a few English readers. The foregoing pages recapitulate the work's more novel features, and explain the nature of the alliance which enabled so much to be done. If, too, this article does something to show that the aims of the last two New Zealand Parliaments have not been so vague, revolutionary, and anarchical as has sometimes been suggested, it may have a value of another kind.

W. P. Reeves.

A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S MARRIAGE.

Mr. Anthony Santal, a gentleman-commoner of Christchurch, Oxford, was a person of some distinction, being young, handsome, and possessed of large landed property at Minsteracres, in Derbyshire. He had been deprived in early youth both of father and mother, but had attained his majority in the year 1816, and entered on the enjoyment of his estate.

It was on the last day of the summer term in that year that Mr. Santal, whilst walking in the High Street at Oxford, noticed in the window of a jeweller's shop a gold signet ring exposed for sale. Its solid and antique construction arrested his attention, and he entered the shop and enquired its history and price. The jeweller stated that the ring had been dug up at some village in the north of Oxfordshire, and had been brought to him by a labourer. It bore an incised coat of arms of which Santal was shown an impression; and the man added that a competent antiquarian had blazoned it heraldically as *Barry nebuly of six argent and sable*, showing that the wavy bands by which the shield was crossed were alternately silver and black. He had not been able to ascertain to what family these arms belonged, but there was cut on the inside of the ring a motto, *Beando Beatior*, which was, he gathered, to be translated *In blessing thou shalt be blessed*. Santal's fancy was attracted by the ring, and as the price asked by the jeweller was by no means excessive, he bought it forthwith, and with a youthful fancy, put it on the third finger of his left hand, which it fitted tolerably well.

He had determined to make the return journey from the University to his home on horseback this summer instead of by stage-coach as was his custom; and as the distance from Oxford to Minsteracres was long enough to occupy several days, he was to take with him a riding servant to carry his mails. He left Oxford on the evening of the 22nd of June, 1816, and passed the first night at Woodstock. Late on the afternoon of the 23rd he found himself on the confines of Warwickshire; and desiring to see Latfontine Abbey, which lay a little off the main road, he struck across the meadows to the ruins, but sent his servant forward to

the village of Winterbourne, where an inn called the Bejant Arms had been recommended to him as a good resting-place for the night.

The remains were sufficiently picturesque to induce him to make a pencil sketch of them, for he was more than a tolerable draughtsman. His picture so engrossed his thoughts that he paid little attention to the extreme sultriness of the air, or to the continual mutterings of distant thunder, until a heavy raindrop fell on his paper, and he looked up to see the sky behind him black with ominous thunder-clouds.

The storm broke with unusual fury, and though he found shelter in the ruins both for himself and for his horse, two hours elapsed before he ventured to resume his journey. It was now past ten o'clock and the thunder and rain had ceased, but the rising wind swept masses of cloud across the sky, and the night was growing exceedingly dark. Santal was anxious to lose no time in pushing on to Winterbourne, and took what he thought was a short cut back to the high road, but after a quarter of an hour's riding found himself in miry tillage fields, and perceived that he had lost his path. As he picked his way carefully through the darkness, he met with a belated peasant who at first seemed alarmed and endeavoured to pass on, but on Santal speaking to him, excused himself by saying that it was St. John's Eve when spirits walked, and that he had not known what to think of a horseman met in so lonely and unusual a spot. He told Santal that Winterbourne was still eight miles distant, but led him to a lane which would bring him direct to his destination. Santal gave him money and set out at a brisk trot, but he heard the man shouting after him directions to be very careful in fording a brook which crossed the road a mile from Winterbourne.

After riding for three-quarters of an hour he saw a wide sheet of water gleaming before him, and recognized in it the ford of which the man had spoken. But on coming to the brink he hesitated to cross, for the heavy rain had evidently swollen the stream, so that it had overflowed its banks and was now crossing the road in a raging torrent. The breadth of the water was at least twenty yards; and though white posts had been placed on either side to mark the ford, they were in the middle almost entirely covered.

Glancing round in some doubt, he saw on the right hand, among trees, the lights of a house; and turning his horse towards it determined to enquire there as to the depth of the water, and if he found it impassable to ask shelter for the night. The lights were at no great distance, and the undulating turf, studded at intervals with large trees, convinced him that he was riding through a park;

though he had noticed neither paling nor any other enclosure. The sky had grown a little lighter, and he was soon able to make out against it the huddled outline of a large house; but although he was certainly approaching the front of it, he could not distinguish any road or drive. In a moment more he pulled up before a projecting porch with an arched doorway in the centre of the house, and dismounting, knocked on the heavy oak door with the butt of his riding-whip.

His attention was now engrossed by the behaviour of his horse. Ever since entering the park the animal had showed signs of terror and excitement, frequently stopping short, starting aside, and making obstinate endeavours to turn back. The butt of Santal's whip had scarcely sounded on the door when it swung slowly open as if his coming had been awaited; but at the same moment his horse reared with such suddenness as to snap the rein, and, breaking loose, rushed madly away into the darkness. In wheeling round the animal struck its master with its flank, and flung him violently to the ground.

For a moment Santal was stunned, but almost immediately gathering himself up he saw standing before him in the porch a sober-faced man, dressed entirely in black, and having the appearance of a lackey. Santal was about to ask to whom the house belonged, and to beg that a servant might be sent to look for the runaway horse, when the man, without speaking, turned back into the house and beckoned to him to follow.

On this invitation Santal entered, and noticed that the hall was bare except for a few oak settles, and a quantity of pikes, helmets, and armour which hung on the walls. The floor was strewn with sprigs of evergreen shrubs, and there was a smell in the air of resin and spices with which the trodden leaves mingled a peculiar odour. Following his conductor, he passed through the corridor and entered a lofty banqueting hall or dining-room, with a large oriel window opening on to a dais at the far end. Here were oaken tables on which were placed trenchers of various kinds of cakes and fancy bread, cold meats, tankards of liquor, and drinking-cups. The room was entirely empty, though the tables showed that the company had but recently left it; and Santal was surprised to see that the panelled walls were festooned at intervals with bunches of black crape. Again he essayed to question his guide; but the man left the room, saying that he would fetch his mistress.

A few moments elapsed, and then through a side door, which opened on to the dais, there entered a very beautiful girl of 18 or 19 years. She was tall in stature, and her pale face and red eyes showed signs of recent weeping. Her dress was of pure white silk; she wore a lace stomacher, and a mass of flaxen hair was confined

in a net of heavy gold thread. She walked straight towards Santal, and said, speaking in a low but very clear and musical voice, "You are welcome, sir, to such hospitality as our poor house can offer. You come at a sorry time, and it is but a sorry greeting that we can give you. I pray you be seated and eat, though these are but funeral meats; for we are to-morrow to lay my poor father's body in the grave, and are even now engaged in devotions for the repose of his soul."

With that she motioned him to be seated, and sinking herself on a bench, hid her face in her hands and wept bitterly. Santal was deeply moved, and his sorrow and sympathy overcoming his astonishment, he tried every means to comfort and console her, but she remained for some minutes immersed in grief. After a time she collected herself sufficiently to lift her head and to enter into conversation with him. She took from him his heavy riding cloak, hanging it over the back of an oaken settle; and then pressed him to eat and drink. "For the hospitality of my father's house," she said, "hath never failed, nor shall it now, though you be the last to whom it shall ever be offered." She took from the table a curiously wrought bottle, and, filling a silver beaker with wine of a deep golden colour, said, "Drink this; it is old Pascaret and came from Laffontine Abbey; it will save you from chills, and from our sorrow palling on you." Santal thought of Laffontine Abbey as he had seen it a mass of ruins that very evening, and it seemed to him that the wine must indeed be strangely old.

Bowing to his hostess, he drank deep; the generous liquor warmed him; he felt a strange strength and gladness move through every limb, and the incidents and fatigues of the evening became scarce remembered things. While he humoured her by partaking of the food she set before him, he learnt so much of her history, without unduly pressing her or appearing to ask questions, as informed him that she was Cecilia Bejant, only child to the late Roger Bejant, who had died two days before.

She filled his silver cup again, and when he drained the second draught he saw how wonderfully beautiful she was. The great room was but faintly lighted; there were only a few candles of wax placed here and there, but one stood on the table opposite her, and the light fell full on her face. Her hair was of the lightest flaxen, her eyes were liquid blue, and her countenance wore an air of unmistakable distinction.

Santal drained a third draught and felt a new fire coursing in his veins, and knew that it was love. She spoke again in her low, clear voice; and now she no longer kept her head bowed but raised it, looking at him as she spoke, and their glance meeting, he gazed into the depth of her eyes, and read there answering love.

She told him that to the bitterness of her father's death was added the bitterness of leaving her home, and going as an outcast, she knew not whither. All the estates passed by entail to a distant cousin, who would have her marry him, and whom she hated: and then she hid her face again and sobbed as though her heart would break.

They were alone in the shadowy hall, and Santal felt an infinite pity steal over him. He moved nearer and sat by her side. "Lady," he said, and his own voice sounded strange to him and like another's, "do not grieve as one without hope. I, Anthony Santal, will give you a home: I will be your protector, and you shall be my wife." He put his arm about her and drew her to him. She did not resist, but rather moved towards him, and a great tenderness mastered him as he felt her young form pressed against him. She hid her face on his breast, and he bent down and kissed very reverently the flaxen hair, and then raised the tear-stained face to his and kissed her on the lips. So she sat, locked in his arms; it seemed a minute; and yet it seemed a lifetime, for the event of a lifetime had happened to him, and his old life stood far away.

They spoke little, and no one entered to interrupt their sweet fancies; but at length the tinkling of a bell, heard faintly from within, roused their attention. The girl rose, and taking her lover by the hand, led him through several passages to another part of the house. They reached at length a Gothic archway, and passing through, Santal found himself in a chapel. Here was a strong scent of incense, and the air was heavy with the fume. A few candles shining through the haze gave a look of unreality to the objects on which their light fell, and left the greater part of the building wrapped in vague gloom. In the aisle there was placed a coffin, supported on tressels, and covered with a rich pall. There were a number of persons present, all kneeling, motionless, and apparently devoutly following the service which a priest was conducting at the altar, his low monotonous chanting seeming only to intensify the stillness. The girl loosed her hand from Santal's, and, motioning him to one of the benches towards the west, on which only one man was sitting, she passed on up the aisle, and knelt on a fald-stool which had evidently been placed for her near the head of the coffin. Santal copied the attitude of his neighbours, and fell on his knees: indeed, the strange solemnity of the scene was well calculated to inspire feelings of sorrow and reverence to the exclusion of all ordinary thoughts and everyday concerns. The low chanting of the priest was only varied at long intervals by his reciting in a louder voice the versicle "*Subvenite Sancti Dei, occurrite Angeli Dei,*" to which the congregation responded in a deep murmur, "*Suscipientes animam ejus.*"

Santal's attention was at first engrossed in the service that was going forward, and in the effort to distinguish the words of the Latin prayers that the priest was reciting. But after a while the monotony wearied him, his thoughts wandered, and he began to observe his surroundings more accurately. He perceived that the forty or fifty persons present were all men, and all habited in black gowns, and that the priest kneeling at the altar wore a black cope with a Calvary embroidered in scarlet on the back. The altar itself was draped with purple, having on it four lighted candles and a silver crucifix in the centre. Beside the coffin also were lighted wax candles, of a taper shape, three on either side, in tall silver candlesticks ; and by the candles stood mutes gowned in black, whose heads were bowed in an attitude of grief, and entirely veiled in hoods or cowls. The coffin itself was placed with the feet to the east, and covered with a black pall, bordered with silver, and embroidered with a coat of arms, many times repeated. Except for the candles on the altar and those which stood by the coffin, there was no light in the chapel, but he could see that there was over the altar a large window of the Gothic style, divided by stone mullions ; and that the roof was lofty with much ornate timber-work, although the details were lost in obscurity. High up on the walls were suspended helmets, frayed banners, and funeral hatchments with elaborate coats of arms, which the faint light did not permit of his distinguishing.

And still the monotonous chanting went on, and at intervals rose the versicle, "*Subvenite Sancti Dei, occurrite Angeli Domini,*" and the motionless, kneeling mourners responded, "*Suscipientes animam ejus.*"

The figure of Santal's betrothed, for so he now regarded her, kneeling with her flaxen hair and white dress against the pall of the coffin, caught the light from the candles and shone out curiously from the surrounding gloom. She reminded him of kneeling statues of alabaster that he had seen on ancient funeral monuments ; her head was bent, and she was absorbed in her devotions. Then his eye wandered from the bowed form to the pall, and he saw that the coat of arms embroidered on it was a plain shield, crossed by wavy bars of silver and black alternately. The tall silver candlesticks which stood at the side of the coffin flung a light sufficiently strong to enable him to decipher the motto repeated in Gothic characters under each shield, and he found it to be "BEANDO BEATIOR." This discovery at once arrested his thoughts and brought them back for a moment to the realm of ordinary life, for he remembered that the gold ring that he had bought at Oxford was charged with similar arms and motto. He took it off his finger and examined to make sure. There were the same wavy bars

across the shield, and on the inside the same inscription, "BEANDO BEATIOR," which he now recognized as a motto punning on the name of Bejant, in the manner of heraldic equivoque. He had no doubt that the ring had in the past belonged to some member of that family; but he had scarcely time to reflect on the curious coincidence which had led to his being present at the obsequies of a Mr. Bejant so soon after its purchase, when the priest brought his prayers to a close, rose from his knees, and turned round to face the congregation. He took a book from the altar and began to read from it a Latin exhortation. As he read Santal had an opportunity of studying his face, and was much struck by the beauty of his features and by the sanctity of his expression. He was a tall man in the prime of life, with a clean-shaven face, and black hair which showed no signs of a tonsure. His complexion was very pale, and his thin and emaciated countenance gave indication of his having lived a life of abstinence and self-denial.

So much impressed was Santal by the dignity of his appearance that he turned to the man sitting by him on the bench, and asked him in a whisper the priest's name. His neighbour was a little man, past middle age, but wearing a wig of flowing hair. His eyes were bright, and twinkled beneath bushy and overhanging eyebrows. He turned towards Santal, and looked at him with a glance in which surprise was mingled perhaps with suspicion: "I am sorry," he said, speaking in a constrained and deprecatory tone, "I am sorry that I too am a stranger here. You see in me but a poor surgeon-barber who am come over from Banbury to balm Master Bejant, and will return thither as soon as I have made the affidavit that the body is properly buried." There was something in his tone that made Santal say, "You need not fear that I ask from any unworthy motive, being betrothed as I am to this dead gentleman's daughter."

The little man's manner changed, and he said, becoming at once much more kindly and communicative, "I did not know, sir, that you were one of us, or that you had the honour to be betrothed to Mistress Cecilia Bejant. The priest whose name you ask is the saintly Theodore Brady of the Society of Jesus, and Vicar-Apostolic of His Holiness the Pope. He is come here from Mr. Fermor's of Arlaston, where he has been lying in concealment these three months past. You will pardon my former caution, but it is best to be careful in giving to strangers the name of a man who may be hailed to the gallows for what he is doing this night." Santal allowed his surprise at what he had heard to appear on his face, and the little man added, "If you are indeed betrothed to his daughter you will know that Master Bejant was a recusant, and that though he must perforce be buried to-morrow in the parish

graveyard, he died in the bosom of our Blessed Mother, the True Church, and fortified with all her holy rites. Were I in your place," he went on, "and affianced to so fair a lady, I would not let the sun go down again before I married her, for we live in troublous times. None can tell what may befall, and there is one standing by her side even now that is like to have her by foul means, if he cannot have her by fair." As he spoke he looked across the aisle, and Santal, following his glance, saw a young man standing close beside Cecilia, and having his eyes continually fixed upon her. He was a coarse and ill-favoured fellow enough, and Santal knew him at once for that cousin of whom Cecilia had already spoken.

A sudden flush of anger came over him, and while they talked the kneeling girl turned her head and looked at him. He thought she half-motioned to him to join her, and with a new resolution he rose and walked up the nave towards her. She moved a little and made room for him at the fald-stool, and he knelt beside her. None of the black-robed mourners took any notice, appearing either not to perceive or to be indifferent to his presence. The priest had fallen again to monotonous prayer, only raising his voice at intervals to recite the versicle, "*Subvenite Sancti Dei, occurrite Angeli Domini*," and Santal found himself repeating with the rest the antiphon—"*Suscipientes animam ejus.*" Among the murmur of deep voices he could distinguish the thin tones of the little surgeon-barber. He held Cecilia's hand in his and felt it deathly cold, and as their heads bent together over the desk he whispered to her, telling her that he was resolved to ask the priest to marry them that night, and asking her consent. She did not answer, and he urged upon her the expediency of such a step; saying that he dared not leave her even for a day unprotected, and repeating the phrase of the surgeon-barber, that "they were living in troublous times," though he did not know the meaning of it. She said nothing, nor did she look at him, but he felt the grasp of her hand tighten, and knew that he had her consent.

The most solemn part of the service was approaching; an altar ministrant rung a silver bell, and the black-robed worshippers sunk their heads still lower at the elevation of the Host. Strangely moved, Santal bowed his head with the rest, and for a moment in the wave of devotion which swept over the whole congregation all sense of present things was lost.

When he looked up again he saw that daybreak was near at hand, for the great window over the altar was growing light with a pale radiance. The flame of the candles burnt fainter and yellower, and the figure of the priest and the crucifix before which he stood grew darker against the brightening sky. Though the windows were shut, Santal fancied he could feel the cooler breath

of morning mingling with the heavy incense-laden air of the chapel, and there was a little sprig of ivy projecting across a side pane, which by its constant tapping against the glass showed that a breeze was moving outside.

The mass was ended, the priest slowly turned and raised his hand in the parting benediction, yet none of the congregation stirred; it seemed as though they were expecting something more to come.

Santal rose from his knees, and taking Cecilia by the hand led her up the aisle to the altar-steps. "Father," he said, addressing the priest, "this noble lady and I desire that you will join us in marriage before these honourable gentlemen and before the world." The priest showed no sign of surprise at the request, but only motioned to them to kneel at the altar-rail. No voice was raised among those present, and no one moved except the ill-favoured cousin, who left his place and drew a little nearer. The pair knelt together, but Santal's thought was so bewildered that he scarcely took notice of the service that the priest had begun to read, until he heard the question—"Wilt thou take Cecilia here present for thy lawful wife according to the rites of our Holy Mother, the Church?" He answered, "I will," and his bride making a like response, the service went on. In a few moments the priest joined their hands, and Santal repeated slowly after him—"I, Anthony, take thee, Cecilia, to be my wedded wife if Holy Church will it permit, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, till death do us part, and thereto I plight thee my troth."

The priest instructed him in a low voice that he must put into his bride's hand a piece of gold and of silver, and on her finger a ring. He took from his purse a guinea and a shilling, and placed them in the white hand stretched towards him; and for a ring he drew from his third finger the gold ring with the Bejant Arms that he had bought in Oxford, and slipped it on to the thumb of her left hand, saying as he did so—"With this ring I thee wed; this gold and silver I thee give; with my body I thee worship; and with all my worldly goods I thee endow."

Then the priest turned to the congregation and said in a clear voice, "Sirs, ye are all witnesses that this man hath taken this woman to be his lawful wedded wife, and that the bond which hath this day been tied cannot again be loosed in life, but that they are sealed one to another till death shall them part."

It was at this moment that Santal, turning round, saw for the first time the countenances of the other worshippers. They wore a fixed gaze as though not cognizant of the scene that was being enacted, and he was suddenly aware of a ghastly contrast between

their white faces and black dresses in the low light of the rising sun. He was conscious, at the same time, that the ill-favoured cousin had moved a little nearer to him. The priest read a few more prayers, and then, holding his hands over them, gave them the benediction, and Santal was about to rise from his knees when he felt a heavy hand laid on his shoulder.

II.

It was his servant's hand that was placed on his shoulder and that shook him vigorously. He woke and found the man standing by him with the landlord of the inn at which he had intended to pass the night. They had sat up late for him on the previous evening, and when he did not arrive, had at length come out to look for him. It was not till after sunrise, however, that their search was rewarded, and they had discovered him in the ruined chapel of an old and dismantled house, near Winterbourne, sleeping heavily, with his head on the broken altar-step.

Santal managed to walk back with them to the inn at Winterbourne, but only with considerable difficulty, for his exposure had affected him strangely, and he felt that sickness and extreme prostration which generally accompanies the return of consciousness after the administration of a powerful anæsthetic. For some hours he lay in a semi-stupor, and his state was such that his servant considered it advisable to seek medical advice. The village practitioner, who was shortly in attendance, bled him and prescribed a febrifuge. He enquired of the servant the particulars of his master's attack, and being informed of what had happened, said that the exposure could not account for such a condition, and that Mr. Santal had undoubtedly been drugged. He put some searching questions in an attempt to discover how any drug could have been administered; but his patient ridiculed the idea, saying that his time was fully accounted for up to his being knocked down by the horse in its efforts to break loose; and that his present seizure must be attributed to a violent fall and subsequent exposure in a semi-stunned condition. The doctor, however, would not abandon his position, and remarked drily to the landlord that boys would be boys; hinting that Mr. Santal had fallen among bad company on the way; and professing to be able to diagnose from certain symptoms that the drug had been administered in the medium of wine.

The young man's vigorous constitution soon rallied, and, though he kept his bed the next day, his head was clear and he was able to listen with interest to the account given him by his servant and the landlord of their search for him. The delay in his arrival had not at first aroused their anxiety, as they concluded that he had

taken shelter somewhere from the storm; but when twelve o'clock struck, and still nothing was seen of him, they began to think that some misadventure had occurred. It was shortly after midnight that the sound of hoofs called them to the door of the inn, where they came upon a riderless horse with a rein broken, and the saddle turned upside down. The servant at once recognized his master's horse, and a fresh cause for alarm was found in the dripping saddle, and the state of the animal, which showed that it had been in the water. The landlord concluded at once that Mr. Santal had chosen the by-road from Laffontine instead of the highway, and had been carried away in attempting to cross the flooded stream. They proceeded to the ford with lanterns, and the subsidence of the water allowing them to cross soon after daybreak, they found hoof marks on the sodden turf, which showed where the horse had turned off across the meadow on the previous night. Guided by these tracks, they reached the porch of a ruined house, well known in the neighbourhood as Bejant Place, and entering, came first upon a riding cloak flung on a heap of fallen timbers in the dismantled hall; and shortly afterwards found Mr. Santal himself lying prostrate on the altar-steps of a chapel attached to the house. The landlord said that the family of Bejant were formerly lords of Winterbourne Manor, and had built Bejant Place in the reign of Elizabeth; but their waning fortunes had forced them to abandon their residence shortly after the close of the Civil Wars, and it was now little more than a ruined shell. The inn where Santal lay was called after them, the Bejant Arms, and their shield, with the wavy bars of silver and black, could be seen swinging on the signboard from his bedroom window.

Santal was thus enabled to trace the origin of some of the fancies which had filled his dream; but he was left to wonder at the coincidence of his having purchased in Oxford a ring which had undoubtedly belonged to some member of that family in whose house he was destined to pass so strange a night.

The dream had left so vivid an impression that he could not easily shake it off, and more than one circumstance contributed to intensify the idea of reality that it had produced on his imagination. He missed from his finger the ring itself, and remembered with a smile, and yet with sadness, the important part it had played in his vision. He had little doubt that he had in sleep actually removed it from his hand, and that it would be found somewhere in the chapel; and he was scarcely surprised that a guinea and a shilling should also be missing from his purse.

His indisposition caused Santal to modify his plans; and instead of proceeding directly on his journey he retained his rooms at the

Bejant Arms, and remained nearly a week at Winterbourne. After he was sufficiently recovered to leave the house he several times visited the ruins of Bejant Place. The stream was now sunk to a mere brook, and might have been crossed even without the aid of the stepping-stones which bridged it. From the further bank a broad expanse of undulating greensward, dotted here and there with old elms, led up to the house. This stretch of turf had once formed the pleasure park of Bejant Place; and as The Park it was still known, though the fences had long ago been removed, and it was now used as a common pasture by the villagers. Santal found that the house, when viewed in the less romantic hues of daylight, was indeed, as his landlord had told him, little better than a ruin. It had been entirely dismantled at some comparatively remote period, the staircases throughout and the floors in part had been removed, and the rooms stripped of their panelling and even of their fireplaces. He entered by the projecting stone porch, and found no difficulty in retracing his steps or in identifying the various chambers which he had actually visited; but he wondered as he remembered the fantastic properties and persons with which his imagination had equipped them. The walls from which the panelling and plaster had been stripped, the cracked and broken stuccoes of the ceiling, the gaping holes whence the fireplaces had been removed, and the cobwebbed or shivered casements combined to produce a scene of desolation which reached its culmination in the chapel.

Here the collapse of the roof had left a few scarred and jagged rafters projecting from the walls in perilous and threatening positions, while the tiles and beams had in their fall shattered the flagging of the floor below and littered it with *débris*. A wreck of mullions and tracery still remained in the east window, and Santal saw waving in the wind outside the same sprig of ivy that he had noticed in his dream. There was no trace of seats or any other fittings, but at the east end the rising steps marked the position which the altar had once occupied. He examined the place carefully in the expectation of finding his ring and the money that he had lost, but his search was entirely unsuccessful.

Besides the ruins of Bejant Place, Santal visited with much interest the parish church of Winterbourne, which lay facing the inn at the opposite side of the village green. On the south side of the church was a chantry built by some of the old lords of the manor, and known as the Bejant Aisle. It was separated from the rest of the church by oak screen-work, and in it were many monuments of the family. Among these memorials was a raised altar-tomb of elaborate workmanship, on which lay a full-length alabaster figure of a man clothed in the fantastic plate-armour

prevalent at the close of the sixteenth century. Round the edge of the tomb ran an inscription in brass showing that the figure represented one Roger Bejant, who "was interred 24th of June, 1580."

The name, and still more the day of his burial, arrested Santal's attention, but his surprise was increased a hundredfold by the discovery of a plain tablet of brass let into the wall hard by, which recorded the death, in the same year, of "Cecelia, onely child to Roger Bejant, Esq., aged 18," with a rhyming inscription—

> "Stay, passenger, and solace with a tear
> Th' unhappy child that here lies buried near,
> Who when shee saw that cruel fate laid low
> The onely succor she on earth did knowe,
> Droop't down and in the tombe with him was laid
> A faultlesse daughter and a spotlesse maid."

The coincidence of these names with those which his dreaming imagination had conjured up, was so startling as to lead him for a moment to doubt his reason, and to consider whether he had not on that night in the old manor-house been permitted to see rehearsed by ghostly actors a scene which had actually occurred more than two centuries before. He dismissed the idea as absurd almost before it was formed, and was constrained eventually to believe that he must in some archæological work have once read a description of these monuments. The knowledge that the inn at which he hoped to pass the night was called the Bejant Arms, had very possibly revived his dormant recollection of such a description, and led him to attach the names of persons who had once existed to the phantoms of his dream. It was a lame and unsatisfactory explanation, but he could conceive no better, and though he taxed his memory to the utmost to recall the fact of his having ever read anything of the kind, it was without success. Neither could he determine at what precise point his dream had begun, but it seemed probable that he had never properly recovered consciousness after being knocked down by his horse, and had entered the house and wandered from room to room in a half-stunned condition.

III.

After completing his university course, Mr. Santal's time was spent in improving his property of Minsteracres, and in efforts to ameliorate the condition of his tenants. His genuine concern for the welfare of his neighbours and fellow-men in general gained him a wide respect and esteem; nor did he neglect to inform his mind by foreign travel and diligent study. Among such a variety of engrossing occupations it may well be supposed that so trivial a matter as a dream, if not dismissed from his mind, was at least no

longer viewed with the exaggerated importance with which a youthful imagination had at first invested it. It was true that he had not entirely dismissed the subject from his thoughts, but when it recurred to him it was merely as a romantic memory, or as a source of curious but unprofitable speculation.

Yet it is possible that his strange experience had influenced his life more than he himself ever recognized, and that the image which his memory still retained of the singular and pathetic beauty of the lady of his dream had rendered him fastidious and indifferent to ordinary charms. Eight years had passed since his nocturnal adventure, but he was still unmarried. This was the more unfortunate as the whole of his estates were so rigidly entailed that it was not in his power to devise any portion, and should he die without issue, they must pass to a distant connection of another name. His legal advisers and his own sentiment had combined to point out that it would be a matter for deep regret if so fine a property should pass out of the family with whose name it had been long identified. For some time, however, he had paid little attention to so remote an eventuality; and it was not until he was nearing his thirtieth year that his inclination, running in the same direction with his interests, decided him to marry. His affections had become engaged to a Miss Willoughby, the only child of a neighbouring landowner. The first time that he saw her was in winter as she stood leaning against a mantelpiece and looking down at the fire. The yellow light of some candles in sconces on the wall fell on her white dress and flaxen hair; and at the sight of the white-robed figure with bowed head, Santal was suddenly conscious of a strange fascination mixed with foreboding, for she recalled to him that other white-robed and grief-bowed form that he had pictured in his dream. The attraction between them was mutual, and the match was in every respect a suitable one, as the lady was possessed of great personal attractions, and would eventually inherit a considerable property. Yet when Santal first spoke openly to her of his love, the foreboding returned upon him with greater force, and it was only with a correspondingly increased effort that he was able once more to shake it off.

There being no reason for any delay, the marriage was arranged to take place in June, and the preparations for the event went rapidly forward. But as the day drew near, Santal, who had hitherto felt all the ardour that passion could inspire in the most youthful and enthusiastic of lovers, found himself becoming a prey to unaccountable apprehensions. It was not that his affection for his betrothed had in any way cooled, but his mind was filled with gloomy prognostications of impending evil, which assumed vague and Protean forms. Among these fancies the memory of his

adventure eight years before at Winterbourne returned again and again to his mind, with a sense of depression which the subject by no means warranted. The image of Cecilia Bejant, as he had seen her in her youth and her sorrow, rose continually before him, and assumed that place in his mind and thoughts to which Miss Willoughby alone had a right. He became at last unable to banish the remembrance of his dream-love even in the presence of his affianced bride, nor could he at times divest himself of the idea, absurd though he felt it to be, that in the part he was now playing he was a traitor to both.

He received the congratulations and merry speeches of his friends with a heavy heart, and when they talked of festivities to be held at Minsteracres in honour of his wedding, he could only respond by false smiles and evasive answers. He felt, in fact, as an unhappy man might feel who, being smitten with some secret but fatal disease, listens to his friends talking gaily of a future which he can never hope to share. So harassed did he become by morbid feelings that he was led to consult his family physician, who, however, made light of the matter, attributing his symptoms to a disorder of the digestion, brought about by undue anxiety as to the important change of life which he contemplated. The doctor gave him a prescription, bidding him hope for an entire recovery as soon as the wedding should have removed all cause for his present solicitude.

So far, however, from the near approach of this event putting a term to his anxiety, the morning of his marriage found him in a condition at once depressed and excited. The bride was accompanied by her father, and there was a large gathering of friends of the contracting parties in the little church of Brant Willoughby. The villagers thronged round as closely as was consistent with their respect for their superiors; and the children, to do honour to the marriage, had strewn the aisle with flowers and sprigs of evergreen shrubs. The peculiar scent of these last as they were trodden underfoot recalled vividly to Santal's memory the great hall at Bejant Place, strewn with evergreen and scented with spices on a very different occasion.

The bride and bridegroom knelt together at the altar-rails, and the minister began the exhortation with which the marriage service opens. During the reading of this long address Santal felt his irrational disquietude increase, and in spite of the solemnity of the occasion, and his firm resolve not to allow such fancies to get the better of him, it was only with difficulty that he could control his nervousness sufficiently to prevent it from being perceived by others. The congregation were attentive and quiet, but he could hear at the back of the church the rustling and disturbance caused

by a place being found for some late comer. The concluding portion of the address was at length reached—"*Therefore if any man can show any just cause why they may not lawfully be joined together let him now speak or else hereafter for ever hold his peace*"—and the minister was proceeding to the next sentence when a startling event took place. A man at the back of the church had risen in his place, and was saying, in a calm and clear voice, "I forbid this marriage."

At the first sound Santal had turned. He felt neither the surprise nor anger that such an interruption would ordinarily have occasioned, but it came, on the contrary, almost as a relief to his suspense. This he recognized at once as the evil that he had dreaded for weeks without being previously able to define its nature. It was as if he had been taking part in some stage play, and that the final catastrophe was now approaching in which his *rôle*, however unpleasant, was not unexpected. The voice of the man speaking woke a responsive chord in his memory, and the clear and deliberate intonation seemed perfectly familiar to him. He looked at the speaker and saw a tall man in the prime of life, dressed in an ecclesiastical habit of black cloth. He was clean-shaven, and his regular but emaciated features wore an air of peculiar sanctity.

A painful silence had fallen upon the congregation, and all eyes were fixed on the intruder. He spoke again—"I forbid you to proceed, for this man is already married." The minister who was performing the ceremony looked in amazement from Santal to the speaker, and from the speaker to Santal. The latter had said nothing, but the bride burst into tears, and her father stamped angrily on the floor. "Let us have a truce to this fooling; the man is mad; let him be led out of the church," said Mr. Willoughby.

Santal was pale and silent, but yet showed no surprise, and the clergyman put an end to the scene by asking the contracting parties and the objector to step aside for a moment to the vestry, so that the matter might be more quietly discussed. When they had entered the vestry, the clergyman asked the stranger what was the reason for his conduct, and what were the allegations he made. "I allege," he said, "that on the 24th day of June, in the year 1816, I married this man in the chapel at Bejant Place, with all the rites of Holy Church, to Cecilia, daughter to the late Roger Bejant, Esq., and that she is still his lawful wife." A shock of surprise and alarm ran through all the listeners except Santal, and Mr. Willoughby broke in—"You are a rogue and a vagabond, and a vile traducer. What proofs do you bring? What is your name?" "I am no rogue nor vagabond," the stranger answered,

"but Theodore Brady, a servant of the Society of Jesus, and Vicar-Apostolic of His Holiness the Pope; and now reside with Mr. Fermor of Arlaston, in Warwickshire. I have no proofs to offer, but none are needed. It is for this gentleman," pointing to Santal, "to deny what I say; and if he is content to deny it, then I am content to be esteemed indeed the traducer which you call me." This turned the attention of all to Santal. They expected that he would have given an immediate and indignant denial, but he stood with his head bowed down, and uttered not a word. The bride touched his arm and turned her face appealingly to his. "Anthony," she said, "speak to me; tell me this is false." There was a little pause, and then Santal raised his head and said, speaking in a profound silence, "I cannot deny it, for all that this gentleman has said is true."

Then followed a scene of much excitement, and the party which had so joyously assembled broke up amid mingled tears and indignation. The bride's father, after overwhelming Santal with reproaches, took his daughter by the arm and hurried her away, refusing to allow her to question her lover further or to see him in private, as she had desired. The accused himself seemed as one dazed. Except the one short admission, he had uttered no word at all, and had accepted the abuse which Mr. Willoughby had cast at him without any effort at justification. When the assembly had dispersed, he called for his saddle-horse, which stood by waiting, mounted, and rode away on the road to London. The stranger who had caused the catastrophe disappeared during the general confusion that followed it, and when Mr. Willoughby sent to enquire for him in order to gain a more precise knowledge of Mr. Santal's prior marriage, he was nowhere to be found.

From what afterwards transpired, Mr. Santal himself seemed to have been entirely crushed by so terrible a blow. He abandoned both his habits and his home, nor did he ever again see his seat of Minsteracres. He took away with him only one servant, the same man who had attended him on his journey from Oxford eight years before. It was to Winterbourne that he now repaired, and took up his quarters at the Bejant Arms, where he hired permanent lodgings.

About two months after the scene at the church he received a letter from Mr. Willoughby couched in conciliatory terms, and informing him that the writer was prepared entirely to forget the past, and to accept Mr. Santal as his son-in-law, on receiving from him an assurance that there was no truth in the odious charge which had been brought against him. Mr. Willoughby was convinced, the letter said, that the person who had interrupted the

marriage was an impostor. He had caused the fullest enquiries to be made, and had referred the matter to the chief authorities of the Roman Catholic Church in England. They agreed that there was in their orders no priest of the name of Theodore Brady, and that so far from the man being the present Vicar-Apostolic, he had impudently assumed the style of a former vicar, who had suffered martyrdom under Queen Elizabeth.

The address which he had given was also proved to be false, for the Fermor family with whom he had represented himself to be living at Arlaston, had moved from that seat many years ago, and the house itself was so completely a thing of the past, that even its site could no longer be identified. Mr. Willoughby had also discovered that the chapel at Bejant Place, where the marriage was alleged to have taken place, was a ruin, and that the Bejants themselves were extinct. This being so, the writer believed the whole story to be false, and was anxious to accept Mr. Santal's assurance to that effect. There would have been, he added, no room at any time for even the slightest suspicion had not colour been lent to the accusation by Mr. Santal's own unfortunate admission, an admission which he was now convinced must be attributed solely to the sudden shock having bewildered him. His daughter had been ailing ever since the rupture, and he earnestly begged that for her sake, as much as his own, Mr. Santal would give the assurance that he sought, and in this case their marriage could at once be celebrated.

The perusal of this letter occasioned Mr. Santal much pain, and his sorrow was immeasurably increased by a note which was enclosed from Miss Willoughby, in which she assured him in the warmest terms of her unaltered love and confidence. He wrote to Mr. Willoughby in reply, thanking him for his courtesy, but regretting that it was not in his power to give the assurance asked for, as the priest's statements were in substance true. He expressed the greatest remorse that he should be the cause of so much suffering to Mr. Willoughby's family, but begged them to believe that the facts, if fully understood, would show him to be perhaps less guilty than now appeared. He could not explain further, but Mr. Willoughby would understand that he was quite ready to afford the only satisfaction which a gentleman could offer, either to Mr. Willoughby himself or to any other person nominated by him. So the matter unhappily ended, and neither side ever held any further communication with the other.

Two years elapsed, and Mr. Santal was still at the Bejant Arms, but sadly changed. His once robust health had completely given way, and his state was such as to cause the greatest anxiety to

those few friends who saw him from time to time. He felt most keenly the terrible stain which rested upon his honour, and the breaking off of his marriage seemed to have entirely crushed his spirits. He grew thin and weak, and would sit the greater part of the day in a listless attitude with his hands before him. If he went out, it was generally only to visit the ruins of Bejant Place, where, if report spoke truly, he not unfrequently passed the entire night; indeed, his chief solace consisted in haunting that spot. The image of Cecilia Bejant was ever present with him, and grew at length so beloved that he looked forward with longing to his end, believing that in death he would be permitted to rejoin his lost bride. His eccentric habits gained him among the lower classes the reputation of being a harmless madman, while those of his own rank avoided all contact with him as one about whom hung some dishonourable mystery.

In June of the third year of his residence at Winterbourne, he fell ill. A severe cold, contracted, it was said, by a night spent in the ruined chapel of Bejant Place, took such effect upon a frame already reduced to great weakness that the doctor who was called in at once pronounced his case to be serious, if not hopeless. It was the same general practitioner who had visited Santal eight years before at Winterbourne. He was quite familiar with the story of the interrupted wedding, and had seen in it confirmation of his previous theories as to Santal's adventure at Bejant Place. He had talked the matter over continually with his village cronies, and always averred that Santal had been drugged on that night and decoyed into illicit company. The man who had interrupted the wedding with Miss Willoughby and afterwards disappeared, might have been, he thought, a hedge-priest who had actually assisted at some mock marriage of Santal on that very night. He found in his patient's own mental attitude the greatest obstacle to his recovery, for Santal seemed to have entirely abandoned his hold on life. The issue justified the worst apprehensions, and on the 20th of June, near the date on which he had first visited Winterbourne, Mr. Santal breathed his last.

Shortly before his death he had been received into the communion of the Church of Rome, a proceeding which was considered by those who were aware of it as a further proof of his eccentricity. He left strict instructions with his servant that he should be buried on the south side of the church, and as near the Bejant Aisle as might be: but the clergyman of the parish objected to this being done as Mr. Santal had died a Roman Catholic. On finding, however, that Santal had left a substantial benefaction to the parish, he eventually consented to the burial being made in that position;

but only on the understanding that the body should not be taken into the church, and that the Protestant form of service should be read at the graveside. To this the servant readily agreed, having, indeed, no reason to make any opposition.

This man was sincerely attached to his master, and would not leave the dead body. But he had come to regard with superstitious fear the strange habits and especially the nocturnal visits to Bejant Place which Santal had affected towards the close of his life. On the night before the burial he did not remain with the corpse, saying it was St. John's eve, and the night on which those spirits walked who had undone his master. He lit candles round the body and persuaded the landlord to sit up with him below stairs, and they kept watch together through the night as they had done on that same date ten years before. Both dozed off, however, towards morning, but woke together imagining that they heard a monotonous murmur as of low chanting proceeding from the room above. It must, however, have been a dream, for on going upstairs they found the candles still burning and the body undisturbed.

When the time of the funeral arrived there were gathered at the grave-side a group of sympathizing villagers who wished to pay a last token of respect to Mr. Santal's memory; for though they deemed him mad, they had always found him willing to listen to their complaints and anxious to use his wealth in helping them in time of need. The coffin had been carried from the inn to the grave-side, and there rested on trestles; and the little crowd about it waited patiently for the appearance of the minister. After a time a report spread that the minister was ill; and this was shortly confirmed by the arrival of a female servant from the rectory, who said that her master had been seized with faintness, and would not be able to perform the service. Those in charge of the funeral were at a loss what to do, when a stranger who had joined the group of spectators stepped forward and offered to take the minister's place.

He was, he said, a Roman Catholic priest, as indeed his black habit showed, and as he understood that Mr. Santal had died in the True Faith, he would read over him the service for the burial of the dead according to the Roman rite. No objection was raised by the onlookers, and the priest, a tall and ascetic-looking man in the prime of life, stood on the heap of earth which had been removed from the grave, and performed the service. The spectators listened with wonder, but with reverence, to the monotonous Latin prayers which he recited until all was complete. At the conclusion of the ceremony he gave no benediction, but merely ejaculated in a fervent tone the versicle from the burial service—"*Subvenite*

Sancti Dei, occurite Angeli Domini." He looked round as though expecting a response, but the spectators, who understood nothing, remained silent. Only a little man at the back of the group, with shaggy eyebrows and bright eyes, whom no one had hitherto observed, but who was no doubt a Catholic, replied in a thin voice with the antiphon—"*Suscipientes animam ejus.*"

MEADE FALKNER.

OUR NAVAL WEAKNESS.

THE whole country has through recent events been brought face to face with the problem of how to man our navy so as to make it dominant in defence. An emotional patriotism has seized the country, and panic-stricken patriots are urging the reckless waste of national wealth.

Now is the most opportune moment to remind one's countrymen that in the next great war our naval supremacy will be strenuously contested. The next fight will be for trade and colony, and the European Powers, already madly jealous of our industrial competency and colonial possessions, will take good care to cripple us. By comparison they have little or nothing to lose of ships or cargoes, and will, in most cases, be able to concentrate the whole of their forces to the capture, or sinking, of our merchant vessels, while our naval force will be mostly employed in defensive and protective tactics, encumbered in its operations by the exaction of consort duty.

The greatest safeguard of peace should be industry and trade, but when the industry, trade, and wealth is all on one side, the only safety possible is a protective capacity equal to the trade and wealth of the country. In view of the frantic efforts being made by other countries to counteract our trade, and to check by an increase of their naval power our supremacy on the sea, it would be as well for Britishers to realize the weakness of British aggressive or defensive power. We build our belief of British invulnerability on the traditions of the past. Under the same set of circumstances which determined our past invincibility, we could again hand on to posterity an unbroken record of victory, and an established supremacy. Against such a possibility, however, must be urged:—

1st. That our past naval victories were won when a purely British stock constituted our fighting crews and our mercantile crews.

2nd. That our protective liabilities during wars with European Powers were less in proportion to our defensive efficiency than at present, viz.: less craft, less commerce, less colonies.

3rd. No important invention of gun, ammunition, or explosives, however effective or deadly, but what the secret of its manufacture is known and utilized by France, Germany, Russia, or Italy, unless these respective countries possess a better invention, the secret of which we obtain, if money will buy it. Our shipbuilders make the fastest and most formidable craft for foreign Governments; we have no monopoly of construction, design, or armament.

4th. We do not possess sufficient trained men to man vessels already built—twenty-two of which are without crews.

5th. No provision is made for an efficient reserve. A reserve adequate to our needs would mean the addition of 150,000 men and boys.

6th. The selfish and unpatriotic employment of aliens by our shipping firms, the proportion being one to three.

The foreign element employed in our merchant service demands serious consideration. The percentage of aliens employed in 1886 was 14 per cent.; in 1894 it had risen to 36·3 per cent. This percentage is given by Mr. Howell in his report to Sir E. J. Reed's Manning Committee, and confirmed by Mr. Clarke Hall (Registrar-General of Seamen) and Sir Digby Murray.

The principal nationalities are Germans, Russians, Scandinavians, Portuguese and Greeks, Dutch, Spaniards, Italian, French, Chinese, Japanese, and in our mercantile marine employment is also given to Lascars. It must be borne in mind that a large number of foreigners assume English names and nationality immediately they are able to master sufficient of the language. Emphasis might be laid on the employment of foreigners by a reference to the sinking of the S.S. *Ailsa*. The crew, a mixture of Spaniards and Italians, seized the only available lifeboat. The cowardly scoundrels prevented even the women going into the lifeboat, and threatened to knife the men and women attempting to save themselves. British passengers might profit by the lesson, and stipulate for their own countrymen being employed. The returns of the register of seamen for December 31st, 1894, are as follows:—

Employed on sailing vessels,	British	61,000
	Foreign	12,000
Employed on steamers ...	British	117,000
	Foreign	18,000
	Lascars	25,500
	Total	233,500

Cooks, stewards, and servants further reduce the number of effectives.

Out of this enormous total during war time we could hardly command 7,000 or 8,000 reserve men out of a nominal 25,000 of seamen and fishermen. Compare these figures with the actual readiness of France, having 25,000 reserve men always with the

fleet, with a nominal force of 114,000, the French mercantile marine employing only one to three employed in the British merchant service, and the most inveterate Jingo, should considerably modify his ignorance and contempt of foreign power.

The number of officers in our naval reserve is to be increased to 1,500, the engineer officers to 300, and firemen to 2,500. This is a ridiculous force, and far behind the French naval reserve in number and efficiency. Chief gunners, carpenters, boatswains, and warrant officers are to receive additions to their ranks, extra pay, extra pension, and compassionate grants to widows and children are to be made to this class of officer on the same scale as junior lieutenants. There are to be added to the *personnel* 4,900, which with effectives for 1895, namely, 88,850, makes a total of 93,750. Great as these numbers are, the fighting strength of the French navy, in proportion to its merchant tonnage and colonies, is much superior to ours.

It is stated that £55,000,000 will have been spent on new construction during the ten years 1889-1899. Other countries will follow suit with colossal naval programmes. The financiers will be able to chuckle and coin fortunes out of the jugglery and corruption and waste inevitable to such sudden and extensive developments.

The three docks to be built at Gibraltar are for strategical purposes absolutely necessary, but if they are to be of real use the whole three should have a length of 700 feet, which might be used as double docks for medium-sized vessels. With the works at Dover costing £2,000,000, the New Battery at Lowestoft, and increased hospital accommodation, are, taking the scheme as a whole, practical suggestions. But a very serious defect of the scheme is the coaling-stations. Coaling vessels in peace times is an extremely difficult and costly process, but in war time the difficulty would be almost unsurmountable. Much more necessary than fast cruisers are fast colliers. The coaling-stations as at present arranged, are at least 2,000 if not 3,000 miles apart. To talk of ten or twelve knots speed in war time is foolish. Our war vessels depend as much on coal as an old "Jordie" collier does on wind, and not to have an inexhaustible supply of coal will spell disaster. No other country possesses in minerals the quantity and quality that we do; we have the fastest cargo-boats afloat, yet our coaling facilities are lamentably deficient. We are absolutely dependent on a good coal supply for merchant as well as war vessels. The last fifty years has completed the revolution of our food supply. The opening up of new countries, the discovering of new natural resources of wealth, the increase in our manufacturing power, increased facilities of exchange and transit, our special productive

efficiency, are entirely new conditions decidedly altering our chances of success in war. We have a much greater need of twenty-five knot colliers to follow the fleet than twenty-seven knot torpedo catchers. The first serious war mobilization will teach our country this. Paralysed trade, places us within a month of famine. Our food supply is out of our hands; some persons assume that, however costly a war might be in men and money, the experience would be cheap if it taught us to provide our own food supply. In 1894 we purchased seventy million cwt. of wheat to thirty-nine and a half million in 1871. The chief caterer for our provision trade is America. The Argentine Republic is fast displacing India and Russia in supplying grain to us. India in 1894 supplied us with only 8 per cent. of our wheat. In 1894 the consumption of wheat per head of population was 256 lb., our grain import amounting altogether to 180,000,000 cwt. Even with the comforting knowledge of the increase of trade in New Zealand meat, which in 1894 amounted to 1,350,000 tons, we have to recognize that we spend £90,000,000 of money with the United States for food, and £35,000,000, of money with our colonies.

In view of the building of great naval stations in the Mediterranean, Tunis, Maddalena, Spezzia, a conflict with any of the nations in authority there would mean an important narrowing of our sea room, and of our chances of bringing food to our country. I have quoted these figures to show how important it is that our food supply should be defended with the utmost tenacity. We could recover comparatively easily the sinking of our men-of-war and the annihilation of our naval force; but the sinking of our merchantmen and consequent paralysis of our trade would do more to ruin our Empire, than the loss of the whole fleet of our magnificent ironclads.

I am not directly interested in the war question, but as a practical man one wants to see those responsible when taking in hand a business of this sort, either doing it thoroughly or leaving it alone. The toilers of the country want to see an efficient service for the reasons that, first, as they will have to pay for it they want something for their money; and second, as they will provide the sacrifice of life, they want that sacrifice, if imperatively necessary, to be made under the best conditions.

Vessels of the *Renown* and *Majestic* type would, under certain conditions, prove to be almost impregnable; but the question to one who takes an intelligent interest in naval tactics and strategy is, whether it is better to have what practically amounts to a floating fort, or a fleet of lightly-armed and fast cruisers?

In view of our possessing a stupendous merchant fleet, it seems only natural to conclude that our best strength should consist in

the provision of high-speed cruisers to act as consorts for our fast merchantmen. Most of the fighting, one would think, would not take place in attacking forts or heavy war vessels of other nations in fleets, but in defending our mercantile marine from the attacks of our speedy foemen, who would not fail to take advantage of our weak position in regard to our food supplies.

By the year 1902 we shall have built 231 vessels from the year 1889, but the augmentation of our forces seems to lie in the direction of heavily-armed vessels. For the financial year 1896-97 we are to have thirteen first-class battleships and only ten first-class cruisers. If the cruiser type had been doubled the nation would have profited more.

The country has still to meet the initial difficulty of finding crews and officers for the navy, and although Mr. Goschen made light of this problem, his explanation of the difficulty was neither brilliant nor convincing, and one searches in vain throughout the whole of his speech to find any solution to the question. In the old days when our naval supremacy was established, we had what no other country had—an inexhaustible supply of men from our great fisheries, our merchant service, from every port and hamlet on our coast, and it was only natural that the very superabundance of our energy and our natural fighting qualities should ensure our prevailing over our foes. All these things have changed, and patriotism now has merely a commercial value attached, and even bravery itself is a mere quality of traffic. In 1793 our naval fighting force was 118,000 men; comparing that fighting force with its relatively smaller responsibilities, with the fighting force of to-day, with an Empire greatly enlarged, covering a considerable portion of the surface of the globe, and our real defensive capacity can be best judged. In 1797 we provided our own food supply; in the year 1895 one person in five depends for subsistence upon foreign wheat and flour. The economic disorder which would follow the stoppage of our trade hardly bears thinking of, and seeing that one in five during a period of prosperity dies of starvation, the utmost effort to avert an universal famine is the obvious duty of every lover of his countrymen. We cannot depend upon the strategic mistakes of our enemies, but must with mathematical correctness determine the quality and power of our fighting force, and that it shall approximately meet all the demands required, for the protection of our trade during war-time. One may be excused from taking advantage of the present panical excitement to drive home the lesson of the necessity of an efficient reserve of men trained for service during the piping times of peace. The source of our supply and strength in all our previous wars is becoming narrowed,

dammed, or diverted; our shipping firms in their hunt for dividend have no cult of country, but directly discourage the more sturdy, independent, and plucky Britisher, from taking to his natural element the sea. Those of us who have had some acquaintance with the navy and merchant service, as well as the great trading ports, view with some alarm the considerable risks the country incurs by the employment of aliens in the very maritime service we wish to protect from the foreigner. The anomaly of the position can only be appreciated by those who know to what extent foreigners are employed. What adds to the grim irony of the fact is that merchants, ship-owners, and brokers, who are loudest in their demands for a powerful navy, are themselves deliberately jeopardizing, by the employment of the cheap alien, the safety of the commerce they are owners of, and the security of the country for which they patriotically protest their love. One asks, could the most hostile foe commit an act more mischievous and fatal to the interests of commerce and country? Encouraging the shipowner in his wilfulness, the Government of to-day gives contracts to vessels in which Lascars and Coolies, or foreigners predominate—the spectacle of a rice-eating Lascar or Coolie standing up and fighting for the glory of Great Britain would make Nelson turn in his grave, or a Trafalgar veteran die again if it were possible to resurrect him. These contracts are given with the full knowledge of the Government that an insufficient number of British-born subjects is employed upon the vessels, where the contract is placed, and our Government to-day is helping a federation of these men who are using their wire-pulling means to displace the Britisher, and to supplant him by the cheap foreigner. This is permitted under the very eyes of the Government officials, in the full knowledge of the Press and of the country.

The total of foreign seamen registered during 1894 was 31,000, those remaining registered on December 31st, 1894, being 30,000, and of Lascars during 1894, 26,000, 25,000 remaining on the register on December 31st, 1894. This one statement alone shows the need of Board of Trade interference, and of laying down a standard of competence. The seamen of the country owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. J. H. Wilson, and the Government will have rendered a service to the country if the Ratings Bill receives their unqualified support, though the shipping interest, which is powerful in the House, would have no scruple, so short-sighted is their policy, in condemning with the utmost virulence the whole Bill. I trust the sanity of the Government will be too strong to be tampered with by outside and immoral influences.

There are a number of obsolete types of battleships with ample accommodation and training facilities which could immediately

take into training quarters 50,000 able-bodied seamen under thirty-years of age. These would be benefited by the course of training, and so far as the risk to their life is concerned, they are in less danger, with war thrown in, as naval men, than when exposed to a rough sea and tempestuous weather in a merchant vessel with half the number of crew necessary, some of that number foreigners, and in some cases absolutely incompetent seamen. The Government should introduce a short Bill which would first of all enforce the registration of all seamen, and make imperatively necessary (under penalty) upon all shipowners an agreement to bring back to the place of engagement, or ensure a free passage to the place of engagement, of every seaman and person signed on. The heartless abandonment of Englishmen in foreign ports, and the signing on of foreigners, is one of the most reprehensible practices of captains and shipowners, which can only be put down by the Government protecting the Englishmen, and punishing those given to such malpractices.

The Government could with advantage offer terms to men having served ten years in the navy, which would encourage them (*a*) to benefit as reserve men, (*b*) to use their experience and knowledge in the training of men obtained from merchant vessels. An increase of pay equivalent to the artisan's standard of wage, and benefits and pensions would be sums well invested, and at least an additional two millions a year should be given to the training in gunnery and musketry drill. Surely thousands of seamen would be ready to take the lesser risks of the navy, and the only real difficulty that might arise, would be, in the cases where English merchant seamen were employed in the foreign "tramp" trade.

With the Government taking the lead by only giving contracts to British-manned vessels, the example would be of the utmost importance, and would largely tend to counteract the suicidal policy of the employment of the alien. I have no objection to the alien as such, but he is always a cheap and obsequious worker, and alternates between slavish humility and too often treachery in the use of the knife, when the despotism he encourages by his humility goads him to violence, and the British mate or captain receives a drastic lesson by the proverbial "worm turning."

The Government would do well to imitate the example of the French, and could profitably utilize as a reserve at least 50,000 of our mercantile marine, and the money so employed would be better utilized than in the reckless building of ships in a hurry and squandering of millions of money. If, added to the service of merchantmen, we were to avail ourselves of 122,000 men and boys employed in our fisheries, we could then command such resources as would well-nigh make us invincible against the combined naval fleets of

the whole world. There are in the country of men and boys constantly engaged in fishing over 77,000 persons, and occasionally employed 45,000 approximately. The special character of the fisherman's industry makes him more easily available than the average merchant seaman. There is no type hardier or pluckier, or with better grit, in the whole world than the fishermen of Great Britain. From his ranks alone 30,000 men of the best fighting calibre might be recruited.

In these days of scientific warfare, with whatever grit or hardy pluck we man our ships, careful preliminary training is an absolute necessity. The fisherman, able to command his guinea a week, and with his board and lodging and clothing provided, would be in an "Eldorado" compared to the hardships he endures exposed to the bleakest weather. The rivers of the Thames, Tees, Tyne, Mersey, Clyde, and Humber, Yarmouth Roads, Plymouth Sound, Portsmouth Harbour, and the Firths of Scotland, are advantageous positions unequalled by any other country, offering facilities for practice and training, for the development of the finest naval reserve that imagination can conceive. Unless attention is given to the weak side of our defensive power we are practically at the mercy of any formidable naval power, and the experts and managers of our naval policy will be cursed for their incompetence.

Nerve, good courage, blood and sinew are still necessary to add to the labours of laboratory and the tactics of strategists. The "forty-eight hours in preparation" myth has been pretty well dispelled by the time taken to organize the Flying Squadron, which, unfortunately for those responsible for the statement in regard to preparation in forty-eight hours, took quite eleven days.

The singular neglect of our reserve does not rest with one party alone, but both parties in turn have been responsible for our present unpreparedness. Everything should be done by the State to preserve to our seamen and our fisherman the continuity of their family life, ensuring, to both bodies of men all the benefits which home life confers, the lack of which domestic obligations or impossibility of obtaining such, now acts so deterrently to the *morale* and character of our men. While it may interest our great shipowning firms to beat men's wages down so as to render impossible the maintenance of home or family, the State runs a great danger in robbing the very considerable portion of workers of the sweetness and blessings which only home can confer upon men. The enlargement and increasing comfort of ocean travelling renders it even now quite possible for the more steady going seamen to claim the right which in a large number of cases the captains and officers of our big liners are allowed, that of taking to sea with them their wives and making shipboard their home.

The expansion of our Empire, the extension of our trade, the increase of our population, the ever-growing responsibilities of our State, demand that some brains shall be put into our Administration, that re-organization should take place, that valuable sources of supply of men to man our ships should be tapped, that no expense should be spared to train to efficiency the raw material enthusiastically desirous of taking service.

So long as great armaments exist we cannot play at soldiers or navies, there must be solid backbone, trained hand and eye and nerve, for the purposes of defending what we possess; this will always be necessary as long as so-called civilization exists, which keeps the nations at each other's throats and which prevents that peace on earth so often prated about but in no way encouraged by our pastors and masters.

In conclusion, perhaps the question of economy of fuel is among the most important of the problems of how to maintain our navy's efficiency in war. So long as coal holds the field as a generator of energy, oils not having yet proved successful, we have to keep this important consideration before us.

A Few Practical Suggestions.

1. All vessels subsidized by Government, to act as cruisers.
   (*a*) To employ Naval Reserve men only.
   (*b*) All vessels under Government contracts to employ only properly rated British crews.
2. All "able-bodied" seamen and fishermen to be eligible as Naval Reserve men, to the age of 35.
3. That the minimum period of training be—first year three months, second and following years two months.
4. That one month's practical drill, in gunnery and seamanship, be given at sea: one month in fort or harbour training.
5. That mobilization of all Naval Reserve Forces take place at least once in each five years.
6. That fast fuel or collier cruisers be retained for service.

Ben Tillett.

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